

THE GROWTH
OF
BRITISH POLICY

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

LONDON: FETTER LANE, E.C. 4

SIR J. R. SEELY, Bt. D. K.M.G.

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First Edition 1893

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Reprinted 1903, 1911

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN



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TO

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

JOHN ROBERT SEALEY was born in London on September 19, 1834. He was the third son of Mr Robert Sealey, the publisher, a man of great mental and bodily energy, and of no mean literary skill. Mr Sealey was a contributor to the *Times* and *Illustrated London News*, and a writer for the *Times*. A strong churchman, and an evangelical, he published a volume of essays which passed rapidly through several editions in defence of the Establishment, and he was one of the founders of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. Late in life he wrote a work on Edward the First, entitled "The greatest of the Plantagenets," which has the merit of being among the first books to do adequate justice to that king. He was fond of good novels, and made his boys acquainted with Scott, Dickens and Thackeray at an early age.

From his father Sealey inherited a love of books, a bias towards history, and a habit of thinking about religion. He became unusually young to read, and he read eagerly and widely. As a child he went to school under the Rev

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From his father Seeley imbibed a love of books, a bias towards history, and a habit of thinking about religion. He learnt unusually young to read, and he read eagerly and widely. As a child he went to school under the Rev.

J. A. Barron, at Stanmore. No prizes were given at this school, but there was a master who infected his pupils with a taste for English poetry. Here Seeley acquired his first love for Milton and Pope.

After a while he was sent to the City of London School, then under Dr Mortimer. The school was already making a name for winning scholarships at the Universities. Seeley, being a precocious boy, was pushed on so fast that he entered the sixth form when little over thirteen. His two elder brothers were in the sixth at the same time, the eldest—afterwards a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge—being captain of the school. To keep up with the work of the form involved a great effort in so young a boy. The lessons had to be prepared at home. No attention was paid to games, and the only exercise which Seeley got, as a rule, was the daily walk between Bloomsbury and Cheapside.

This pressure told upon his health, and there can be little doubt that he never wholly recovered the strain. For a time he had to leave school and to give up all work. He passed a year in the family of the Rev. F. Fitch, Vicar of Cromer. Latin and Greek were prohibited, but he spent much time in reading English. In later life he delighted in recalling this year of enforced idleness, for he owed to it (he said) most of his knowledge of English literature.

In 1852 Seeley went up to Cambridge, entering as a scholar of Christ's College. Among his contemporaries at Christ's were several who were afterwards to attain distinction—Calverley, Skeat, Peile, Sendall, Besant. He was soon remarked as among the ablest of an able set. In conversation he already displayed great analytical skill and the power of epigrammatic expression. He had a faculty for pricking bubbles, and his quick perception and

dialectical subtlety made him a redoubtable opponent. But though he did not shrink from controversy, he had no fondness for it, nor did he seek to assert himself. He joined the Union, but appears to have been a silent member. Naturally somewhat shy and reserved, he nevertheless attached to himself during this time of life not a few warm and constant friends.

He read classics with Mr Robert Burn, and afterwards with Mr Shilleto. With a great admiration for accuracy and fine scholarship, he yet paid comparatively little attention to philology in the narrower sense, but rather set himself to grasp classical literature and history as a whole. Ill health still pursued him, and he was forced to defer his degree for a year. He graduated in 1857, when his name appeared in a bracket with three others, at the top of the Classical Tripos. His superiority was more marked in the competition for the Chancellor's Medals, in which he came out senior medallist. The prize was then given to the best classical scholar of his year, who had qualified by taking at least a second class in the Mathematical Tripos.

In the following year he was elected a fellow of his college, and appointed to a classical lectureship. This post he held for two years, when he gave it up to accept the position of chief classical assistant at his old school. It was during the years immediately following his degree that he began the serious study of German. He spent one of his Long Vacations at Dresden, living with a German family. French he had already learnt at school: a knowledge of Italian he acquired later.

In 1859, while still at Cambridge, he made his first literary venture—a volume of poetry, published by Messrs Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, under the title “David and

Samuel; with other poems, original and translated. By John Robertson." This volume consists of a poem on the choosing of David; the "psalms of Moses, David and others, versified"; "historic sketches"—chiefly monologues by historical personages, Nero, William the Silent, the Prince of Orange in 1672, and others; and "miscellaneous poems." The contents show that his mind was at this time busy on the two subjects which interested him most deeply through life—religion and history. But the religious subjects are all chosen from the Old Testament, and the aspect of history presented is more personal than that which attracted him in later years.

In 1863 Seeley was appointed Professor of Latin in University College, London, as successor to Mr Frank Newman. Here he remained for six years. In 1865 he published the best known and in some respects the most remarkable of his works—"Ecce Homo." The book at once attracted attention, perhaps not less through its crispness of style and limpidity of expression, than through the interest of the subject and the novelty of its treatment. Deliberately uncontroversial, it yet roused a storm of controversy. Its restriction of the view of Christ to the human side of his life and teaching was attacked by many as implying the non-existence of any other side. Avoidance was regarded, without warrant, as negation. In the preface to a later edition Seeley made a spirited answer to these attacks. They hardly touched the main gist of the book, and only distracted attention from the author's chief aim—to draw attention to a side of the subject which in the heat of controversy on other points had been unduly neglected. The book was published anonymously, but the authorship soon became an open secret.

It was expected that the author would publish a sequel

to "Ecce Homo," dealing with the questions which that work put aside. But the sequel—if so it may be called—when it did appear, disappointed these expectations. "Natural Religion," published in 1882, after a lapse of sixteen years, was not so popular a book as "Ecce Homo." It had the same charm of style as the earlier work, but its subject was abstract instead of personal, and the attitude adopted by the author was one which appealed to comparatively few minds. The attempt to reconcile religion and science by relegating them to entirely different spheres is not often satisfactory, and is perhaps least likely to satisfy when the religion advocated is as devoid of the supernatural as the science from which it is distinguished. It ought, however, to be said that here again, as in "Ecce Homo," the author expressly guards himself against the assumption that, because religion may exist without a supernatural element, the supernatural has no existence. And his chief object was probably, after all, not so much to advocate any particular form of religious belief, as to show that much should be regarded as religion which current conceptions exclude from it.

In 1869 Professor Seeley married Miss Mary Agnes Phillott. While on his wedding-tour he received Mr Gladstone's letter offering him the Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge, then vacant through the resignation of Charles Kingsley. The post was a congenial one, for his interest in history was greater than his interest in the classics, while the work of the chair was not such as to preclude his paying considerable attention to other, more or less cognate, subjects.

As a lecturer, he had already made a reputation. At Cambridge his lectures achieved great and immediate success. For many years—in fact, till illness began to

incapacitate him towards the close of his life—his classes were very large, and were recruited from many other departments besides his own. The lectures were carefully prepared, and were delivered at first from notes only: latterly they were written out in full. The originality of his treatment, the clearness of his views, the terseness and vigour of his language, the artistic form which he gave to each address, combined to make Professor Seeley one of the most impressive and stimulating of lecturers. To many of those who heard him when he began to teach at Cambridge, his views and methods were nothing short of an inspiration, and left a mark which time and experience have only deepened.

Before the introduction of the new statutes, the income of the Modern History chair was very small, and marriage had brought Seeley's fellowship to a close. He was therefore compelled to add to his income by lecturing in London and in the chief provincial towns. His subjects were mainly literary and historical. The lectures were sometimes published in magazines: some of them were collected in a volume of "Lectures and Essays" published in 1870. The most important of these are perhaps the essays on the fall of the Roman Empire and on Milton, and the Inaugural Lecture which he delivered at Cambridge.

In this lecture he laid down the lines which he consistently followed throughout the whole tenure of his professorship. Though he did not coin the phrase "History is past politics, and politics present history," it is perhaps more strictly applicable to his view of history than to that of its author. "The indispensable thing," he said, "for a politician is a knowledge of political economy and of history." And again, "our University must be a great seminary of politicians." History was, for him, not the

history of religion, or art, or society; still less was it a series of biographies; it was the history of the State. The statesman was to be taught his business by studying political history, not with a view to extracting arguments in favour of particular political theories, but in order to understand, by the comparative and historical method, political science, the science of the State.

These views he was never tired of promoting by his pen, and illustrating in his professorial lectures. When the Historical Tripos was established, a few years after he became professor, he gave it a strong political bias. Modern history being specially applicable to existing political problems, he lectured by preference on modern times. For the same reason he devoted his attention generally to international history—the history of the action and reaction of States on each other. He dwelt with especial fondness on the history of Great Britain as a member of the European system, a side of our national life which, he maintained, had been unaccountably neglected by most English historians.

The first product of his professorial life at Cambridge was not, it is true, connected with modern history. It was an edition of the first book of Livy, “with an Introduction, Historical Examination and Notes,” published in 1871. But this was a book which he had been requested by the Delegates of the Oxford University Press to undertake, and which he had partially completed while Professor of Latin at University College. The Introduction, while showing familiarity with German research and an admiration for German methods, is thoroughly original and suggestive in its views on the misty origins of the Roman state. But this kind of work was not congenial to him, for he had a certain aversion from what is ordinarily called

research, especially antiquarian research, and he never went farther than this one volume.

In 1878 he produced his most solid contribution to historical knowledge—"The Life and Times of Stein, or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age." This great work, to the composition of which he devoted much research both in England and Germany, made known to Englishmen a subject hitherto little studied in this country. But it is the period rather than the man that had a dominant interest for the author. It is not so much Stein himself, as Stein in relation to Prussia and Europe, that is the subject of the book. For biographical details Seeley had not much liking, and the personal character of Stein is unattractive. But the nature of the anti-Napoleonic revolution, the share of Prussia in that revolution, and the share of Stein in the revival of Prussia, are subjects on which he dwelt with predilection. They are nowhere treated with greater force or lucidity.

An arrangement with the Cambridge University Press, to which he alludes with gratitude in the preface to the "Life of Stein," had enabled Professor Seeley to devote the whole of his leisure for some time past to the preparation of that work. About the time of its publication, an anonymous benefactor requested permission to add to the endowment of his chair for some years, until the new statutes, then in contemplation, should come in. This welcome generosity freed him from the necessity of adding to his income by extraneous work, and from this time forward he rarely lectured away from Cambridge. On the introduction of the new statutes, in 1882, he was elected a professorial fellow of Caius College, and remained a member of that foundation until his death.

In the year 1883, Professor Seeley's lectures on

the foreign policy of Great Britain in the 18th century were published under the title "The Expansion of England." This book aroused as wide-spread an interest as "Ecce Homo," and its reception was more uniform. The applause which it met with was almost universal. So vigorous and thoughtful an apology for the British Empire, and for the way by which it had been founded, had never before appeared. It brought together in one concise survey and regarded from one point of view a number of occurrences which historians had previously treated in a disconnected manner. Its conclusions were easily grasped: they appealed to a large audience: they were immediately applicable to one of the greatest questions of the day. In its clear-cut, animated style, its deliberate omission of all superfluous detail, its concentration of illustrative facts on the main thesis, and the confidence with which that thesis is maintained, the book is a model of what an historical essay, with a practical end in view, should be.

These qualities are again to be seen, though perhaps not quite to such advantage, in the "Short Life of Napoleon the First," published in 1886. This little book was expanded from an article on Napoleon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It is a concise and rapid sketch—not so much a biography of the man as a survey of his work in relation to his time. Again, as in the case of Stein, it is rather the setting than the portrait which interests the author. Little is said about Napoleon as a commander or as a man. The thesis defended is that Napoleon as a statesman had no originality: his political ideas are all traced either to the Revolution or the *Ancien Régime*.

Soon after bringing out his "Napoleon," Professor Seeley began to work at the book which is here laid

before the public. His original intention was to write a history of British foreign policy from the Revolution of 1688. But it soon became evident to him that post-revolutionary policy could not be adequately presented without an examination of what went before. To place England in her proper setting among the states of Europe, and to display the effect of the Revolution on her relations with the European powers, it was necessary to mark the contrast between the years that preceded and those that followed 1688. He therefore determined on giving an introductory view, before entering on his main theme. But it was difficult to fix upon a starting-point. At first it seemed sufficient to go back to Cromwell. But Cromwell's policy was itself a revival. More and more impressed by the importance of religious differences on the one hand and commercial considerations on the other, as motors in international politics, he at length fixed on the accession of Elizabeth as the date when the main lines of British foreign policy were definitely laid down. It was the principles then adopted which, developed by Elizabeth herself, by Cromwell and William III, were eventually to lead up to the triumphs of the 18th century. The connexion between this book and a previous work is obvious. Had it been completed, it would have given a fuller presentation of the subject, one side of which was so brilliantly lit up in the "Expansion of England."

It was a heavy task which he had undertaken. The material was vast, and the bounds within which it was to be compressed were narrow. It was difficult to avoid letting it overflow the limits of an introduction. To present the subject in the only form which Seeley thought satisfactory—the form of an essay, bringing into high relief the main lines of development only—involved con-

tinuous thought and application. The exceeding complexity of the subject made the attempt to systematise and generalise it very difficult. It may safely be said to have been the hardest historical problem which Seeley ever set himself to solve. The labour which it involved was too much for his powers, weakened by long years of deficient health. He gave himself no holiday in the summer of 1891. In the October of that year a sudden seizure of an alarming kind showed that rest was imperatively required.

Nearly half his book was then in type; a great part of the remainder was written. But the work had perforce to be laid aside, and he was never able to take it up again except for short intervals. From this time forward his health gradually grew worse. Late in 1892 the disease which eventually proved fatal reappeared, after a long interval, and necessitated frequent operations. In the latter part of 1893 he was laid up for some months with a severe attack of phlebitis.

During these years of growing weakness, his courage and patience never faltered. He was never heard to complain; his temper remained as equable as before; he never even seemed to lose hope. Whenever not absolutely incapacitated by illness, he insisted on discharging his professorial duties. He continued to give his lectures and to attend the meetings of the University Boards with which he was connected.

In the intervals of comparative ease and vigour which he still enjoyed, he struggled on with his book, and gradually got all that is here printed into type. But he was never able to revise it as he wished, and death came upon him before he could bring it to a full end.

While laid up in the autumn of 1893 he employed himself in revising and amplifying some papers on Goethe,

originally published in the *Contemporary Review* for 1884. These were now reproduced in a little volume, entitled "Goethe Reviewed after Sixty Years." As in his essays on Milton, so with Goethe, his attention is rather fixed on the content than the form of the poet's works. It is Goethe the philosopher and teacher, the practical exponent of a noble theory of life, rather than Goethe the poet, who is under consideration. The author maps out his life, traces the broad outlines of his development and analyses the influences brought to bear upon his genius, but with Goethe the supreme artist he has little to do. It is thus, as it was with Napoleon, a somewhat one-sided view that is presented, but so far as it goes it is eminently keensighted, luminous and suggestive.

In the early part of 1894 Seeley had the satisfaction of receiving public acknowledgement of the services which by his writings and addresses he had rendered to the empire. When Lord Rosebery came into office as Premier on Mr Gladstone's resignation, one of his first acts was to suggest to Her Majesty that she should confer some honour on the Cambridge Professor. He was accordingly made Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George. This recognition gave Seeley no little pleasure, not on his own account, but because he regarded it as a sign that the principles which he so warmly advocated were at length making way in influential quarters.

His last publication was an article in the *Contemporary Review* for July 1894, designed to prepare the way for his forthcoming work on *British Policy*. His health during the year 1894 was not sensibly worse than it had been for some time, but it was known that the end could not be very long delayed. It came at last, somewhat suddenly, and almost painlessly, on January 13, 1895.

This is not the place for an estimate of Professor Seeley's position as an historian, or a detailed criticism of his views on politics, education and other subjects. But a few general remarks may be added. What was most remarkable in his teaching of history was its suggestive and stimulative character, and the constancy of its scientific aim. The facts which Seeley mentioned in his lectures were, as a rule, well known; it was the use he made of them that was new. Historical details were worth nothing to him but as a basis for generalisation; the idea to which they pointed was everything. In dealing with history he always kept a definite end in view—the solution of some problem, the establishment of some principle, which would arrest the attention of the student, and might be of use to the statesman. History pure and simple, that is narrative without generalisation, had no interest for him: it appeared trivial, unworthy of serious attention. With this habit of mind, it was inevitable that his conclusions should sometimes appear disputable, but in any case they were thoughtful, bold and original. Except perhaps in his *Life of Stein*, he added little to the sum of historical knowledge, if by that is meant the knowledge of historical events. But he pointed out a further aim, to which the mere acquisition of knowledge is subsidiary. Taking facts as established, he insisted on thinking about them, and on deducing from them the main lines of historical and political evolution. Such a method of study is not without its risks, but it is fertile and attractive; it has a vitalising tendency.

The same positive, creative impulse is visible in his treatment of Political Science, which he regarded as the outcome of historical generalisation. In his "Conversation Classes"—informal meetings of advanced students, held

at his own house—he discussed the origin and nature of the State, analysed its composition, and deduced its necessary functions and its behaviour under various circumstances. For him the State was an ever-present reality, an object of study and devotion, as for an ancient Greek. He was a good citizen, with a high sense of political responsibility. A Liberal so far as domestic progress was concerned, anxious for the wider spread of education, for the open career, he was ardently conservative of what he conceived to be the foundations of the state.

A little England, an England shorn of Empire, was to him synonymous not only with national degradation but national ruin. Thus he became a warm supporter of Federation—not of any specific form of federal union, but of the federal idea. To foster an enthusiasm for the British State, to convince the people that it is worth preserving, to eradicate the Turgot view of colonies, and to set men thinking how the existing union may be preserved—such were the aims of many lectures and addresses delivered during his later years. Out of a similar conviction he became a vigorous opponent of Irish Home Rule, regarding it as a first step towards a dissolution of the Empire.

On the subject of education he held strong views. He disliked the great public schools, and while regarding them as “wonderful institutions,” maintained that they failed in the weightier portion of their task. He would have substituted for them day-schools, abundantly supplemented by home-education. He conceived that too much attention was still paid to the classics, and far too little to modern languages and to the master-pieces of English literature. It was a maxim of his that one subject, or two at most, should be studied at one time. The great

variety of subjects simultaneously taught at ordinary schools seemed to him one of the chief reasons why four out of five pupils leave without mastering any.

He did not avoid society, but he was no great lover of it. Not a voluble talker, he yet conversed readily with intimate friends or on topics in which he took interest. On such occasions his conversation was infallibly brilliant and epigrammatic, and abounding in apt and humorous illustration. When deeply interested, whether in conversation or on the platform, there shone forth a fire of enthusiasm, generally kept under close restraint or concealed in later years by a somewhat lethargic exterior. In University affairs of the ordinary kind he took little part; the routine of academic business, of syndicates, examinations and college meetings, was distasteful to him. As a young man he used to play racquets and cricket, and in his vacations he sometimes went on walking tours, in the Welsh mountains and Switzerland. But he had no natural fondness for athletic exercises: in later life his only form of physical recreation was a walk, and a solitary walk, he complained, afforded but little rest, for his mind was working all the time. It was his misfortune that he never acquired the art of lying fallow.

It remains only to state the share that I have taken in bringing out this book. At the request of Lady Seeley I undertook to see it through the press. All that is here printed was already in type; most of it had been more or less carefully revised. Professor Seeley had submitted the first volume, or portions of it, to Mr S. R. Gardiner, Dr Henry Sidgwick, and Mr J. Bass Mullinger, and had had the benefit of their advice. I had also read through the whole during the autumn before his death, and we

had talked over a good many doubtful points. He would undoubtedly have made several minor alterations had his life and health been spared, and would probably have rewritten certain portions altogether.

I did not, however, conceive myself justified in making any changes beyond such as appeared absolutely necessary. I have excised some repetitions which appeared superfluous or unintentional, and which, when pointed out, the author expressed his intention to excise. Others I have left, for emphatic repetition is by no means alien from Professor Seeley's style. Such few errors of date or mis-statements of fact as attracted my notice, I have corrected; here and there I have amended a word or transposed a sentence; I have added nothing. The author had written a portion, some three pages, of a concluding chapter, apparently intended to sum up the whole work. The printed portion broke off in the middle of a sentence, and there was no manuscript beyond. This fragment added nothing new, and an attempt to complete it could hardly have been successful. I have therefore decided to suppress it. With these exceptions the book is exactly as it was left by Professor Seeley.

I have to thank Lady Seeley and her daughter for prompt and active assistance in verifying references and in other ways. The index is the work of Miss Mary Bateson and Miss Seeley.

G. W. PROTHERO.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of this book is a particular aspect of our state, namely, that which it wears towards foreign states, during a certain period.

We have already ecclesiastical histories, parliamentary histories, economic histories. More especially we have constitutional histories. Correlative to the Constitutional History is the International History or History of Policy. Among the many aspects in which a state may be regarded these two are the most obviously distinguishable. A state may be contemplated in itself; its structure and development may be studied. This is Constitutional History. On the other hand a state may be considered in its relation to foreign states. This is International History or the History of Policy.

In general histories we may observe that one of these aspects is commonly sacrificed to the other. In other countries the temptation has been to sacrifice the internal aspect. In France, where for a long time constitutional development, if it existed, escaped notice, still more in Germany, where it was petty and uninteresting, history leaned towards foreign affairs. But in England, the home of constitutionalism, history leaned just as decidedly in the opposite direction. English eyes are always bent upon Parliament, English history always tends to shrink into

mere parliamentary history, and, as Parliament itself never shines less than in the discussion of foreign affairs, so there is scarcely a great English historian who does not sink somewhat below himself in the treatment of English foreign relations.

It was only natural therefore that, while we have entered early into the conception of constitutional history, and have seen in this department first a Hallam and then a Stubbs, we have scarcely yet perceived that Constitutional History requires the History of Policy as its correlative. Some writers indeed we have had whose natural tendencies have been in this direction, notably William Coxe. But I know no English history of Diplomacy such as that of Flassan, no book on English policy such as that of Droysen on Prussian policy. At the best we have lives of Marlborough or Wellington, Chatham, Canning or Palmerston, in which foreign affairs have a certain necessary prominence, though even here they are usually subordinated either to military or else to parliamentary affairs.

Nevertheless there has been of late years improvement in this respect. Since Ranke tried in his English History to supply those links between English and continental affairs which English historians had not troubled themselves to give, we have seen Mr S. R. Gardiner treating foreign relations with no less conscientious thoroughness than home affairs even in that seventeenth century in which Parliament has an exceptional right to be prominent. And Mr Kinglake has assuredly no trace of the national weakness of insularity. In his book England appears always as a Power. He sees her always in the company of other great states, walking by the side of France or Austria, supporting Turkey, withstanding

Russia. Her Parliament is in the background; in the front of the stage he puts the Ministers who act in the name, or the generals who wield the force, of England, the Great Power.

So much of the History of Policy in general. But this book deals with a special period, roughly the period between the accession of Elizabeth and the reign of William III. It will be asked why, since my object is to consider English history from a special point of view, I select this particular period. For it is somewhat distant if I wish to treat British Policy practically, and not distant enough if I wish to treat it completely. My answer is that I regard British Policy, that is, the policy of the modern Great Power, as beginning about the close of the seventeenth century, but that I see beyond that commencement a period of growth, during which British Policy may be said to have been in the making. This is a period during which the Three Kingdoms were drawing together and acquiring stable mutual relations, while the complex whole was taking up a secure position with respect to the Continental Powers. The history of the Great Power cannot be understood until the process of its growth has been studied.

This book then offers, in the form of an historical essay, such an outline or general view as may be a necessary introduction to the history of British Policy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its subject is the growth of British Policy. By calling it not a history but an essay, I mean first that it deals not in narrative but in discussion, secondly that it does not aim at completeness. It is of the nature of an outline, undertaking to show the position our state occupied among other states, the changes which this position underwent, and

the causes both within our own state and in the relations of the Continental Great Powers by which these changes were produced.

We have immediately behind us three-quarters of a century more peaceful on the whole than any period of equal length in the history of England, a period in which England has had but one short war with a Great Power. Beyond this we see a long period which is not less strikingly warlike. It is marked by the perpetual recurrence of wars with France. The dividing line is at 1815. Beyond that year the National Debt is seen continually growing; on this side of it the Debt either stands still or diminishes.

But when did the period of war, the period which ended in 1815, begin?

The first great war of England and France, that can be held to belong to this series, is that which followed the Revolution of 1688. It was followed at the opening of the eighteenth century by a second and still greater war. There was then a pause of about thirty years; but from 1744 to 1815 war between England and France is almost chronic. It is natural then on the whole to consider the period of war as beginning, along with our army and our debt, at the Revolution.

Thus the long period of peace and the still longer period of war cover together the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries. If now we look over these into the seventeenth, we see quite a different spectacle. There is as yet no chronic rivalry with France, Charles II and Cromwell are generally in alliance with France; Charles I marries a French princess. But also we see everything as yet immature and unshaped; England and Scotland are but loosely united. The King at times has an understanding with France against his own Parliament. Revolution

takes place more than once. Out of this confusion there emerges soon after 1688 the solid and stable Great Britain. But in what way, by what process of growth?

In the comparative confusion of the seventeenth century lies evidently the *genesis* of the Britannic Great Power. I attempt here to describe this genesis or growth.

Three great persons raised England to the great position she held among the nations when the eighteenth century opened. William III finished this work, and indeed established not only the greatness of England but also the international system of Europe for the greater part of the eighteenth century. Oliver Cromwell first indicated, by prematurely and temporarily realising, the great position which was definitely achieved for England by William. Elizabeth broke up the older medieval system, paved the way for the union with Scotland, and launched us on the career of colonisation and oceanic trade.

My essay will examine the work of Elizabeth with the reaction that followed, then that of Oliver, finally that of William.

For if we see at the beginning of the eighteenth century a great epoch dividing two ages, still more clearly marked is the great epoch of the sixteenth century, which may be said to divide in international policy modern from medieval England. I have found the accession of Queen Elizabeth to be the most convenient starting-point.

So far the periods I have distinguished have been purely English. But international history demands that attention be given not to one state only, but to all the states whose mutual relations are in question. Along with the Policy of England this book will exhibit that of France, the Spanish Monarchy, Austria and the United

Provinces. By the side of Elizabeth, Oliver and William it will delineate Philip II, Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV. Now the period between the accession of Elizabeth and the reign of William III, which we find so sharply characterised in English history, stands out with equal distinctness in Continental history. It is the period in which the Spanish Monarchy under the House of Habsburg took distinct shape, flourished and fell. It is also the period of the Counter-reformation, which begins with the Council of Trent and may be said to reach its limit with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It also includes the complete developement of Bourbon France from its rise in the Religious Wars to its European ascendancy.

This period, while it transformed England in her foreign relations, also gave a new form to most of the Continental states. The student of the eighteenth century requires an explanation of these states. 'What is the House of Habsburg? How comes it to be divided into two branches, one of which governs a strange congeries of Slavonic and Teutonic territories which we call roughly Austria, the other a still stranger congeries of Spaniards, Flemings, Italians, and Americans? How comes the House of Bourbon, though Catholic, to be commonly in alliance with Protestant states?' These questions, and a hundred others, need to be answered, and for the answer a student must turn to the records of the sixteenth century. But he will seldom need to look further back than the reign of Elizabeth. Near the end of that reign the House of Bourbon was established, and just before the beginning of it the double House of Habsburg. At the beginning of that reign the disturbance in Germany produced by the Reformation subsided for a time, while

the Counter-reformation acquired a commanding power through the termination of the Council of Trent. The ecclesiastical settlement of Europe, which was to last in the main till the French Revolution, was arrived at in this period.

In short, we take our departure from a cluster of decisive events, which gave to international history the direction it has since taken. These events are partly British, partly continental. They are as follows :

Between 1558 and 1561 :

Death of Queen Mary without children.

Accession of Queen Elizabeth, in which is involved the victory of the Reformation in England.

Death of King Francis II of France without children by Mary Stuart.

Commencement of the Scottish Reformation, and intervention of England in Scottish affairs against France.

Abroad, between 1555 and 1567 :

Religious peace of Augsburg, or settlement of the religious question for Germany.

Abdication of Charles V and establishment of the double House of Habsburg.

Commencement of the Religious Wars of France and of the last generation of the Line of Valois.

Treaty of Cateau Cambresis, involving the establishment of Spain as the paramount Power in Italy.

Termination of the Council of Trent, or Regeneration of Catholicism.

Commencement of the Rebellion in the Low Countries.

Much will be said in the sequel about the significance of these events. But, considered most superficially, they will appear, when taken together, to have made Europe

what it has been since. Here is the commencement of modern England, isolated with respect to the Continent but tending to union with Scotland, and, along with Scotland, devoted to the cause of the Reformation. Here begins modern Germany, the country of *Parity*, where the two confessions are inextricably mixed together. Here begins that double House of Habsburg, against which the Coalitions of Europe were to be directed in the seventeenth century and the disappearance of which was to convulse Europe in the eighteenth. Here is the germ of Bourbon France. Here begins the servitude of Italy. Here begins that modern, or Jesuitic Catholicism, against which in the eighteenth century Europe under the leadership of France was to rebel. Here is the germ of the Dutch Republic.

Our plan requires us to treat England as one state among many, and to give it only a certain precedence. It will therefore require us occasionally to turn our attention altogether away from England, while we follow some important Continental developement, destined after a time to react upon England. One of these occasions occurs at the opening of our narrative. We find it impossible to form a conception of the international position of England at the accession of Elizabeth, until we have noted the condition of Europe at the time when the aggregate of principalities which had been brought together under Charles V had lately given place to two Monarchies under his son and his brother.

PART I.

ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

THE GROWTH OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG.

ELIZABETH succeeded to the throne on the morrow of the abdication of Charles V. She found a world in which a new arrangement of power had been recently established. The Habsburg Ascendency had just entered on its second period. The ascendancy of one man was at an end, but his power had not been dissolved, only divided between two of his relatives. The larger half of it had passed to his son Philip, the smaller to his brother Ferdinand, who however added to this moiety two kingdoms of his own, those of Hungary and Bohemia.

Such great aggregations of power were in the main a new feature in Europe, though something similar had been witnessed in the great times of the medieval empire, especially when Frederick II was at the same time emperor and king of Naples and Sicily. In the middle of

the fifteenth century such aggregations were scarcely to be seen. At that time the Emperor was a needy and powerless prince, almost a stranger to Germany, and the Iberian peninsula was divided among several independent sovereignties. Nor was Italy at that time subject either to a Spanish King or, more than nominally, to an Emperor. Burgundy had but recently been united to the Low Countries, and it had as yet no sort of connexion with Spain or with Austria. But now with great rapidity a vast aggregation sprang into existence, similar to the great empires which have so often been founded by conquest. Yet no conquest took place, nor was the aggregation devised by any statesman. It was the result of natural circumstances which, at the outset at least, were certainly accidental. It was the result of a series of marriages.

Henceforward this aggregation is the principal feature of the European system. First a single aggregate, the dominion of Charles V, then two aggregates, one bearing the name of Spain, the other that of Austria. Of these the former, the complex Spanish Monarchy, is in the times of Elizabeth and James I the greatest Power in the world. This Habsburg Power therefore will accompany us to the end of our review, and we cannot too soon form a clear conception of it.

Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube! This verse, so invariably quoted when the Habsburg Ascendency is in question, may deceive us if we gather from it either that the method of aggrandisement was peculiar to the House of Austria or that it was employed by this House rather through luck and occasionally than systematically and for a long time. Accident did indeed reveal, in the case of Charles V, what immeasurable results might proceed from a method so simple, but when the discovery had been

made a system was speedily founded upon it, which was adopted by other royal Houses, and in some cases with scarcely less success. Since the system culminated early in Charles V, we may be led to fancy that it fell into disuse soon after. Now we cannot too early recognise that during the whole period we are to review this system of royal marriage reigns in international politics, that it continued to be employed by the House of Habsburg, so that a new Charles V might at any time have appeared in Europe, and we cannot too early remark that, as we begin with it, we shall have to end with it. The aggregate which had been brought together by Habsburg marriages in the sixteenth century was dissolved at the end of the seventeenth by the effect of a Bourbon marriage.

We shall have occasion over and over again to mark the vast consequences which flowed in many states, and often were intended to flow, from royal marriages, so that we shall cease to think of the system as Austrian, and shall regard it as almost the established system of foreign politics in the greater part of Europe. We shall accordingly recognise that England before and through Elizabeth's reign had to guard not merely against the armies and navies of foreign Powers, but against new marriages, by which either the Habsburg might be still further aggrandised or the Valois might emulate the Habsburg. Such marriages might swallow up England or Scotland or both, as the Low Countries had already been swallowed up, and as Portugal was absorbed a little later, in the Habsburg Empire or in a Valois Empire. Hence we shall see it as a natural consequence of the success of the Habsburg system that in England too in that age the great questions of foreign politics are marriage questions, the marriage of Mary Tudor, of Mary Stuart, the proposals

of marriage for Elizabeth and of remarriage for Mary Stuart.

So much of the Habsburg system in general. But the Habsburg Power itself must now be considered, and particularly in its bearing upon the interests of England. In 1588, we know, the Spanish Habsburg undertook an invasion of England, and Philip II at that time was an enemy to us more formidable than Louis XIV afterwards and not less formidable than Napoleon. This crisis however came on rather slowly, if we consider that the Habsburg Power was by that time some seventy years old; the later ascendancies have certainly been much more intense and also more short-lived. Charles V. himself played his part of universal monarch to the end without once coming into hostile collision with England, and even Philip had reigned more than thirty years before he equipped the Armada against us.

Let us recall very summarily the principal epochs of Habsburg history before 1558. It need not detain us for a moment to relate how in the thirteenth century Count Rudolph, possessor of the castle Habsburg, the ruins of which stand in the Swiss Canton of Aargau, became Roman Emperor, and as Emperor endowed his family with the Duchy of Austria, which had been held before by the house of Bamberg, a line much celebrated by the Minnesänger, and mentioned in English history for the detention of Richard Cœur de Lion. Since 1282 the two names Habsburg and Austria have been inseparably associated. But their first connexion with the Empire was short. Two Habsburg Emperors Rudolph and Albert (the *uom senza fede* of Dante) reigned in close succession, and then the Luxemburg dynasty supplanted that of Habsburg. For more than a century there was no third Habsburg Emperor,

but in 1438 a Duke of Austria was once more chosen by the Electors, and from that date till 1740, when male heirs failed in the family, through all revolutions and transformations of Germany and Europe it remained a fixed rule that the German King and Roman Emperor should be a Habsburg or Austrian prince. From 1438 to 1740 the three names Habsburg, Austria, and Roman Emperor, were inseparably associated. From 1745 till the Empire was wound up in 1806 the House of Lorraine takes the place of the House of Habsburg.

But the Habsburg line of Emperors had for a long time little distinction. It did not outshine the House of Luxemburg, much less emulate the Hohenstauffen. It marks in fact in the fifteenth century the lowest decline of the Holy Roman Empire. In more modern times, for instance in the eighteenth century, it was usual to speak of the Empire as a nullity, but the Emperors of the eighteenth century were in their own way, though not as Emperors, sovereigns of great power. Charles VI, Joseph II, Leopold II, were incomparably more important personages than the Habsburg of the fifteenth century, for example Frederick III. Even in the time of the last Luxemburg it had become usual to speak of Germany as actually governed by the Electors, and a historian writes, 'In the same year the Prince Electors with a great army made war upon the Bohemians'. Nor was the weakness of the Emperor in the fifteenth century compensated, as it was in the eighteenth, by a great hereditary Power (*Hausmacht*) possessed by him in other capacities. Frederick III and Maximilian I were not kings of Hungary and Bohemia as the later Habsburgs were. Their *Hausmacht*

¹ Matthias Döring ap. Mencken (Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 34).

was more purely German, but much less imposing: it was confined to the duchy of Austria and a few lordships in Switzerland and in Alsace.

This is the first phase we need recall of the Habsburg Power. Many small states have swelled into mighty dominions by some warlike energy in the people, or some genius in a ruler. The Habsburg Power also was to grow till it overshadowed Europe, but not through any similar cause.

The first Habsburg prince who foresaw and desired this result was assuredly not one of the commanding figures of history; Maximilian I was no Philip of Macedon, no Pepin, no Sultan Othman or Orchan. But he married Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold, and had by her a son, Philip the Handsome. By this marriage the hereditary dominion of the Habsburg was vastly increased and in such a way as to illustrate in a startling manner the potency of that simple political engine, royal marriage.

Charles the Bold himself had been a great European prince, and how? Because by an earlier marriage his Duchy and County of Burgundy had been united with the Netherlands. Maximilian then could not but perceive the law of aggregation that was at work. Burgundy had been added to the Netherlands on the one side; on the other Austria had already been added in a similar manner to Tirol. And now these two considerable aggregates were by the same simple process blended into one. If Philip himself should make no similar marriage he could not fail by mere inheritance to be the greatest potentate in Europe, and as he would probably acquire the imperial Crown, it was already evident that a vast change impended over Europe. The nullity of the Empire, already of long

standing, would now, it was likely, disappear¹. Maximilian himself from his helpless impecuniosity was an object of contempt among crowned heads; as a sovereign out at elbows he is a character for a farce. But he could already see himself as an ancestor of mighty kings, for his son Philip, even before his marriage, was evidently destined to regenerate the Empire and to be such a Caesar as had scarcely been seen since the fall of the Hohenstauffen.

So far however what might be foreseen was much less great, and also much less strange and questionable, than what in the end took place. For the territory which Philip would inherit, Austria, Burgundy, the Netherlands, was in the main Germanic or at least continuous with Germany, territory in the main which had once formed part of the Holy Roman Empire.

But now Philip himself married. It is to be remarked that this marriage, the greatest of the whole long series, was not contracted with any view to the prodigious effects which flowed from it. It cannot be said that the heir of Austria and Burgundy married the heiress of Castille and Aragon, for Juana, when she married Philip, was not yet, and had little prospect of becoming, heiress of the crowns of Ferdinand and Isabella. They had a son and they had also a daughter older than Juana. But these disappeared, and a boundless prospect now opened. Aggregation was already far advanced in Southern Europe. The united

¹ As early as 1473 it was predicted by Charles the Bold in negotiating with Frederick III the marriage of Maximilian and Mary that through this alliance the Emperor would come to be more feared than any Emperor for three hundred years. It was also the best way to help Christianity and drive out the Turk. See M. I. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen* vi. 319.

Crowns of Castille and Aragon had not merely, as it were, created Spain by the conquest of the Moors, they had also obtained possession of Naples and Sicily. But in the persons of Philip and Juana Central and Southern Europe would now be aggregated together with Spain and Italy. Austria, Burgundy, and the Low Countries would be united. The same Power to which Columbus had so lately given a world beyond the Ocean would now rule the Mediterranean on the one side and the North Sea on the other. Barcelona and Antwerp would own the same allegiance.

It is strange indeed, it must be mortifying to those who would think nobly of human history, to see an almost universal dominion created neither by a reasonable view of the public good, nor even by an exertion of force which if irrational might be grand, and might involve displays of heroic valour, but by the mere operation of a legal usage originally intended to produce no such effect. Because a young man marries a young woman, and custom chooses to regard their regal office as heritable property, therefore Spain and Germany are to be united for all time! We shall see that this particular union was found after one reign too unnatural to be maintained, but the union of Spain and the Low Countries, not less irrational, lasted scarcely less than two centuries, and caused half the disputes and half the wars that will be considered in this book. When however politicians first perceived that such a transformation of Europe was at hand, we may be sure that after the alarm and anxiety which the new ascendancy would cause them their strongest feeling would be a desire to imitate the fortunate Habsburgs and to generalise what might be called the Habsburg system. Accordingly throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries inter-

national policy is found to turn in most of the great states of Europe upon royal marriage.

The consequences of the marriage of Philip and Juana developed themselves but slowly. About twenty years passed before the union of Central and Southern Europe actually took place, and even then it continued for some years doubtful whether any unity, any vital force, could be expected from an aggregate so artificial. At first Philip appeared as a Burgundian Prince, and when in 1500 there was born to him a son, 'and the government should be upon his shoulder,' the child was naturally called after Charles the Bold. This child, afterwards Carlos I of Spain and Charles V in the series of Roman Emperors, was only at home in Burgundy and Flanders. He grew up as a Fleming, his first great Minister Chièvres was a Fleming. In Spain, when he came to take possession, he appeared as an utter stranger, almost as an enemy. In Germany, when, as Roman Emperor, he came to take possession there, he was somewhat more at home. In comparison at least with his rival Francis he might pass for a German; and yet in the end he failed in Germany as he had failed in Spain at the beginning.

From 1503, when Isabella the great Queen of Castille died, to 1519, when Charles was elected Roman Emperor, is the period of the gradual formation of the Habsburg power. First occurs the temporary separation of Castille and Aragon and the discord between Philip and Ferdinand, which produces the effect that so long as Ferdinand lives the Habsburg cause is rather checked than advanced in Spain. Philip dies in 1506, Juana soon afterwards sinks into hopeless alienation of mind, and Charles grows up a Burgundian, regarded with jealousy by his Spanish grandfather. It was still doubtful whether an heir might

not be born to Ferdinand who would inherit Aragon and with Aragon Naples and Sicily. But in 1516 the whole of the Spanish inheritance falls in to Charles by the death of Ferdinand; then follows the Austrian inheritance. The legal principle of inheritance has received its greatest illustration. Election is now called in to complete the work, and Charles becomes German King and in all but crowning by the Pope (which took place in 1530 at Bologna) Roman Emperor.

A new chapter has opened in international history. The Habsburg Power has been created, which may be said to have three times oppressed Europe by its ascendancy, once under Charles V, a second time in the later years of Philip II, a third time in the earlier part of the Thirty Years' War. As it fills about a century with its greatness, the better part of a second century is occupied with its decay. The personal reign of Charles V was continued until Mary Tudor sat on the throne of England, and he lived (and as long as he lived he in some sense reigned) till within three months of the accession of Elizabeth.

This reign is the culmination of the dynastic principle. It shows what may result from royal marriage. It is the proof that the greatest aggregate of states, held together only by a ruling family, may yet be made to move together and show some signs of organic life.

For some time after 1519 it appeared doubtful whether the huge Habsburg aggregate would exert a power in any degree proportionate to its bulk. Would Charles ever be able to bring to bear upon an enemy at the same time the force of Spain, of the Low Countries, of Italy and of Germany? Would he even succeed in maintaining his authority in all those countries? For men saw already that his foreign rule had excited a violent rebellion in

Spain, and yet in Italy and in Germany his rule was equally foreign.

But these doubts were set speedily at rest by the battle of Pavia and the terrible sack of Rome. It could no longer after such events be questioned that not merely an extensive dominion but a mighty, if not an omnipotent, power had come into existence. About this time the Divorce began to be agitated in England, and already it could be perceived that the network of marriages had begun to entangle us too. Catharine of Aragon was an aunt, and the Lady Mary a cousin, of Charles V. It was one of the circumstances that made the difference of Henry with the Papal See so incapable of arrangement that Clement VII was intimidated by Charles. Thus the new Habsburg Power contributed to bring about the Reformation in England.

Charles however does not interfere in behalf of his relatives in England. Catharine retires and dies un-avenged, and Mary is branded with illegitimacy, as though no Charles V reigned in Europe, and the Catholic Church, which half a century later was to display such relentless and irresistible might, sees an independent Anglicanism establish itself without striking a blow.

We may partly judge from the sequel that Charles did not consider the account closed. The time was to come, and in his lifetime, when vengeance for Catharine was to be taken at least on Cranmer and when the English Reformation was to be cancelled again. His cousin the half-Spanish Mary was to take the lead in this movement, and at that time the Habsburg was to come back with the Pope as they had been expelled together.

Meanwhile however for Charles to bring his whole power to bear, though it had been proved possible, was at

least a most ponderous task. And he was watched with the most bitter jealousy by his old rival Francis. Accordingly after his first triumphal moment at Bologna in 1530, he remains for sixteen years unable to develop his larger plans. He wages war after war with Francis, he resists the Turk, he makes two expeditions to the African coast. Indications may be found that during these years he had not forgotten England and the English Reformation, but with respect to them he does not as yet find leisure to act. And in this delay almost the whole reign of Henry VIII passes. Not till the Peace of Crespy does Charles feel himself in a position to quit his defensive attitude. In 1546 begins a new stage of his career, which introduces a new stage in the development of Habsburg power.

This phase of Charles V, full of daring enterprise and sudden vicissitude between success and failure, in fact the catastrophe of his reign, corresponds roughly with the reign of our Edward VI. In this period England still escapes him, not because Charles is embarrassed by difficulties, but because he is preoccupied with another enterprise, because he has undertaken to settle once for all the religious question in Germany. Several leading actors quit the scene at this point, Luther in 1546, Henry VIII and Francis I in 1547. In the religious evolution also a new phase begins. It may be said that the age proper of the Reformation is over, and the age of the Council of Trent begins. The initiative has passed over from the Protestants to the Catholic party, and the Emperor himself now unfolds his religious policy.

By this time we learn to regard Charles as an eminent and commanding statesman. We saw him called in early youth to solve a problem which might seem simply insoluble, the problem of giving some sort of vitality to a

fortuitous aggregate of inheritances. It is not surprising that he seemed for a long time confounded by the task which had been imposed upon him, so that observers were struck with his personal insignificance, with the nullity of his character, and he himself, as it were by way of apology, appeared at a tournament with the word *Nondum* inscribed upon his shield. Then came the time when it was shown that the monstrous aggregate could really be made to move and act. Henceforth the personality of Charles begins to display itself, and in the middle period of his reign, between 1530 and 1546, he gives many proofs of ability both in war and statesmanship. He appears to have a ruling idea, to which he gave expression at the Diet of 1521, when he deplored that 'the Empire had become a mere shadow, but hoped by means of the kingdoms, powerful territories and connexions which God had given him to restore it to its ancient glory.'

Now there had never been a time when Christendom was more evidently threatened with those very evils which in old days it had been the Emperor's special function to avert. The barbarian needed to be withstood, and a great Christian Council needed to be held. Charles would justify the position into which he had been brought in so accidental a manner, if he could quell the Ottoman Turks—win as it were the agnomen *Turcicus* as his ancient predecessors had borne the epithets *Germanicus*, *Britannicus*, *Dacicus*, *Gothicus*, etc.—and if by holding some august Council he could put down the heresy of Luther. It was such a task as this which Charles undertook in 1546. He seemed for a moment to accomplish it successfully when he defeated the Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg and afterwards regulated the religious affairs of Germany by the Interim. For here he appeared vic-

toriously in his character of German King and Roman Emperor, whereas his earlier successes had been obtained in the character of King of Spain or Burgundian Prince.

From 1546 to 1552 Europe saw what she had not seen since the thirteenth century, what it had long seemed utterly impossible that she should ever see again, a true Roman Emperor. But in 1552 the vision suddenly faded away, the huge fabric which had risen like an exhalation disappeared as instantaneously. The rebellion of the Elector Moritz, planned in concert with France, did not indeed shatter the power of Charles, which in Spain, Flanders, Italy and the New World remained what it had been, but it dissipated the dream of a revival of the Empire. It threw Germany back into its earlier condition when the Empire had been almost a nullity. Not long after the abdication followed, and the next Roman Emperor, Ferdinand, was of the old modest type.

But between Charles' failure in 1552 and his abdication in 1555 he had entered upon a new policy most important to England. He continued to be favoured, as he had been since and before his birth, by the peculiar Habsburg star of marriage and inheritance. Just at the moment when he began to wash his hands in despair of German politics, a new marriage came in prospect, more important than any since the marriage of which he was himself sprung.

Sixty years earlier the male line of Castille and Aragon died out, and so the Habsburg ascended the throne of Spain. At this moment the male line of the House of Tudor failed by the death of Edward VI.

It is only when we have in our mind the whole history of the growth of Habsburg Power since the beginning of the sixteenth century that we can understand the full extent of the danger which threatened England by the

marriage of Mary Tudor to her cousin Philip, the heir of Charles V. Unsuccessful in war, the Habsburgs here fell back upon marriage. And they now struck a stroke which, had not fortune proved adverse, might have been the greatest among all similar strokes of policy. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief international events either are, or flow from, marriages. The marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV laid the foundation of the union of England and Scotland, as the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella created Spain. Later the marriage of Louis XIV to the Infanta Maria Theresa laid the foundation of the European House of Bourbon and of the family alliance of France and Spain; the marriage of William and Mary made possible the Revolution of 1688 and the Alliance of the Sea Powers; the marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to the Elector Palatine founded the dynasty and the union with Hanover which were the basis of our policy in the eighteenth century.

These are royal marriages which may compare with the great Habsburg marriages we have considered in this chapter. And not one, either of these or those, could seem pregnant with more mighty consequences than the marriage which was celebrated in 1554. The marriage of Philip and Mary brings to mind in the most vivid manner the marriage of Philip and Juana. By that the Habsburg family conquered Spain; by this might it not seem that they conquered England? Nor let it be too hastily concluded that the sturdy English could not be caught in so flimsy a web. The Castillians too were a sturdy race, one of the masculine races of the world, turbulent, with a strongly marked character, not too patient of a foreign rule. They had done all that masculine vigour and turbulent valour could do to throw off the Habsburg yoke. They had

rebelled, and for a moment the ministers of Charles had been in despair. When at Tordesillas the rebels brought out the afflicted queen Juana,—for they had the advantage that not Charles but his mother had the rightful claim on their loyalty—and called on her to assume the government, it was said that had she been induced to sign one decree, the reign of the Habsburg in Spain would have come to an end. Fortunately for him she remained immovably passive. And the end was that the turbulent kingdoms passed under the Habsburg yoke.

If we consider the five years of Mary's reign as the period of a Habsburg invasion of England, we shall have to admit that the invasion was much more than half successful, and that one rampart after another of national defence was carried, so that in 1558 England was already from almost every point of view a Habsburg kingdom, standing on the same level as the Low Countries. Deliverance, it is true, then came suddenly, but it came, as it were, from heaven, and was due to no effort made by the nation itself.

Scarcely any transition in history is so abrupt as that from Edward to Mary. We are aware of course that it corresponded to a reaction in public feeling caused by the extravagances of Edwardian Protestantism; at the same time these very extravagances were caused in great part by the near prospect of so abrupt a change. At the moment when England seemed about to adopt in full the German Reformation, to become not merely Anglican but Protestant, and the leading state of the European opposition to the Habsburg, she suddenly abandoned everything that she had contended for since the Divorce was first agitated, and having, as it were, revived the early days of Wolsey, actually went further, passed over

in European politics to the side of the Habsburg who now held the title of King of England, furnished a contingent to his armies, and suffered a miserable defeat in his cause.

The progress made by the Habsburg in England in these years is indeed the conquest of England, as conquest was practised among Christian states at that time. It was not such conquest as the Ottoman practised in the East or the Conquistadores in the Far West, but it was not unlike that by which the Habsburg destroyed the liberties of Castille, crushed Italy, and well-nigh crushed the Low Countries and Portugal. It was a process which began in royal marriage, and proceeded by religious persecution, supplemented at need by arms. In England the scheme was launched under the most favourable circumstances. For Mary Tudor, round whom the English firmly rallied, was herself half a Spaniard by blood, wholly a Spaniard by feeling, and scarcely was her throne secured to her than she rejected with contempt the idea of an English marriage, and gave her hand to Philip himself, the heir-apparent to half the world. As Castille had rebelled when she felt herself passing under the Habsburg, so now did England, but Wyatt was crushed as Padilla had been. Our Villalar was fought and lost. We seemed to be caught in the same fatal current. In the summer of 1554 the Habsburg arrived. The loyal struggle in behalf of Mary's right had carried us into a repeal of all that had ever been done against her, and that involved a repeal of the Reformation itself. England restored the authority of the Pope and revived the laws against heresy. Charles was now slowly abdicating his many crowns. But how little reason had he to feel that his reign had been a failure or that fortune had

deserted him, when he thus lived to see England which in rebelling against the Pope had affronted his family, make submission to the Pope and to his family together! He had had to deal with two most dangerous adversaries, the Elector Moritz and Edward VI, and fortune had removed them both, the one at thirty-one, the other at eighteen. And now his own son bore the royal title that Edward had borne, and the queen was almost as much a Spaniard, in feeling almost as much a Habsburg, as Philip himself.

Everywhere the Church was used by the Habsburgs to confirm their authority. Their system took a theocratic tinge, because the strongest moral force at their command was the uncompromising militant orthodoxy of Spain. For their views therefore it was a coincidence incredibly fortunate that England at this moment was betrayed into a violent religious reaction. A religious Reign of Terror was about to set in for all Europe, and England entered into it somewhat sooner than the Continent, by the Marian persecution, which, as Ranke has said, though not the most cruel of persecutions is perhaps that which fell most heavily upon eminent men and leaders of thought. Here was an engine by which the Habsburg might hope to consolidate his conquest of England. For the Terror was twofold: it was religious and political at the same time. There was the scaffold for Northumberland, Wyatt, and the Lady Jane; there was the stake for Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and Hooper. And so long as the succession remained doubtful, this political reign of terror seemed likely to continue; now the succession had become more doubtful than ever since the legitimacy of Mary had been reasserted by Parliament, for the legitimacy of Mary meant the illegitimacy of Elizabeth.

The conquest of England then seemed complete, and she was soon seen furnishing troops to the Habsburg armies and waging war with France in the Habsburg interest. It seemed likely also to be a durable conquest, for at least it would last as long as Mary lived, and Mary was not old. As a matter of fact the Catholic cause in Europe, soon after this, revived in a manner almost miraculous. The Counter-Reformation may be said to have been fairly launched in the year 1564, when the Council of Trent closed its sittings. This event was in a manner the settlement of the religious question of the age; it was a settlement which had the effect of giving to Catholicism a superiority in Europe which it retained throughout the seventeenth century. Had England been still under Catholic rulers in 1564, she would perhaps have remained Catholic always, and permanently subject to Habsburg influence.

But of course it was calculated in the scheme of Charles that fortune, which had given so much, would give one thing more, that, as Philip and Juana had had a son, himself, Charles V, so a son would be born to Philip and Mary. When we consider how much England had suffered from the want of royal heirs with an undisputed right, how in the fifteenth century this evil had well-nigh ruined the nation, how under Henry VIII it had broken out again, how it had caused all the terrible events of his reign, how it had broken out again at the death of Edward and had led to new horrors, and how the deep-seated evil was still there and might once more prove the bane of England,—when we consider all this, we may imagine what a relief the birth of a son to Philip and Mary might bring to the English mind. Such an heir would be infinitely preferable to Elizabeth, stained with illegitimacy.

And thus the whole happiness of England would be identified in the English mind with the permanence of Catholicism and of the Habsburg interest. A Habsburg dynasty would establish itself in England, as it had already done in Spain. And later, after the catastrophe of Don Carlos, the heir of England would perhaps become the heir of all the Habsburg territories, a new and greater Charles V.

To complete our estimate of the prostrate condition of England under Mary, we must also take account of the independent financial position of her Habsburg government. Other tyrants of England have had to draw their supplies from the country itself. Philip had other resources, he could draw on the funds of the Spanish Monarchy. We read much of his lavish bribery of the English nobility.

And thus the Habsburg in England had the command of all engines of tyranny at once, the scaffold of Henry VIII, the writ *de heretico comburendo*, and at the same time the long purse of Walpole.

Charles now retired to his monastery. About the same time he became aware that fortune would not grant him the crown of all the hopes of his family, a son to Philip and Mary. But even without this crowning happiness his conquest of England might seem at least good for a long time. When he closed his eyes in September, 1558, his son still bore the title of King of England.

That Mary should bear a son was not so absolutely vital to the Habsburg scheme, but that she should live long enough to see the new system take root and the Counter-reformation of England blend with the Counter-reformation of Europe, this was much more essential. The fortune of the Habsburg House had done much, but

at this point the fortune of England intervened. A few weeks after the death of Charles died Mary herself.

It was in the extreme hour of England that Elizabeth took her seat on the throne. Never since this country began to play a great part in Europe had its humiliation and its need been greater. Never has a greater interest depended upon the life and character of a single person than depended from the moment of her accession upon the life and character of Elizabeth. The strongly marked character which she displayed is rendered tenfold more striking, when it is contemplated in English history, by this supreme interest depending on it.

If we were about to write a biography of her, we should inquire, Was she good; if not blameless, at least noble and amiable? A daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn might be expected to have hereditary faults. Nor could we expect her nature to have been sweetened by the hard experience which had come to her so prematurely. Her mother had died on the scaffold, her father had pronounced her illegitimate, her brother had excluded her from the succession, her sister had held her in trembling subjection. She now assumed the government in times of great difficulty, and for thirty years the times grew ever wilder. She inherited a cruel and immoral tradition of government, and the tyrant's plea, necessity, was assuredly as valid in her day as it had been in that of her father. All this ought at least to be considered by those who accuse her of hardness, dishonesty, waywardness.

In this book we consider her only in relation to the growth of British policy. We inquire what she accomplished for her kingdom, and especially in its relation to other kingdoms. We have therefore begun by describing

the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the kingdom at the moment when she took the helm. We shall have to consider to what point she steered it, that is, to compare the position which England occupied before the world when she died in 1603 with the position described in this chapter. But already we can see that in this respect the highest hopes that could have been formed in 1558 were much more than fulfilled. Assuredly the work of Elizabeth yields to that of no other ruler in respect of magnitude or of difficulty.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST PHASE OF POLICY.

AT the moment of the accession of Elizabeth the Habsburg Power, which had so successfully invaded England, had suffered a remarkable transformation on the Continent. The vast monarchy of Charles V had disappeared, and had given place to two monarchies, each directed by a Habsburg prince. During a great part of his reign Charles had delegated to his brother Ferdinand the German part of his inheritance, and the Electors had given to Ferdinand the title of King of the Romans. Meanwhile the same Ferdinand had been elected to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia after the death of Louis, his brother-in-law, at Mohacz. Accordingly in the midst of the great aggregate, but also stretching beyond it, a minor aggregate had formed itself. The Habsburg Power had extended beyond the dominions of Charles so as to include a great Slavonic and Magyar territory, and by the custom of many years this territory had been connected with the Habsburg estates in South Germany and to some extent also with the Imperial Dignity. This temporary arrangement was now at the abdication of Charles, made permanent, and thus

was formed an aggregate which under the name of Austria will henceforth often engage our attention. Through all storms of war and revolution the parts of it held together, as they hold together still. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia remain still attached to Austria proper, and until the fall of the Holy Roman Empire in the Napoleonic age the person who inherited the sovereignty over this aggregate held also the dignity of Roman Emperor, except during the age of Maria Theresa, when a complication was introduced by female succession.

Here then begins one of the Great Powers of modern Europe. Austria is, as it were, detached again from the dominion to which it had belonged since the death of Maximilian I in 1519. But, we are to observe, Austria since 1556 is by no means a mere revival of the Austria of Maximilian I. It has acquired a new limb in the Slavonic kingdoms. It also occupies a different position in the European system. For on the one side the responsibility of guarding the Christian frontier against the Ottoman now rests upon it; on the other side it is connected by a permanent family alliance with the great Habsburg Power of the West. It is thus much greater in many respects than the Austria of the fifteenth century. And it was to stand out in later times more than once with great prominence in Europe, for instance, in the days of Wallenstein, in the days of Eugene, in the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph. Nevertheless it commenced somewhat obscurely, and for the present we may almost bid farewell to it. For during the Elizabethan age it is completely overshadowed by its twin, the Spanish Monarchy. Philip, not Ferdinand, is the real heir of Charles; we may almost say, Philip, not Ferdinand, plays the part of Roman Emperor.

It is not so much on account of Austria as on account of Spain that we must attend just at this point to the division of the Habsburg Empire. Not merely a new person but also a new Power, confronts Elizabeth on her accession. Not only does Philip take the place of Charles, but a Spanish Monarchy stands henceforth in place of a Spanish-Austrian Monarchy. It is necessary therefore to form some clear conception of this new Power.

It was not by a deliberate stroke of judicious statesmanship on the part of Charles that his dominion was divided into two dominions. He had desired to make Philip his universal successor. But Ferdinand succeeded in establishing himself and his family in the Germanic region, where already with the title of Roman King he had made himself at home. He founded a separate throne, as it were, upon the Religious Peace of Augsburg, which was emphatically his own personal work. Such a religious compromise was the greatest triumph which the Reformation could boast at that time, when England had returned to the allegiance of the Pope. And we are to bear in mind that just at that date Southern as well as Northern Germany seemed hopelessly lost to the Roman Church.

Charles could not forbid the compromise, for without the Religious Peace it was impossible to unite Germany in resistance to the Turk. But he could wash his hands of it. And this would be done most simply by leaving Ferdinand where he was, in possession of the original Habsburg inheritance, and by allowing the Electors to confer on him the Imperial Dignity. It was no doubt a sort of profanation to Charles that his brother should become Roman Emperor by a religious compromise and in part by Protestant votes, but he found consolation elsewhere.

He gives to Philip all that he can give, the Burgundian inheritance, which perhaps would more naturally have been united with Austria and the Empire, and even, in defiance of all legality, the Duchy of Milan. Thus was furnished out a Power which in its greatness and its freedom from the taint of heresy answered the ideal of Charles V.

The sequel may seem to have shown that this arrangement was faulty, but before we absolutely condemn the statesmanship of Charles we should take account of one fact, which just at this point is all-important to us. He did not give to Philip the Low Countries watched by England, independent and Protestant, but the Low Countries and England together, both being Catholic alike. It was only because by an unexpected accident which occurred just after his own death, namely, the death of Mary, the position of England was entirely altered—it was only thus that his scheme failed. And we may easily imagine that if he could have foreseen this imminent revolution he might have made a wholly different disposition, for it rather appears that the Catholicism of England was the corner-stone of his new policy, and consoled him for the incorrigible devotion of Northern Germany to the Reformation.

The Low Countries and England had long been closely connected in trade. The Spanish Monarchy had already by much the largest share in the commerce of the New World, which had brought a great prosperity to the Flemish port of Antwerp. Could but England with its advantageous maritime position be added to the Low Countries as a province of this dominion, its control of the Ocean and the New World would be immensely strengthened, and indeed it would have nothing further to wish for but that crowning acquisition, which had long been meditated in the Habsburg counsels, Portugal.

Charles resigned all his many crowns, but not all from the same motive or with the same feelings. Germany, we have seen, he surrendered in disappointment and despair, but the much grander dominion which he transferred to his son and which was to be the monument of his statesmanship for several generations, this he may have resigned with proud satisfaction. If he resigned this too, it was to all appearance only because his health was rapidly failing. He left his son incomparably the greatest of Christian sovereigns, and with a power that went on increasing until after 1580 it was much greater than he had ever possessed himself. The Philippine Monarchy stood always in a closer relation to England than the Caroline had done. We have seen that Charles had intended this, but he had contemplated a relation of a very different kind. England broke through the meshes of the Habsburg net, but the dominion of which she was to have formed a principal part remained maritime, remained a neighbour of England, and therefore came into frequent collision with her. Charles wielded a power mainly continental, Philip a power mainly maritime, and which grew more and more maritime.

When Elizabeth entered upon her task she was confronted with this great Sovereign of the Seas, Philip II, who but yesterday had borne the title of King of England.

A great rent was made by Mary's death in the Habsburg net in which England had been enmeshed. Nor since that time has this particular danger from intermarriage with a predominant House presented itself in English history in a shape nearly so threatening, though serious danger arose from the marriage of Charles I with a Bourbon princess. But the danger did not disappear instantaneously with the death of Mary Tudor, and

dangers of a similar kind threatened us through a great part of Elizabeth's reign. It was indeed like a fatality that in an age when so many conquests were made by Habsburg bridegrooms, the monarchy of England should for the first time in its history fall to the distaff.

The first thought of Philip when he lost Mary was that all was not lost with her, since she, the first queen regnant that England had ever seen, was now to be succeeded by a second queen regnant, who would be equally open to the Habsburg attack.

That attack was made at once. Mary's death took place on Nov. 27th, 1558, and on Jan. 10th, 1559, Philip wrote from Brussels directing his ambassador to offer marriage to Elizabeth.

The negotiation which followed was indeed very short. Parliament met on Jan. 25th, and such proposals about religion were at once laid before it as made Philip resolve to draw back, though his suit had been at first well received and though he writes hopefully on Jan. 28th. In the course of February, England breaks with Rome, and the Queen declares in Parliament her resolution to remain single. So rapidly did events march that when the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis was concluded at the beginning of April the remarriage of Philip is indeed announced, but the bride is Isabel of Valois, not Isabel (as the Spaniards call her) of England.

This commencement strikes the keynote, as it were, of Elizabethan policy. For in this marriage negotiation, we are to observe, it is not the personal happiness of Philip and Elizabeth, but the whole future course of England and the Spanish Monarchy, that is in question. It was followed by many similar negotiations which had a similar significance, though not one was of equal importance.

And we are thus instructed at the very commencement, that international relations in that particular age appear and are discussed under the symbolic form of courtship and marriage. Courtship is negotiation, rejection of the proposal often means war, marriage means alliance, the birth of a son often means federation, and his accession may even mean incorporating union. In earlier times and in later, no doubt, the same system may be traced, but it was at its height in the sixteenth century, that is, when the impression of the great world-conquering marriages of the House of Habsburg was still fresh.

We read of those Habsburg marriages with impatience, with a feeling of mortification at the pettiness of the causes which have at times governed the march of history. A similar mortification arises when we read Elizabethan history. It is half ludicrous, half tedious, it is a kind of dull comedy, the history of the courting of Elizabeth, how she was courted almost from her cradle to her old age and was never married after all. Let us remark that these two passages of history, which excite such similar feelings, are closely connected together. Elizabeth was courted partly by the House of Habsburg and mainly in pursuance of the Habsburg system. As those marriages involved conquest, so might resistance to marriage mean resistance to conquest. As the marriage of Mary Tudor humbled, and might have enslaved, England, so were the freedom and greatness of England founded upon Elizabeth's refusal to marry; so that there was indeed a justification for those Britomarts and Belphebes of Elizabethan poetry. As marriage in that age so often meant conquest, virginity naturally became a symbol of national independence, and a poet might feel that the virginity of Elizabeth was the virginity of England.

Let us consider the abrupt failure of Philip's proposal first from his point of view, next from that of Elizabeth. It may seem strange that he should acquiesce so passively in a failure so disastrous to his House, in the total loss of England both to himself and to Catholicism. Let us recollect that he did not probably recognise the loss as total or as final, that he may have regarded the reign of Anne Boleyn's daughter as merely a transient reaction to be followed by a second restoration of Catholicism. But we are also to bear in mind the continental crisis which occupied him at the moment. He was bringing to a close the greatest of all the wars which had hitherto been waged between the Habsburg and the Valois. It had lasted seven years, and had commenced with those great reverses which had well-nigh broken the heart of Charles V, the loss of the Three Bishoprics, the disaster before Metz. Fortune had since changed. He had won the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines, and at this very moment he was negotiating a great European Peace, the settlement, it may be said, upon which the new Spanish Monarchy would be founded. He was making the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, perhaps the greatest European settlement before that of Westphalia. It was to give him a new and solid position. In particular it was to settle the Italian question so solidly, and so decidedly in favour of Spain, that France remained from this time almost excluded from Italy till the time of Richelieu. This triumph may have consoled Philip for a reverse in England, which probably he regarded as but temporary. The more so because the peculiar Habsburg system found a new application at Cateau-Cambresis. He made a marriage which might satisfy him. He obtained a Valois princess, and with her he acquired new claims and relations amply equiva-

lent, as he might think, for those which he lost in England. It is true that four young Valois princes stood between the child he might have by Elizabeth of Valois and the French throne. But let us look at the result! Thirty years later those princes are dead and have left no heirs. The Habsburg lays claim to the throne of France, and by the help of the League he has for a time every prospect of success. We have watched England in the reign of Mary passing under the Habsburg yoke; thirty years later it will be the turn of France, and France will be brought lower than ever was England. It was at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis that the Habsburg net first entangled her, that is at the very moment when England shook herself free of it.

And now let us put ourselves at the point of view of Elizabeth. She found herself in the perilous position of a queen regnant of England, unprecedented but for that sister who in five years had shown how near to ruin England might be brought by a female reign. She had a questionable title, and in the midst of a people which had returned into the bosom of Catholicism she represented Anne Boleyn! Her position was not much unlike that of Lady Jane Grey. And yet she was still nominally a Catholic, and even at heart she was scarcely a Protestant. At this moment she was offered the greatest marriage, involving the greatest alliance, in the world. Philip was now a much greater man than he had been when he married her sister, for Charles was gone and had left him ruler of half the world, and in this position he had had military triumphs. Moreover England was at war with France, and had recently lost Calais. It was not difficult to see that to reject Philip at this moment was to throw him into the arms of France; the hand that

she might refuse would be given to a Valois princess. She might find herself confronted by a great combination of the Habsburg and the Valois, and with the Valois went Scotland, and the claims of the House of Stuart upon England.

Thus at the opening of Elizabeth's reign we see not only the peculiar nature of the dangers with which she had to contend but also the appalling magnitude of those dangers. By acceptance of Philip's offer all such dangers would pass away, dangers which in fact continued to threaten her and only grew more appalling, for thirty years. On the other hand the same acceptance had dangers of its own, and if a refusal could not but cause her an effort and a sacrifice, the same might certainly be said of an acceptance. The inconveniences of the match were at least equally serious, and they were fully as evident as its advantages. If on the one hand it might be a means of recovering Calais, if it gave her the Habsburg alliance and the prospect of a son who might become universal monarch, and at least would establish her throne in England, on the other hand it would be a cruel disappointment to her people, who saw in her the angel of deliverance sent to break the Habsburg yoke and extinguish the fires of Smithfield. There were other considerations. That she should marry her sister's widower under a Papal dispensation was a proposal which reopened in a most ominous manner the debate which had embittered the life of Catharine of Aragon; no wonder she told the Ambassador that she had a serious scruple about the Papal dispensation (*tenia mucho escrupulo en lo de la dispensa del Papa*). We also hear even at this early date of her determination to remain unmarried, a purpose which she might indeed well have formed by reflecting

on the disastrous result of her sister's marriage, but which she always describes as having arisen in her mind very early, even in her childhood. On the whole, however, she would feel that the question lay between a power based upon the wishes of the nation and a power supported by foreign help, between an independent national throne and a kind of viceroyalty, such as Margaret of Parma held in the Netherlands, over a province of the Habsburg Realm.

Elizabeth made the great choice. We cannot at this distance of time appreciate the weight which each consideration had for her judgement. It scarcely perhaps struck her that she was asked by Philip to change her religion, nor perhaps did the horrors of Smithfield produce much impression on her mind. Her father's mode of governing (*la manera de proceder del Rey su Padre*) was her model; apparently she desired to restore the peculiarly English system which had been on the whole successful before the violent oscillation of the reigns of Edward and Mary; but the system of Henry had not been decidedly Protestant, and still less had it been humanitarian. We must beware too of crediting her with modern ideas of popular government, and when she said to De Feria that the people had put her where she was (*el pueblo la ha puesto en el estado que esta*) we are not to attribute to the proud Tudor any acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people.

But she took a course visibly full of danger, a course in which success was only possible by courage and heroic endurance, but in which success, if it came, might be splendid and might raise the nation itself to greatness. The course she declined had also its dangers, though at the moment it might have relieved her of much trouble;

but it was a course in which success could only be success for herself alone, success gained at the expense of her people.

In Mary's reign Philip's influence had been favourable to Elizabeth; he had reasons for wishing well to her. Nor did these reasons cease to have weight when she declined his hand, nor even when she led the nation back into the path of the Reformation. We have now to consider what the position of England among the European Powers became when the brief Habsburg episode, as it were, came to an end, and when Elizabeth tried to revive the age of Henry.

Hitherto we have considered only the relation of England to the Habsburg Power. It is now time to turn our attention to other states, especially that state which both in earlier times and in later has been the most important state for England, namely, France.

The relations of England and France had lately become closer and more anxious than they had been in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Valois had begun to enter into English politics by the same approach as the Habsburg. While the latter had been applying the system of royal marriage to England, the former had applied it to Scotland. The Dauphin had married Mary Stuart as the Prince of Spain had married Mary Tudor. There was a probability therefore that Scotland would in due time enter into a personal, and ultimately perhaps into an incorporating, union with France. And this contingency did not concern Scotland alone but England, and that not merely because they were contiguous countries, parts of the same island, but in a far more serious way. In the miserable uncertainty of the English succession, one claim stood out as

superior to all others, the claim of the Scots House derived from the marriage of Margaret Tudor to King James IV. This claim was now, as it were, acquired by the House of Valois. Already the Dauphin was consort to the Queen of Scotland; the time was at hand when France and Scotland would be united by Francis and Mary, as Castille and Aragon had been united by Ferdinand and Isabella, and beyond this a time might be foreseen when they would be united yet more closely in the person of a son of Francis and Mary. This son of Francis and Mary would have a claim on the English throne more clear of painful objections than that of the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Here was a danger to England not less formidable than that from which she had newly escaped by the death of Mary Tudor. England was between Scylla and Charybdis, in danger of absorption on the one side by the Habsburg, on the other side by the Valois.

Fortunately however the two dangers in some degree neutralised each other. The Habsburg did not desire to see England absorbed by the Valois, and accordingly the Habsburg, even after he had been rebuffed by Elizabeth, could not afford to become hostile to her. It was easy to attack her title, and there was a Pretender at hand who, so far as she was a Catholic, would suit Philip perfectly, but this Pretender was Dauphiness of France, the Power which all along and at that moment especially was the great antagonist of the House of Habsburg.

But France, which we thus introduce into our narrative, will become the most prominent figure in it, will be seen eclipsing the House of Habsburg, almost absorbing that Spanish Monarchy which at our actual stage is the

greatest Power in the world, and becoming the most formidable among the enemies of England. It is therefore of great importance that we should form at the outset a clear conception of this Power.

It was already a state of ancient renown, which had more than once played a leading part in Europe. It took the lead in the first Crusade, it was glorious under St Louis, and masterful under Philippe le Bel. Its two languages, the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oïl*, had taken the lead in literature up to the time of Dante. But those ages of French history are divided from the age which concerns us here by a great cataclysm created by the Hundred Years' War with England. France in 1558 may be said to be in the penultimate phase of its Valois period. It had been led into the disasters of the English war by the first two Valois kings, Philip and John, and it had been brought lower still by Charles VI. But a much brighter period was introduced by Charles VII, who in many respects may be regarded as the original founder of the France of Richelieu and Louis XIV. He also introduced the happier period of his own dynasty, which from this time produces capable rulers, Louis XI, Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry II. In 1558 France stood at a high point, though it was about to close in disappointment a war which, seven years earlier, it had opened with much success. But it was unconsciously approaching another cataclysm, when the Valois dynasty was to perish amidst the horrors of a religious war, which for a moment threatened the state with absolute destruction. In this extremity France was to find a deliverer in the Bourbon prince, Henry of Navarre, and the Bourbon dynasty, more splendid than the Valois at its best, was to begin.

In an international point of view, the most important

point about the House of Valois at this time is its relation to the House of Habsburg. These great Houses do not correspond to nationalities, and the House of Habsburg especially belongs to all nations at once. Philip II himself was in some degree a Valois, in some degree a Frenchman. It is a peculiarity of the Valois dynasty that it created, as it were, two Frances. King John (the prisoner of Poitiers) conferred the Duchy of Burgundy upon a younger son, and in the general disintegration which followed the younger branch of the House became an independent rival of the elder. The main cause of the second downfall of France before the English arms is that France at the time of the invasion of Henry V had become double. England wins by the help of Burgundy, and loses ground again when Burgundy changes sides. But when the English are at last repelled and France is reestablished on a new and secure basis, Burgundy remains as great and as independent as ever. She has by this time gained possession by marriage of almost all the Low Countries, for not only the wealth of Ghent and Bruges and the harbour of Antwerp, but also that remote amphibious region protected by dykes from the sea, which was to have its day in the seventeenth century, was now included under the name Burgundy, so that Cordelia in King Lear can speak of 'waterish Burgundy'.

The story of Charles the Bold, of his greatness and his sudden fall, need not detain us here. What we have to remark is that though after his fall the name Burgundy drops out of historical narrative and though Louis XI was able to seize and hold the duchy proper of Burgundy, yet the rest of Charles' possessions, an extremely considerable residue, passed to his heiress. Neither the House of Burgundy, nor the rivalry of it with the elder branch

which was called from France, came to an end with the death of Charles the Bold. The successors of Charles the Bold are Mary, then Philip the Handsome, then Charles (Emperor and King of Spain), then Philip II (also King of Spain). The very names of these princes are the traditional names of the House of Valois.

Charles V himself, as we have remarked, grew up as a Burgundian prince. His rivalry with Francis I is distinctly in its earlier phase a continuation of the old rivalry of France and Burgundy. In his first war he has England for an ally, as in the days of Agincourt, and his object is to recover the duchy of Burgundy seized by Louis XI. But the battle of Pavia, the sack of Rome, and the coronation at Bologna raised Charles to a European elevation, in which England no longer cares to be his ally. The Burgundian prince is lost henceforth in the Emperor and universal Monarch. But towards the close of his reign, when his grand imperial scheme had failed, and still more when he arranges a dominion for his son from which Germany is excluded, the rivalry of France and Burgundy becomes prominent again. Philip II is not Emperor and not Duke of Austria; he is successor of Charles the Bold and at the same time King of Spain. In the former character he is especially bound to England, for Burgundy had always rested on the English alliance. And thus when Philip was married to Mary Tudor and their combined force defeated France at St Quentin, the old combination of the days of Agincourt reappeared, though this time certainly not England but Burgundy took the lead.

The rivalry of Habsburg and Valois has already lasted a long time; it is to be succeeded by the rivalry of Habsburg and Bourbon, which after lasting more than

a century is to end by the blending through intermarriage of the Bourbon with the Spanish Habsburg. We now see that it began, as it ended, in a single family, for the rivalry of Valois and Habsburg is but a later form of the rivalry between the elder and younger branches of the House of Valois, or between the House of France and the House of Burgundy. And in the main throughout the whole long period before us, we shall be aware of a struggle which is always proceeding between France and Burgundy. From Henry IV to Louis XIV, France fights for territory which was in a great degree French by language and nationality, Artois, Brabant, Franche Comté, and some of which had formerly owned the suzerainty of the French king. And in the earlier stage of the struggle, when the House of Habsburg had the offensive, it has something of the character of a civil war. In the War of the League, half France looks up to Philip as its leader, and Philip himself, as a member of the House of Valois, lays claim to the throne of France.

But so long as Burgundy consciously existed, it would instinctively seek the English alliance. Accordingly when Elizabeth resolutely threw off the Habsburg yoke there could not immediately follow hostility between her and Philip, for there remained the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, just then particularly close on account of the war which was not yet ended. There were indeed signs of an international revolution, for at Cateau-Cambresis Philip treated England with little ceremony and entered into a new relation by marriage with France. Nevertheless a serious combination between France and Burgundy against England was an international innovation not to be made in a day.

The House of Valois, as we said, is in its penultimate,

which is its highest phase. Very speedily it was to receive a sudden and mortal blow. Henry II was to be cut off in the vigour of his life, and then the House, which seemed to rest securely upon four sons, of whom the eldest was married to the brilliant Queen of Scotland, decayed and perished. The princes died early and left no children. The shadow of the coming catastrophe fell upon the whole period. But so long as Henry II lived, the House stood at the height to which it had been raised by Francis I. For about a hundred and twenty years, since France had emancipated herself from the English yoke, her royal House had been great and prosperous. But Francis I had given the monarchy a peculiar character, more brilliant, but perhaps less solid, than it had worn under Charles VII, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII, and Henry II had maintained what Francis I had founded. From 1515 to 1559 the House of Valois enjoys what may be called in some respects its age of Louis XIV. The happy popular time of Louis XII, best beloved of French kings, is over. It already begins to appear that France can find no lasting refuge from feudal anarchy but in a brilliant despotism. And the arts by which Louis XIV afterwards united France so firmly were first discovered and practised by Francis I. Francis is the inventor of the splendid French court in which the turbulent noble is tamed into the courtier; he too founds by the Concordat of 1516 that ascendancy of the Monarchy over the Church which was to be reasserted after the wars of religion by Henry IV, Richelieu and Louis XIV. He too gives the monarchy its military character, but here he has not the good fortune of Louis XIV. While the latter, destitute personally of military talents, is able to figure as a conqueror, Francis, devoted to war, is condemned throughout his life

to fight a losing battle against Charles V. One of those brilliant persons who seem especially to need the sunshine of good fortune, he was decidedly an unfortunate man. After his splendid opening, his victory at Marignano and his Concordat, when he stood forth as a new Caesar, conqueror of the Helvetii and master of Gaul, when he had a prospect of leading Europe against the Turk with the title of Roman Emperor, he suddenly saw the huge Habsburg aggregate form itself, blocking his path and thwarting all his efforts. His son, Henry II, comparatively an ordinary character, had some of those smiles of fortune which had been denied to Francis. He had defeated the grand scheme of Charles, taken the three Bishoprics from Germany and Calais from England. He had married the Dauphin to the queen regnant of Scotland. And thus at the moment of Elizabeth's accession, the Valois, though the fortune of war had latterly deserted him again, was a more equal rival of the Habsburg than he had ever been since the great days of the Habsburg family began.

We have seen the House of Habsburg involving England in its net. It was a curious fatality that the House of Valois should try at the same time to do the same thing by Scotland. The early career of Mary Stuart runs strangely parallel to the career of Mary Tudor. Thus :

Mary Tudor was a Spaniard by her mother Catharine of Aragon.

Mary Stuart was a Frenchwoman by her mother Mary of Guise.

Accordingly it seemed to each agreeable and natural to be married to the chief prince of the maternal house.

Mary Tudor was married to the Prince of Spain.

Mary Stuart was married to the Prince of France, the Dauphin.

Mary Tudor was the first queen regnant that had ever been seen in England.

Mary Stuart was the first queen regnant that had ever been seen in Scotland.

Soon after the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip, he became, by the retirement of his father, King of Spain and the Indies and ruler of the Low Countries.

Soon after the marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, he became, by the accident which carried off his father, King of France.

Thus England became united in personal union with Spain and the Low Countries.

And Scotland was united in personal union with France.

A son born to Philip and Mary would have made the union of England and Spain permanent by establishing a Habsburg dynasty in England.

A son born to Francis and Mary would have made the union of Scotland and France permanent by establishing a Valois dynasty in Scotland.

To make up the parallel, fortune intervened in the same manner in both countries. Mary Tudor died childless; Francis died childless.

Thus England and Scotland were exposed to precisely the same danger at almost the same time, but the danger to Scotland was a danger to England too, on account of the claim to the English succession possessed at this time by the royal house of Scotland.

Scarcely any English sovereign has been exposed at the moment of accession to such dangers as was Elizabeth, and they were heightened by her weak title and by her sex.

We have as yet remarked but one countervailing

advantage, namely, the mutual rivalry of the two threatening Powers, the Habsburg and the Valois. But Elizabeth had another advantage which soon came to light. As the English nation had since the first year of Mary been uneasily conscious that they were passing under the Habsburg yoke, so the Scots nation could not but perceive that they were becoming a province of France. The national feeling was in Scotland as in England closely connected with the religious movement of the time. What is commonly called the Reformation is in both countries only half a religious movement; the other half of it is a movement of national independence.

But that a grand movement partly national, partly religious, should arise in England and Scotland simultaneously, that the two countries should be animated by a common impulse, and especially that they, so long rivals, upon whose secular discord France had so long traded, should now unite in resistance to this very France, this was a most pregnant novelty. The union of England and Scotland was brought about directly, as we know, by the mere operation of a law of succession, but the thoroughness and durableness of the union has been the effect of the common devotion of both countries to the Reformation, and it was in the First Phase of Elizabeth that this solid ground of union was first laid.

Substantially the first achievement of Elizabethan policy lay in this, that she called out a great Reformation Party in England and Scotland at once and thus laid the foundation, first of the union of England and Scotland, secondly of the resistance which in the seventeenth century was offered to the Stuarts. But we must pay some attention to the special circumstances under which this was done, as they arose in 1559.

Though Spain had recently been, and was before long to become again, the most threatening enemy of England, yet just at this moment she falls quite into the background, and France suddenly takes her place. For a short time the situation is like that of the later years of Louis XIV or of the Napoleonic age. England is threatened by France as she has never been before, but as she is to be threatened several times in the future.

And it is in this year 1559 that the name Stuart begins to be prominent in English politics.

We are familiar with the fact that when the line of Stuart kings had come to an end we had to deal for something like half a century with Stuart Pretenders. Let us now remark that a Stuart Pretender also preceded the Stuart Kings. The Pretender Mary sets up her claim in 1559, but a few months after the death of Mary Tudor. For the best part of thirty years she maintains, though intermittently, this position, and resembles those later Pretenders not merely in her claim but also to a great extent in the means she takes to support it. Those later Pretenders, and even the later Stuart Kings, Charles II and James II, were clients of France and closely connected with the House of France. In like manner Mary Stuart first assumes the character of Pretender in the position of Dauphiness of France, and immediately afterwards becomes Queen of France.

For now occurs the last of the many great events which were crowded into those few months. Charles V and Mary Tudor had quitted the stage. Elizabeth had mounted the throne. The great European Peace of Cateau-Cambresis had been concluded. Elizabeth Tudor had repelled Philip and he had been accepted by Elizabeth Valois. And now on July 26th, 1559, King Henry II died

suddenly from the effect of a wound received in a tournament.

The result was another of those startling changes of which the sixteenth century had seen so many. France and Scotland were united together in personal union, as Castille and Aragon had been. Mary Stuart, whose pretensions to the Crown of England had already been freely put forward, now stood forth before the world, Queen Consort of France and Queen Regnant of Scotland. Both she and her husband were young, and it might be expected that they would have a long reign and many children. Opposed to them was only the daughter of Anne Boleyn, of doubtful title and legitimacy, without prospect of an heir and having newly refused the hand of the greatest monarch in the world.

Never has a Stuart Pretender stood in so commanding a position as Mary Stuart in 1559. Other Pretenders have had a strong party in Scotland to back their claim on England, or even for a moment military possession of Scotland. Other Pretenders have obtained aid from France. But Mary was Queen of Scotland by undisputed right, and also she was in a position to command the whole force of France. And England was scarcely yet free from a war with France, in which Scotland, governed now for many years by a French Queen Regent, had co-operated with France.

If under Mary Tudor the danger of England from Spain seemed extreme, and if it seemed perhaps only adjourned, not really lightened, by her death, so that Elizabeth's rejection of Philip might seem an audacious step, the danger from France now seems equally extreme and equally pressing. For to all that has just been said we are to add that Elizabeth had to commence her reign

by signing a humiliating peace with France. In the settlement of Europe, while Philip appeared on the whole victorious, England, which had submitted to be his humble ally, had to acknowledge herself defeated. When Elizabeth broke with Philip she parted with a chance of recovering Calais. And so she began by descending to a lower position with respect to the Continent than any of her predecessors for centuries past had occupied. And immediately after this confession of inferiority to France, the Queen of France, also Queen of Scotland, stood forth as Pretender to her throne.

But now the new forces make themselves felt, those forces which have created the modern England, or rather Great Britain. For even before Mary Stuart could call herself Queen of France the Scottish Reformation had broken forth with violence, in the form of a rebellion against her mother's regency in Scotland. Between May and July, 1559, there had sprung up the mighty national party, which has ever since remained the national party, of Scotland. Utterly unlike the Protestant party of England, it began in rebellion against the Government. This fact by itself created a new difficulty for Elizabeth; but the government in Scotland was a *French* government. Elizabeth had already at home taken up the position of a national sovereign. She was English on both sides, whereas Mary was French on one side. She had refused a foreign husband, whereas Mary had a French husband. And thus the new national party in Scotland, however she might feel bound to hold it at some distance, could not but look up to her as its head, both as the champion of Reformation and the champion of national independence.

We cannot but see how instantaneously in this year 1559 the outline of modern Great Britain springs to

light. Hitherto England and Scotland had confronted each other like two barbaric tribes at eternal blood-feud, and the inclinations of Scotland had been towards France. But from this time forward they stand together on the basis, which in political union is almost alone solid, of religion, and they are both alike opposed to France. But though the ground of union is solid, there are marked differences between them even in religion. The Scottish Reformation is not quite similar to the English; in particular it regards the government differently. And throughout the period which lies before us, alike when we study Oliver or William as while we study Elizabeth, we shall find that the firm indestructible basis of British policy is this alliance, founded on likeness in difference, of the English and the Scottish Reformation.

In the autumn of 1559 there was actually war in Scotland between the Regent and the rebels, but it was scarcely civil war, so French was the government and the military force on which it depended. What is called the Reformation of Scotland is almost in an equal degree a national movement. It is an expulsion of the French, who fortify Leith and expect reinforcements and ships from France. But the rebels find themselves unable to effect this expulsion unaided. They are even in danger of being worsted in the war.

At this point is taken the first active step of Elizabethan policy. Her fleet appears off the shore of Fife. She enters at Berwick into an engagement with the rebels. The siege of Leith is resumed and carried on by land and sea. Commissioners from France arrive, by whom is signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, a settlement which brings to an end the government of Scotland by the French.

The step was one which could not but change for all time the position of England with respect to Scotland, and could not but immeasurably strengthen England. But it might seem to be attended with great risk, and to involve a new war with France. This was the moment of the first ascendancy of the Guise Family. The Queen Regent of Scotland herself (who died in the course of these troubles) had been a Guise, and thus Mary Stuart was a Guise by the mother's side. Her husband Francis (not technically a minor, but only sixteen years old) had put the government of France in the hands of his wife's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and at the same time Francis, Duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais, was the most famous commander of whom France at that time could boast. This family then, which peculiarly represented the union of France and Scotland, wielded the whole power of France, and was not likely to submit to the defeat that had been suffered in Scotland. Francis refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, and a great war of England and France seemed necessarily to be at hand.

But France herself was in a critical state. All over Europe there were now signs, which proved delusive, that the Reformation was on the eve of a final triumph. Shortly before it had appeared to be almost confined to Germany, and the Religious Peace of Augsburg had been its only trophy, which had been almost counterbalanced by the recantation of England. But England had now turned round again, and the outbreak of Reformation in Scotland had been more sudden and overpowering than in almost any country. The time was come at last when France too must speak her mind, must take a side, in the great religious question. And thus the Guise government found its hands full at home. The age of the Religious

Wars of France opened in March, 1560, with the Conspiracy of Amboise.

La Renaudie and his accomplices were overpowered, and his head was exposed with seventeen other heads outside the castle of Amboise. The Guises were resolved to make no concessions in religion; nevertheless foreign policy had to wait for a season. The States-General were to meet, nay, it was even proposed to summon a national Church Council. In such deliberations passed the year 1560, and at the end of it came another overwhelming intervention of fortune.

Almost everything indeed depended on fortune in that strange international system which the Habsburgs had brought into vogue. For it turned on births, deaths, and marriages, of which three classes of events only one depends much on human will. We have considered the revolutions that were caused by the deaths of the Tudors, Edward and Mary, the immense consequences that followed from the fact that no child was born to Mary Tudor. And now the whole splendid bubble of a union of France and Scotland, leading to a conquest of England, burst in a moment, when the young Francis II died suddenly on Dec. 5th, 1560, leaving no child and no prospect of a child.

The French Government might indeed have resolved, even after this event, to maintain its hold on Scotland. But with Francis fell the influence of the Guise family, since a strict technical minority began with the accession of Charles IX in his eleventh year, and in a minority the government fell into the hands of the Queen-Mother and the princes of the blood royal. A shock was given to France by this casualty, which drove her speedily into a terrible series of civil wars. And thus it was that the

danger to Elizabeth from the combination of France and Scotland, so threatening in the summer of 1559, vanished at the close of 1560.

This event closed a chapter of English history, which though not long, is unique. Between the accession of Mary Tudor and the death of Francis II of France England was exposed to the greatest danger from the Habsburg system, owing to the fact that what Knox called 'the regiment of women' began both in England and Scotland just at the time when the system of conquest by marriage, as practised by the Habsburg family, prevailed in international affairs. During this short period the danger, as we have seen, was extreme, but only during this short period. That it had passed away for ever with Francis II was perhaps not immediately apparent, for England and Scotland alike remained after 1560 under the rule of women. It might seem certain that both Elizabeth and the widowed Mary Stuart would at some time marry, and likely that they would marry into the Habsburg or the Valois family; in which case England would be exposed again to the old dangers. Apprehensions of this kind tortured Englishmen through a great part of the Elizabethan age. In fact however the danger did not revive. Not that the Habsburg system was about to become obsolete. On the contrary it prevailed throughout the seventeenth century. Nor did it cease to affect England with some of the minor evils it was calculated to produce. The Spanish match which was planned for Charles I excited just alarms and threatened great calamities. The French marriage of Charles I had the effect of making the House of Stuart in the next generation a sort of branch of the House of Bourbon, and contributed in a great degree to the fall of the Stuart dynasty. Such evils

however fell far short of those which threatened us under Mary Tudor and in the first days of Elizabeth, absorption into the Habsburg Aggregate or into a similar Aggregate to be founded by the Valois. And there was another side to this Habsburg system, which in certain cases worked beneficially; we had the benefit of this better side. The union of kingdoms through royal marriage, fantastic as it is theoretically and disastrous as it may be in practice, is sometimes beneficial, because it may accidentally unite two kingdoms naturally seeking union. Thus the union of Castille and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella was as happy as the union of Spain and Burgundy under Charles V was unfortunate. Two great marriages determined the course of England in the seventeenth century, and they were of this better kind. The first united in 1603 England and Scotland; this was the marriage, then already ancient, of Margaret Tudor and James IV. The second was the marriage of William and Mary. By the former one of the foundation-stones of British greatness was laid. The latter did not indeed found a dynasty, but its indirect effects were immeasurable; we owe to it almost everything.

Though at the end of 1560 it was not yet apparent that the ship had weathered the storm, yet it was soon visible that at least for the present we were out of danger. The daughter of Anne Boleyn had made her position sure, though she had offended Philip and had suffered a direct attack from France, and that though at the moment of her accession her position and circumstances had seemed in every respect disadvantageous. It had indeed come to light in the moment of trial that her position itself offered one advantage. When she made her intervention in Scotland she had had the eager encouragement of Spain;

she, the heretic, had been exhorted by Philip to support the cause of heresy against a Catholic government! Thus it was plain that the Habsburg could not bear to see her overpowered by the Valois; and there was equal reason to conclude that the Valois would wish her well in her resistance to the Habsburg. But at the moment the Valois was the more dangerous enemy. And now Francis was gone, and Elizabeth might feel daily more hopeful. She had found an unexpected and most redoubtable ally in the party of Reformation in Scotland. Now she might already perceive that the internal condition of France closely resembled that of Scotland. In France too Reformation was on the point of bursting forth. Let but a year or two pass, and France would find that Elizabeth's ships might appear in the Seine to aid a Huguenot party (the name was just coming into vogue) and to exact another Treaty of Edinburgh from Charles IX's own government. In short for the present Elizabeth might feel secure. We are at the end of her first phase.

Hitherto it has been possible to consider her simply as struggling against the Habsburg system then prevalent in Europe, which was the same system in the hands either of the House of Habsburg or the House of Valois. Into the complicated politics of Europe it has not been necessary for us to enter further than simply to take note of the workings of this system. This system begins now to be with respect to England less aggressive. But another enemy appears. No long time of security was to be allowed to Elizabeth. New clouds were gathering in the sky. A time was coming upon Europe darker and more intense than that which had come to an end, and which for England at least had been dark enough. England was yet to undergo greater trials, greater anxieties than ever,

though—for her happy period is after all beginning—not greater evils, and though her trials are to be compensated by greater triumphs.

Hitherto we have had little occasion to speak of the religious question. The Reformation was indeed almost a twin of the Habsburg system, as Luther appeared in 1517 and Charles was elected Emperor in 1519. For forty years already the religious question has been an important factor in international affairs, yet in fact always subordinate to that system of marriage and succession which we name from the House of Habsburg. But a change occurs at this point. The Counter-Reformation is about to take place, and the period on which we now enter receives its character from this event. It is an event which deserves to be precisely conceived, an event far more positive and sudden than is understood by those who imagine it as a mere gradual necessary reaction from the Reformation. Up to this point we have remarked nothing in our casual glances at the affairs of religion which could prepare us to expect even such a reaction. Perhaps Catholicism has never experienced a more disastrous period than the four years which followed the death of Mary Tudor. England and Scotland were lost for ever in those years, and in France there sprang up a Protestant Party which in 1562 extorted a most comprehensive Edict of Toleration, similar to that Religious Peace which had been concluded seven years earlier for Germany. Such a crowd of occurrences might lead the observer who believes in drifts or irresistible currents of thought to suppose that the universal triumph of the Reformation was already certain and on the point of being accomplished.

And yet as we advance into and through the seventeenth century no reflexion will oftener occur to us than

this: How powerful and victorious is Catholicism! How feeble for the most part is Protestantism and how precarious its existence!

We must pause a moment to inquire what is the Counter-Reformation?

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

FOR some years after 1560 Elizabeth apprehends no immediate or definite danger from abroad, though the prospect is full of dangers that are approaching or possible. She is no longer directly assailed either by the Valois or the Habsburg. Rather she looks on while attacks are made upon them, while the Valois struggles with a rising Huguenot party and the Habsburg with a disaffected party in the Low Countries. It was open to her at this time, if she had been so inclined, to pass in her foreign policy from the defensive to the offensive. And indeed we see her, when the first civil war of France breaks out in 1562, meditating the recovery of Calais by help of the Huguenots. To recover what she had so recently lost, and from a Power which had scarcely ever since ceased to be at war with her, could hardly strike her as an aggressive policy, and beyond this we remark that she has no ambition to acquire anything.

It might easily have been otherwise at a time when the Habsburg system was in its heyday. A most effective method of conquering foreign countries had been invented; it was a method of which the Habsburgs could claim no monopoly; and it was now considered the sum of kingcraft to apply or to resist it. The House of Valois had but

recently followed with great skill the example set by the House of Habsburg. England hitherto had suffered, not profited, by such experiments, but England was now at leisure. Could not the House of Tudor in its turn now play the part of a House of Habsburg? The question, as soon as it is asked, brings to light a peculiarity of this House which proved highly important to England.

The Tudor Monarchy had been passive hitherto because it had fallen to the distaff. Elizabeth was unmarried, and any marriage she might make would create claims only against, not for, England. But it is to be observed that the House furnished also no princes of secondary rank who might play the part of Habsburg bridegrooms. This was an effect of the scarcity and frailty of children in the Tudor dynasty. Their children for the most part died in infancy or too early to be married. Old age in a Tudor was scarcely seen but in Elizabeth herself. We are also to remember that the marriages of this House seldom had an international character. Henry VII's queen and four out of six of Henry VIII's queens were English. Accordingly Elizabeth stood in a singular degree disconnected from the royal caste. Never have we seen a sovereign so completely English. Not only was she English by birth on both sides, but her relatives were all English, and no foreign prince or princess anywhere existed who could count kinship with her. That a sovereign so isolated should reign over England for forty-five years was a fact of great importance in English history. It concurred with that other fact, the new solidarity of the English and Scotch created by the Reformation, to heighten our insularity. The English state in former times had not been properly insular, since on the one hand the royal House was French and had possessions in France and

foreign affinities, and on the other hand Scotland was foreign and had foreign alliances. It was not insular, since its frontier was not maritime but continental. But now the Continent had moved away from us and Scotland had drawn nearer. Elizabeth already rested on a party which was partly Scotch, partly English. An insular Power began henceforth to grow up, and nothing could be more favourable to the growth of it than that it should be ruled for well-nigh half a century by a sovereign so absolutely free from foreign entanglements.

We are now to watch the gradual growth of a new danger, which in thirty years grew to such a point that we were exposed to a great invasion on a scale hitherto unparalleled, and found our policy drawn permanently into a different course.

A new age is introduced by two new movements, by the Huguenot movement in France, and by the disaffection in the Low Countries against the government of Philip. Both these movements are religious, and in both of them the Reformation appears in resolute opposition not only to the Church but also to the established Government.

This was the most striking novel feature of the new religious movement now beginning, which may be called the Second or Calvinistic Reformation. Hitherto the Reformation had been opposed indeed to the hierarchy, but had been loyal to Government, as on the other hand Government had been the agent of the Reformation. Luther's inclination to the side of the State had been from the outset very decided, and had been avowed by him with characteristic energy at the time of the Peasant Revolt. And almost universally, down to the time now before us, the new religious system had been introduced.

under the authority of the State. In England this was perhaps most manifestly the case, where the author of the Reformation was the King himself, and where the accession of a new sovereign changed the aspect of the national religion three times successively. But it was also the case substantially abroad throughout the Germanic and Scandinavian world. In the North the leader of reform was Gustav Wasa, the first King of Sweden, so that the Reformation was a principal factor in the original composition of the Swedish Monarchy. In the German Empire and the Swiss Confederation local government was strongly developed and central government was weak. In Switzerland the Reformation was adopted, where it was adopted, by the councils of the great towns. In the Empire it was adopted under the authority of Princes, such as the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse, within their own territories; and at first actually with the permission of the Diet, though this permission was afterwards withdrawn. Scarcely anywhere in the Lutheran Reformation had religion been made a ground or justification of rebellion.

But now in Scotland a different precedent was set, where Reformation and Rebellion went hand in hand, where a disaffected party openly attacked the mass as idolatrous and established a new religious system by open resistance to authority. And only in this way would it be possible for the Reformation to find an entrance either into France or into any part of the dominion of Philip. For in both those regions the central government was strong and Catholic. There were here no principalities, bishoprics or municipalities so independent as to be practically sovereign, and linked together only by a federal diet, whose decrees could easily be resisted. And yet at

this time the Reformation as an influence was in some respects more irresistible than ever. Calvin, who from Geneva still directed the whirlwind, had given it a systematised doctrine, and it had by this time the prestige of many triumphs. Accordingly the Reformation begins once more to be powerfully aggressive, and its aggressions now necessarily take the character of rebellions against the State.

This is the innovation which gives its character to the new age. It transferred controversy into another region. The last generation had arraigned the Church, accusing it of a departure from primitive Christianity; this generation called in question the authority of the State, inquiring whether rebellion might not in certain circumstances be lawful. The question was first raised in behalf of the Reformation, but it may be doubted whether the Reformation profited by it and whether it ought not to be reckoned among the principal causes of the Counter-reformation. For it was a weapon which could easily be turned against the Reformation. If Calvin's followers might claim, in certain circumstances, the right to rebel against a Catholic sovereign, might not *a fortiori* a Catholic people rebel against a Protestant, a heretical sovereign? It was an ancient pretension of the Papacy, a pretension which had often been allowed, to dictate to kings and in case of contumacy to punish or depose them; and such a claim was not only less novel, but might seem less presumptuous, when urged in the name of the Catholic Church than when advanced by a modern sect. Now in the Lutheran period, when the Reformation and Government went together, several monarchies had attached themselves to the Reformation. Such monarchies then were henceforth exposed to the rebellion of their Catholic subjects.

The two chief occurrences of the age we are now to deal with illustrate this.

They are: (1) the Pope's excommunication of Elizabeth and appeal to her Catholic subjects against her authority; (2) the denial of the right of Henry of Navarre, as being a heretic, to succeed to the throne of France. This latter occurrence is especially memorable, because it led to the first profound political speculations of modern Europe. Those questions about the origin of civil government and the ground of its claim to obedience which agitated the English mind so much in the days of Filmer, Hobbes and Locke, had been raised earlier in France in the times of the League. Henry IV had given a grand illustration of divine right when, resting simply on his legitimacy, he won his way to the throne of France in spite of the Church and the League and Paris and Philip of Spain united against him.

The age upon which we now enter is one of the most intense and terrible that Europe has ever experienced. It may be said to be the last of the theocratic ages, for it is an age in which ecclesiastical influences take the lead¹ as they had done in the days of Innocent or Hildebrand and as they have never done since the close of the sixteenth century, not even, as we shall find, in the Thirty Years' War. But the superiority is most signally on the Catholic side. The tendency, the irresistible drift, of the time is towards the Counter-reformation, not towards the Reformation. It is the more necessary for us to recognise this

¹ As Mr Armstrong remarks (*French Wars of Religion*, p. 85): The Chancellor L'Hôpital opened his speech to the Estates-General of Orleans by saying that there was now more love between an Englishman and Frenchman of the same religion than between two Frenchmen of different forms of faith.

because at this very time England asserted her insular character in the most emphatic manner by deciding irrevocably in favour of the Reformation. Let us look then at the broad result of the struggle.

At the very beginning of the period all germs favourable to the Reformation were utterly extinguished in Spain and Italy.

In France, the principal arena of the contest and where at the outset the Huguenot party showed all the eager zeal which we are apt to consider a sure sign of victory, the Catholic cause nevertheless came out signally and decisively victorious. All that zeal could not save the Huguenots from being deserted by their heroic leader, and the toleration they ultimately secured was but the commencement of a long decline, but a half-way house between the St Bartholomew and the Dragonnades.

In the Low Countries ten out of seventeen provinces were won back to Catholicism, and have remained faithful to it ever since.

Poland and, somewhat later, Bohemia were won back to Catholicism.

In Germany, the home of the Reformation, which Charles V had probably regarded as irretrievably given over to the Reformation, an immense reaction took place, so that the whole southern part of the country was recovered to Catholicism.

For all these losses the Reformation had on the Continent only one compensation, the Seven Provinces of the United Netherlands. These were successfully torn from the very hands of Philip. No very considerable acquisition territorially! But in the seventeenth century this reformed community showed an astonishing vigour and attained a prodigious prosperity.

This on the Continent was the only new acquisition. But the Reformation retained what it had acquired in the days of Luther, the Scandinavian kingdoms, three great Electorates, and the richest of the Swiss Cantons.

It is a surprising proof of the insularity which was beginning to characterise us that we remained undisturbed by this irresistible drift, and settled down, both England and Scotland, to the Reformation in this very period. Probably nothing short of this could have saved the cause of the Reformation in the world.

As we were so little influenced by the movement of the Counter-reformation the question arises how we became involved in the wars that accompanied it. We enjoyed for a time the security that resulted from the fact that Philip had his hands full in the Low Countries and that the French Government was occupied with the Huguenots, while neither of those Powers wished the other to acquire influence over England. How happened it that after a time this security was lost, and that in the end we drifted into a great war with Spain?

That First Phase of Elizabethan Policy which we have sketched is merely the necessary effort by which at the outset she secured her throne. Her reign itself now begins, and we may already make a general reflexion on the character which English Policy must necessarily have had in the Elizabethan age. The position of our state among states and the dangers to which it was exposed were wholly unlike those to which we have since been accustomed. Policy could not then be determined by considerations of trade or colonial empire, as in the eighteenth century; nor had we yet begun to look wistfully towards the Low Countries or to apprehend the encroachments of France. We had indeed our keen

anxieties, but they were of another kind, of a kind which passed away with the Elizabethan age. In foreign as in domestic policy, everything turned on the questions of succession and of religion and these two questions were intimately connected together.

Would it be possible for Elizabeth, a heretic and the daughter of Anne Boleyn, to support herself long upon the throne? Was she not likely, like her brother and sister, to die early, and if so, who would succeed her? Could a heretic be permitted a second time to mount a throne? Reformation was giving place to Counter-reformation, and this was about to strike a great blow for universal dominion. The visible claimant to the succession, Mary of Scotland, adhered to it. It appeared therefore as if the country were approaching a new revolution, which would arrive either with the death of Elizabeth or with her fall through some attack made upon her by the Powers of the Counter-reformation.

The great problem of Policy then was how to avert such a catastrophe. In general there seemed but one way of doing this, a way characteristic of the Habsburg age. New heirs must be provided, that is, marriages must be made. Elizabeth must take a husband; Mary Stuart must take a husband. In this way events might be brought about within Britain similar to those which had already transformed the Continent. England and Scotland might be united as Castille and Aragon had been; at the same time it would be decided whether this insular state should belong to the Reformation or to the Counter-reformation. Such is the problem of the Elizabethan age stated in its most general form. When now we survey the age itself as a whole, it is seen to consist, first, of a long period of drifting into war with Spain, secondly, of the war itself,

which did not actually come to an end, though it was practically decided, before Elizabeth's death. On the threshold then we meet the question, what caused the drift towards war, since Elizabeth could in no case desire war with the greatest Power in the world, nor could Philip desire war with England for its own sake, being already overburdened? And the answer which presents itself is this, that the religious crisis was just then so intense as to take the initiative out of the hands of Governments and to hurry them against their will into war. In short, the solution lies in the word Counter-reformation. But what precisely does this word convey? That it does not mean merely that inevitable reaction which follows a great movement of opinion, not merely a certain disappointment in the result of the great undertaking of Luther, or a certain fatigue and sense of failure, follows from what has just been said. As we have seen, the religious parties, Catholic and Protestant alike, had begun to defy the civil government. This innovation could not but give an immense advantage to Catholicism, not only because it exposed the Reformation Governments, which were mostly somewhat imperfectly established, to the rebellion of their Catholic subjects, but also because it provoked to deadly hostility against the Reformation the Catholic Governments, among which were the greatest in the world. And thus we see that Philip never for a moment negotiates or offers to bargain with heresy, as Charles V had repeatedly done.

But we also perceive that the Catholic party must have acquired in the sixties of the century some new resource of immense importance, so suddenly and overwhelmingly does the tide turn in their favour. About 1560 Catholicism seems to be falling into its final dissolu-

tion, England and Scotland having been lost, and France seeming likely to follow them, while Philip has but recently waged open war with the Papacy. Twenty years later all is changed, and throughout the Continent the impression prevails that the struggle is well-nigh over and that the Reformation is defeated. And the change was lasting. Never since has the Reformation recovered the ground it lost so unexpectedly in those years. Such is the Counter-reformation, one of the greatest events in the history of Europe, and as a matter of historical curiosity more interesting, because more difficult to understand, than the Reformation itself.

For this very reason however we must resist the temptation of discussing it further than as it concerns English policy. We have to inquire not into its remote causes or successive phases, but merely into the cause which at this particular moment imparted to it such an overwhelming practical force. The Counter-reformation first enters into history properly so called with the election of Caraffa to the Papal chair in 1555. This was indeed a startling event. It removed that grievance which for something like two centuries had driven pious minds almost to madness, the grievance that the Vicar of Christ was not Christian at all but either heathen or something worse. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Vicar of Christ had been convicted of piracy and sodomy, and at the end of it he had been a notorious poisoner and murderer. Except one or two urbane humanists such as Nicholas V or Pius II scarcely any Pope since the fourteenth century could seriously pretend to the Christian character, though several had shown remarkable heathen qualities. With Paul IV the Papacy became religious again, and on the whole it has retained that character ever since.

But it seemed for a while that this purgation of the Papacy was likely rather to destroy it at once than to rejuvenate it. Paul IV stands with Clement VII as the most unfortunate of Popes. The devout fanatic inflicted on Catholicism a wound almost more serious than that which was inflicted by the hardened worldling. His headstrong zeal threw away England and Scotland, alienated France and broke with Philip. Under his successor Pius IV new measures were adopted expressly on account of the desperate extremity to which the Church was reduced.

It was soon however shown that the ill fortune of Paul IV had not been caused by the daring courage with which he had asserted the religious character of the Papacy and its independence of secular interests, but by an eccentricity quite peculiar to himself. Caraffa was not simply a devoted Catholic, but also an enraged Neapolitan politician, a leader of opposition to the Habsburg interest. His mortal enemy along with the Reformation was Philip of Spain, and he had two ends in view at the same time, the one to crush heresy, the other to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. Now if anything was certain it was this, that in that age Spain and Catholicism must advance or retreat together, that the Spanish Power was the only weapon with which the Church could fight the Reformation, and that Philip was the true nursing-father to whom the Church must look, and truly though not nominally the Christian Emperor of the time. To measure forces was not the talent of the fanatical Neapolitan, and he had no conception that his hatred for Philip undid whatever his devotion to Catholicism was able to achieve. He stands out in history as the man who severed for ever the tie between Britain and the Roman Church, and he did this, it would appear, not simply by want of tact or patience in

dealing with Elizabeth, but from his animosity against Philip, which led him to regard the whole Marian movement with disfavour because the Habsburg interest was promoted by it.

The reconversion to Christianity of the Papal See, though it was effected rapidly, yet went through certain gradations. The Caraffa himself was religious to the heart's core (though his type of religion may not suit our taste), but his Minister or Nepote was a ruffian worthy of the Farnese or almost of the Borgia. When Paul died in 1559 a Pope succeeded him who personally perhaps was a worldling of the old school, Pius IV, but then he had for Nepote not only a religious man but an actual saint, Carlo Borromeo. The conditions were reversed, but the result was that the Papacy remained religious. The eccentricity of Caraffa however died with him, and the Papacy recollected something of its political finesse. Pius IV openly avowed that the Church was no longer powerful enough to dispense with the aid of great monarchs, but this maxim, if it has by itself a Medicean or Macchiavellian ring, is not to be understood in a purely irreligious sense. Nevertheless it allowed the Counter-reformation to make a second effort with a better prospect of success.

Accordingly it was Pius IV who reassembled the Council of Trent, and now at last brought its sittings to a satisfactory conclusion. In the year 1564 this was accomplished. And this is the great occurrence which launched the Counter-reformation upon its triumphant career.

That the Council, which had failed under Paul III and again under Julius III, did not fail a third time, was due in the first place to the fact that Charles V was gone. So long as there was an omnipotent Emperor the discord of Pope and Emperor was as incurable as in the days of the

Hohenstauffen. But Ferdinand with his modest pretensions and character excited no similar jealousy. Moreover the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis had not only terminated the wars which had disturbed the Council in its earlier period, but had actually united the Habsburg and the Valois by a marriage tie. Further the Papacy saw no hope but in a successful termination of the Council, and was content with such a termination as would give unity and a fixed programme to the Catholic Church as it stood, renouncing the hope of suppressing heresy in those countries where it was established. That the Papacy now at last wished the Council to succeed was the greatest cause of its success. Still the obstacles for a time seemed insurmountable. For the Papal See had all along held and continued to hold the Council firmly in its grasp through its Legates, who retained the right of initiative, and through the superior number of Italian bishops. But how could the Papacy in its weakened state succeed in overcoming the opposition of the bishops who claimed an independent authority, especially as a third failure seemed likely to have fatal consequences?

It appealed from the bishops to the Sovereigns. Neither the Habsburgs nor the Valois, any more than the Pope, desired to see their own bishops invested with an independent spiritual power. Philip in particular was well aware that his internal authority depended mainly upon the control he exercised upon the Church by patronage and through the Inquisition. Accordingly by informal Concordats, as it were, negotiated by Cardinal Morone with Ferdinand, Philip, and the Cardinal of Lorraine (Guise) for Charles IX, a settlement was reached, and what we may call modern Catholicism was called into existence.

Up to this time the Counter-reformation had consisted of the following elements: (1) The new form of religion represented by Caraffa. This was a spirit of relentless orthodoxy, which was indigenous in Spain but through Caraffa and Michel Ghislieri had spread to Italy, and had now taken possession of the Papal See itself. Its main instrument was the Inquisition, and it had created a religious Reign of Terror in Spain and Italy such as Mary Tudor had introduced in England. (2) The influence of the Order of Jesuits, which just at this time began to be widely diffused—Loyola died in 1558—and which, we are to observe, had also its origin in Spain. (3) Local movements in favour of Catholicism, especially in Spain and France. The unquestioning crusading orthodoxy of Spain was the greatest of all the forces which made up the Counter-reformation, but it was beginning to appear that the French mind also was radically adverse to the Reformation. The principal cause of this seems to lie in the influence of the University of Paris, the original home of the scholastic theology. (4) As a consequence of this, the authority of the two greatest Governments in the world, that of Philip and that of the French King, the latter being seconded by the influence of the Guise family, to which Mary Stuart belonged.

These influences made up a formidable aggregate, when once the disturbance created by the eccentricity of Caraffa was removed. But they became formidable indeed, nay, almost overwhelming, when they were all, as it were, bound together, and when the principles involved in them were codified by the Council of Trent in 1564.

It was easy for the Reformers to make out a case against the Council, and to urge that when the Papal authority itself was the question to be tried by the

Council it was an absurdity that the conduct of the Council should be put in the hands of the Pope. But such reasonings could not prevent the decisions of the Council, when they had once been arrived at, when they had become a matter of history, from exercising a prodigious and durable influence. All the world remembered that twelve hundred years before, when the Arian heresy had threatened the Church, a Council had been held, and that its decisions, though long contested, had prevailed at last and still formed the foundation of Christian orthodoxy. It was natural to think that Luther would share the fate of Arius, and that the Spaniard Philip would now establish orthodoxy as the Spaniard Theodosius had done then. And together with the memory of the Council of Nicaea the memory of the great Councils of the fifteenth century could not but exert its influence. The word Reformation was not invented in Luther's time; a century before 'Reformation in head and members' had been the watch-word of a great ecclesiastical party. And at that time the principle had been laid down that the final appeal lay to a General Council. A General Council, it was said, was superior to the Pope. And this principle had so far prevailed that Pope John XXIII had actually been deposed by the Council of Constance. The movement had indeed proved in the end abortive, but it had left behind it a fixed opinion that the legal method of Reformation in the Church was by a General Council. It might indeed be questioned whether infallibility resided in the Pope, but, if even a General Council could err, what prospect remained for the unity of the Church? And so there were many to whom Luther first appeared a revolutionary when he was heard to say at Leipzig that General Councils have erred.

Might it not then reasonably be held, when in 1564 the Council of Trent separated, its work being done, that the religious question was now at last settled, that the Reformation in head and members, for which two centuries had prayed, was now at last complete? The Papacy was once more religious, the taint of heathenism and secularity was really in a great degree purged away, and the Council had really decreed some useful reforms. What more could be desired? What excuse for heresy still remained? Might it not be fairly conjectured that Luther himself, who had been driven into a revolutionary course by the monstrous wickedness of Medicean Rome and the impudence of Tetzels, would never have raised a protest if he had seen Rome under the pious influence of Carlo Borromeo?

In short, the Counter-reformation was itself undeniably a great and real reformation, and this fact materially altered the position of those states which had followed Luther or Calvin. The Medicean or Farnesian Papacy was so notoriously heathenised that the cry, Come out of her! might fairly be raised by earnest Christian teachers, as indeed the appalling sack of Rome under Clement VII had been felt throughout Italy as a just judgment of the Most High. But that judgment had done its work. Gradually but completely the Papacy had become once more a religious institution. And under its control a General Council had decreed a reform of the whole ecclesiastical system which was undeniably serious and considerable. On what ground then could Lutherans and Calvinists still justify their secession? On the ground that they disapproved the decisions, dogmatic or other, arrived at by the Council? This was at least a new ground, different from that which Luther had taken at

the outset. Was it not a ground which might have been taken by any of the heretical sects of the times between Constantine and Heraclius?

What they might and did answer to arguments like these, of course we know. But we may admit that Catholicism had now assumed a position in which if it chose to call itself exclusively the Christian Church it would have all tradition on its side. The malecontents had appealed to a General Council; a General Council had now spoken. Reformation had been clamorously demanded; Reformation had been granted. Objections might perhaps be urged to the procedure of the Council; but on the whole which party had followed precedent more faithfully, that which reformed the Church all together by means of a Council, or that which reformed it piece by piece through the agency of a Town Council excited by the eloquence of a preacher?

Catholicism then became after 1564 the Conservatism of Christendom, and we use Conservatism here in its better sense. It was neither the Conservatism of indifference nor that of dulness and sloth, but a Conservatism such as pious and modest minds might embrace and a Conservatism favourable to practical reform. Such it was on the Continent; but we in Britain, as I have said, were unaffected by the movement which called it into existence.

It rested in the first place upon this broad basis of Conservative feeling. In the second place it rested upon a most powerful coalition between the great sovereigns and the Papacy. That Guelf-Ghibelline discord which had paralysed the Church in the time of Charles V had disappeared. Philip, Ferdinand and Charles IX were now substantially at one, and united with the Pope in

favour of the dogmatic part of the work of the Council. Pius IV had deliberately invoked and purchased the aid of these secular princes.

But we are now further to note that the spiritual power had by no means made itself purely subservient to the temporal. It is the peculiar feature of this age that within the Catholic party the religious influence is once more supreme. The new-born religious zeal of the Papacy did not soon pass away. Caraffa was the first of a long line of Popes who all alike were either themselves inspired by it or found themselves hurried along by the current. The model Pope of this school is the Ghislieri, Pius V, who died in 1572. His zeal was purely religious, nor could any man hold himself more superior to those worldly considerations or those intrigues which had made the whole policy of the Medicean Papacy.

The result is that after 1564 international politics begin to be controlled by a new influence. Hitherto we have seen them determined by the family interests of the great European Houses, the Habsburg and the Valois. But now for a time the religious influence is supreme. The regenerated Catholic Church is for a while the mistress of the world, as in the time of the Crusades. It is felt that the Council of Trent ought to be followed by the suppression of heresy everywhere, as of a thing no longer excusable.

What has been called here the reconversion to Christianity of the Papal See is one of the most remarkable passages in the whole history of the Church. It has been however obscured from the view of Protestants by the fact that the Christianity of a Caraffa or a Ghislieri seems to them no Christianity. Assuredly it was not the Evangelical religion that we find in the New Testament. It

had little of 'sweet reasonableness' or of 'sweetness and light.' It was in one word not the Christianity of Jesus but the Christianity of Hildebrand and Innocent. It was a religion of Crusades and of the Inquisition. Its principal achievements were the St Bartholomew and the *autos da fe* of Philip II, and it may no doubt be argued with much plausibility that a Medici surrounded by artists and humanists did more real good at the Vatican than a Ghislieri among his inquisitors. Indeed the decline of Italian genius both in art and literature went hand in hand with this revival of religion. But though it may have been a dark type of religion, yet the new spirit which began at this time to animate the Papacy has all the characteristics of religion, as the old spirit with all its amiability and urbanity was consciously and frankly irreligious. A Luther would not have regarded Pius V with the feeling of horror with which Leo X affected him. Luther, full of religious feeling, seemed to see in Leo Antichrist in person, and none the less because of the pictures and the poems. But perhaps there never lived a man who conveyed a more pure impression of religiousness than Pius V. He, who brought Carnesecchi to the stake, who charged his soldiers, when they parted for France, to give no quarter to Huguenots, he of whom no one doubted that had he lived four months longer so as to see the Saint Bartholomew, he would have yielded up his breath with a most exultant *Nunc dimittis*, was nevertheless a saint, if devotion, singlemindedness, unworldly sincerity, can make a saint.

It has often been remarked that Christianity has taken several great typical forms. We see in Cyprian and Augustine the gradual growth of a Latin Christianity, the characteristics of which Milman has so luminously dis-

criminated. Luther may be said to have created Teutonic Christianity. The new developement we have now before us resembles these in being the result of a blending of Christianity with the spirit of a particular nation. It is *Spanish Christianity*. Its precursors in past time had been Dominic in the distant thirteenth century, and more recently Queen Isabella, whose image may be traced among ourselves in her grand-daughter, Mary Tudor. Caraffa himself had passed many years in Spain. Philip and Alva, both Spaniards, were the statesmen of the movement. The Spaniard Ignatius Loyola was its apostle. In Spain alone it seems a natural growth, and thus, while in Italy we find it fatal to genius, it exerts a less withering influence there, and in its great literary representative, Calderon, can boast of one of the great poets of the world. The circumstances of Spanish history explain the peculiarity of it. Its merciless rigour towards heterodoxy is not only in accordance with the Spanish character, but it was the natural result of a historic developement which had been wholly determined by wars of religion.

These general remarks prepare us to regard the year 1564 as introducing a new age. A final attempt was now to be made to restore the unity of Christendom in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, by putting down the heretical sects which in nearly half a century since the first appearance of Luther had been allowed to acquire such influence. Thus a great trial is preparing for England. Nevertheless we may calculate that a certain respite will be allowed to her. For before the English question can be taken in hand it is urgent to deal with two other questions, that of France and that of the Low Countries.

The period of French history which we commonly

describe as that of the Religious Wars, had already commenced. In 1562 the Huguenot party for the first time stood out organised, and made the pretension which was to convulse the state for nearly forty years. It did not demand that the religion of France should be altered, but that two religions should be authorised to subsist side by side, as in Germany, owing to the laxity of central and the solidity of local government in that country, two religions already did. The proposal gave a profound shock to the French mind, and no sooner had it been allowed in 1562 by an Edict than civil war broke forth uncontrollably. This first civil war, which carried off François de Guise and Antoine, king of Navarre, was brought to an end in 1563. A modified toleration was again allowed to the new religion; it is observable that this was no longer extended to Paris, so early and so decidedly did Paris dissociate herself from the Reformation. But it was evident that this settlement too would before long be disturbed by such a reanimation as Catholicism now gained from the Counter-reformation.

Meanwhile the evil of the age was spreading into the Burgundian part of Philip's empire. In tracing the growth of the Habsburg aggregate we remarked the difficulty that was felt of infusing into it the slightest degree of moral unity. In particular we noticed the difficulty of uniting Burgundy and Spain. It was overcome under Charles V, but under Philip it breaks out again in a reversed form. Charles had been himself a Burgundian prince, and had introduced a foreign rule into Spain. Hence the violent disturbances which followed his arrival in the Peninsula. This particular difficulty, however, had been gradually overcome. The Habsburgs had made themselves at home in Spain,

though Charles himself remained always a Burgundian. But his son Philip destroyed the balance again by leaning too much to the other side. His mother was Portuguese, that is, at least Iberian, and he had the character and the manners of a Spaniard. More and more the Habsburg monarchy had taken a Castillian tinge, and if the Counter-reformation is rightly described as the triumph of Spanish Christianity, we may expect to find that in the sixties Burgundy suffered from the oppression of a Spanish government as much as in the tens Spain had suffered from the oppression of Burgundy. In England, religious persecution had raged while Philip was king, and everywhere the main instrument of the Counter-reformation was the Inquisition. Up to the commencement of the year 1559 Philip had carried on war with France from the Belgian frontier. Accordingly the Low Countries were full of Spanish troops, and now Philip resolved to introduce into the Low Countries the Spanish Inquisition.

Thus over the whole French-speaking world, in France and Burgundy alike, and also in Flanders and the Dutch provinces, the religious struggle had arrived at a critical stage, and everywhere assumed the same form. The government was everywhere Catholic, and the Reformation everywhere took the character of rebellion against the government, in France because it was ardent and sanguine, in the Low Countries because it suffered novel and intolerable oppression. As the Reformation party in the two countries was closely united, so at this time were the two Catholic governments, for it was the period when Philip's queen was Elizabeth of Valois.

And thus in 1564 the great European question was the suppression of Protestantism in France and the Low

Countries by the Tridentine Coalition. This question came first in order, even if it should be admitted that the suppression of heresy in England and Scotland was first in importance. And so for Elizabeth two things were clear: first, that she might expect a certain respite before the extreme peril should come upon her; secondly, that this respite would be long in proportion to the success which the French Huguenots and the Flemish Gueux might have in resistance to the Catholic Governments. From these two principles she could deduce a policy. It would consist in lending help to the two rebellions, but in a manner as cautious and secret as possible.

We arrive then at the final struggle between Catholicism and the Reformation, the struggle in which Catholicism, itself reformed, is the assailant. Upon the attitude assumed by the Powers in this struggle has depended the subsequent history of several of them, and certainly that of England.

Up to this time, and again since this time, the rival, and, as we used to express it, the natural enemy, of England has been France. And since in the age of the Reformation England leaned decidedly towards, and France decidedly against the new opinions, the ancient rivalry might naturally have been revived by the religious struggle. It might have fallen to France to wield the sword of the Council of Trent against England.

Again in earlier times England had had occasional dealings with Burgundy or with the Empire, but very rarely with Spain. Still less had she been in the habit of regarding Spain with fear or standing on the defensive against her. In later times too, when she has dealt with Spain, it has been for the most part as a superior, sometimes even as a protector. Only in the period of the

Counter-reformation was all this different, England fearing Spain and eventually driven to ally herself with France against her. But this international phase lasted so long as to produce a tradition of amity between England and France and of hostility between England and Spain, which continued through the larger part of the seventeenth century and long after Spain had ceased to be formidable.

The effects of this in English history have been incalculable, but one effect in particular cannot be recognised too early. Had England had to fight for her faith against France, her wars might have been of the old kind, and her battles fought either on the soil of England or France, or on the narrow seas between them. It was because she had to defend herself against Spain, the monopolist of the New World, that she was tempted out into the Atlantic, and from that to the Pacific. Thus she took the maritime bias, which has held her ever since.

And thus we must look once more upon the House of Habsburg as it enters upon another phase. All along we find this ruling House, while it rests mainly upon its policy of marriage, striving, as if conscious of the meanness of that system, to supplement it with something more ideal. Thus we saw Charles V trying to animate the brute mass of his inheritance with the traditional idea of the Christian Empire. That plan has met with failure. His successor in the Empire, Ferdinand, is not powerful; his successor in Spain, Philip, is not emperor. And so for a time the House has fallen back upon its trade of marriage, in which it continues to be as successful as ever. But now that the Council of Trent has run its course and achieved its work, now that a new age of united Christianity has opened, Philip again perceives a chance of raising the Habsburg

policy into a higher sphere. Heresy is now to be trampled under foot. In this work no doubt the emperor his uncle, and the king of France, his brother-in-law, are bound to take their part, but the principal share is likely to fall to himself. It is open to him to render the greatest conceivable service to the Church, and by doing so perhaps to find the way back, either for himself or for his heir, to the imperial dignity.

Nor will this dignity be, as in the fifteenth century, a mere title, but the outward symbol of a really universal power, such as ancient Roman emperors had wielded, such as his father had revived. For if heresy is to be suppressed, England and Scotland must be conquered, and the Huguenot party must be put down in France. Elizabeth must be deposed, Henry of Bourbon must not be allowed to reign in France and must be deposed in Navarre and Béarn. By armies and by bridegrooms it is likely that most of this territory will come under Habsburg rule, and analogous measures may be taken in Poland and Scandinavia. The rest of Europe belongs already to the House. Of the New World too, more than half belongs already to Philip; and to whom does the rest belong? To the king of Portugal. But Philip claimed already the succession in Portugal, and he was actually able in no long time to annex it and with it the boundless colonies it had founded. A Christendom thus reunited, regenerated and augmented might be expected to be more than a match for Turk, Tartar, Sophy and Czar.

For Philip was not an ordinary conqueror, who, because he loves war and possesses a good army, overruns as much territory as he can. Philip has in his mind a mystic dream of the universal authority of the Church, and tradition has taught him that the Church ought to be directed by a

great sovereign, an Otto, or Charles, or Constantine, whose empire therefore ought to be literally boundless and to comprehend literally the whole human race.

Over his brother sovereigns Ferdinand and Charles IX he has this grand advantage, that the Reformation has little, or, as he himself thinks, absolutely no hold within his dominions. Although not emperor, he is truly Catholic king. Ferdinand can achieve little against heresy, for his own dominions are inundated with it. The king of France too will not be available outside his own dominions until he has put down his Huguenots at home. But Philip enjoys a perfect Catholic peace, at least in Spain and Italy, nor even in the Low Countries does he begin till about 1572, that is, till eight years after the Counter-reformation, to consider the rebellion serious. It is he therefore whom Providence has manifestly elected to be the champion of the Church.

And thus it happened that, in consequence of the Counter-reformation, within about twenty years the world was threatened with a Universal Empire. About 1590 the ascendancy of Philip was more alarming than that of his father had ever been, in some respects more alarming than any ascendancy, even that of Napoleon, has been since. It was gradual in its growth, and somewhat gradual also in its decline. It won few great victories, and suffered no great disaster, except the loss of the Armada.

When Philip died in 1598 it was indeed evident that he had not founded his universal empire, but he remained the greatest sovereign in the world. And twenty years later the same Habsburg ascendancy in a somewhat modified form threatened the world again. No special epoch can be distinguished at which the danger to Europe passed away, but about the middle of the seventeenth

century it was perceived that the huge fabric which had been designed by Charles and built by Philip had become a ruin.

Meanwhile the European system had been transformed by the pressure of it, and had taken a shape which lasted long after the pressure had been removed. Thus it is that the reign of Elizabeth is transitional in English history, as the same period is transitional in France and in the Low Countries.

Meanwhile the Counter-reformation, as it introduced a period of religious war for the Continent, complicated the problem for Elizabeth in England. The succession-question was itself sufficiently thorny. To establish the daughter of Anne Boleyn on the throne and to find a successor for her, was a problem which seemed almost insoluble. But it was closely involved with the question of religion and that question was made more difficult than at any other time by the Counter-reformation. The transition from Philip and Mary to Elizabeth was in itself abrupt enough, but to secure the English nation and the English throne for the Reformation precisely at that crisis might seem impossible. The Counter-reformation had been achieved expressly to prevent kingdoms and governments from departing from the unity of the Church. An age had opened in which it seemed likely that Spain and France would combine to forbid the establishment of a heretical kingdom in England. A diplomatist writes in April, 1565¹: 'The Catholic princes must not in this age proceed as formerly. At other times friends and enemies followed the distinction of frontiers and countries, and were called Italians, Germans, French, Spaniards, English,

¹ See Erich Marcks, 'Die Zusammenkunft von Bayonne', p. 13.

and the like; now we are called Catholics and heretics, and the Catholic prince must have all Catholics of all countries for his friends, as the heretics have all heretics, whether their own subjects or not, for friends and subjects.'

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH QUESTION.

WHEN Elizabeth's reign is surveyed as a whole from the international point of view its first phase is easily comprehended, and so is that later phase which consists in a duel between England and the Spanish Monarchy.

In the first phase a basis is laid for union between England and Scotland, and then the religious struggle of the age is brought to an end in 1564 by the conclusion of the Council of Trent. The duel with Spain can scarcely be said to begin before 1585. The interval between these two years 1564 and 1585 is in many respects not less interesting and important, but it is by no means so easy to comprehend and to describe.

We must bear steadfastly in mind the great conditions of the Elizabethan problem, conditions which had been made clear in the first phase of the reign. The question was, first, who should reign after Elizabeth if she should reign long or instead of Elizabeth if she should die or be dethroned, and secondly, whether this successor should be Catholic or Protestant? In this was involved everything and principally the relations to be established between England and Scotland. Or again, if the problem were to

be stated in a practical form, the question in this age, as in the age before, was of a royal marriage. In the former reign the whole fortune of the country had seemed to depend on the marriage of Mary Tudor with the head of the Spanish Monarchy. Now everything seemed to depend on the marriage which Elizabeth and, after the death of Francis II of France, which Mary Stuart might make. By royal marriages, especially the marriages of the House of Habsburg, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the condition of Europe had been mainly determined. Was the history of Britain to be shaped in the same way? It was difficult at the time to imagine that Elizabeth, after declining the hand of Philip, would adopt and abide by a new system quite opposite to that of the Habsburgs, and would not marry at all. But we shall see as we advance that it was not in the matter of marriage only but universally that Elizabeth favoured inaction, and that almost all that she achieved in her long reign was achieved by the same kind of negative statesmanship. But all did not depend upon Elizabeth. Almost as much might chance to depend upon Mary Stuart, and she, whatever we may think of her, did not share her cousin's repugnance to action, Mary made three marriages. In the year which followed what we have called the Counter-reformation, in 1565, she married Henry Darnley, and thus entered upon a course which might well have frustrated all that Britain has actually gained from the virginity of Elizabeth.

With the beginning of Mary Stuart's public career, at least with her arrival in Scotland, it may be said that British policy becomes double-headed. Henceforth it depends as much on Mary as on Elizabeth. A drama begins which lasted a long time and became gradually very

intricate. Mary Stuart had so many and so various relations that from the outset she threatened to eclipse Elizabeth. In Scotland she was queen; in England she had claims on the succession; in France she was for a time queen and belonged always through her connexion with the Guise family to the most influential circle. Further as a Catholic she necessarily held a leading position in the Counter-reformation, and this at a moment when the Counter-reformation began to dominate the age. And lastly after the death of Francis II her hand was free. In an age of Habsburg marriages she was able to confer on the husband she might choose her own unique influence both in Britain and on the Continent.

The drama which thus began lasted through the whole middle period of Elizabeth's reign. It is much too large and complex to be fully treated in an essay like this, which will take note only of some of its more salient passages. We may remark however that the plot of this drama was not at all times equally intricate; it acquired intricacy when Mary began to form a party in England and to enter into relations with the Catholic Powers of the Continent. Mary's career falls into very distinct periods. After her arrival in Britain there is first the time when she lived in Scotland, that is from 1561 to 1568, and then the long period when she lived in England. Again if we fix our attention upon the first of these periods we may distinguish an element which is biographical from the element which concerns policy. In Mary Stuart more than in any other historical character biography has overwhelmed history. Her name brings to mind Riccio, Darnley, Bothwell, that is, a series of tragedies and romances; meanwhile the historical significance of her reign is little regarded. Yet Martin

Philippson writes¹, 'Never would the Anglo-Saxon race have spread itself over the whole surface of the globe, or covered the seas with its ships and the lands with its colonies, if the Cecils and Lethingtons had not, in the middle of the sixteenth century, defeated the designs of Mary of Lorraine and her daughter Mary Stuart. Torn and enfeebled by civil war, France allowed Scotland, her ancient ally, to be torn from her, and permitted England by joining Scotland to her to become a Power of the first order and a dangerous rival to the most Christian kingdom.'

Mary's principal resources were first her party in England and the preference for Catholicism that might be latent in England, secondly the favour of the Counter-reformation and of the Spanish and French Monarchies. But without drawing on these resources she might do something. For the question, let us always remember, was one of succession. And unsuccessful as Mary was on the whole, she did considerably modify the aspect of this question. In her Scotch period between 1561 and 1568 she did this, so that we may recognise here a second phase of Elizabeth. The first phase had consisted in drawing Scotland towards England and dividing her from France; the second phase equally concerns the relations of England and Scotland. It is very ominous. In 1568 as in 1558 Elizabeth is still unmarried. But Mary Stuart, the descendant of Margaret Tudor, has been married; she has been married to another descendant of Margaret Tudor; and, what is more, they have a son. Thus the problem which both to England and Scotland is fundamental has advanced into a new stage. And this may be called the second phase of Elizabeth.

Mary Stuart lands in Scotland in August 1561. Already

¹ *Histoire du règne de Marie Stuart*, i. viii.

for two years there had been a Stuart Pretender; henceforth this Pretender inhabits the same island as Queen Elizabeth.

Again Elizabeth's position becomes extremely difficult. A struggle begins which, as we know, lasted a quarter of a century and caused endless embarrassment to her government. But perhaps at the outset it may have seemed much more dangerous even than it proved.

We have seen Elizabeth forming a great Anglo-Scotch party which was to be the basis of the United Kingdom. She was able to do this because in 1559 Scotland was in danger of subjugation by France. Scotland however had now escaped this danger, and had a queen who lived at Holyrood and was no longer connected with France by the ties of marriage. But by her very arrival in Scotland this queen retaliated upon Elizabeth, for there came at once into existence another Anglo-Scotch party of which Mary Stuart became the leader, and which also promised a union of the kingdoms, but at the expense of Elizabeth. That Catholic party, which had been at the head of affairs in England but three years before and in Scotland even later, had now a leader who was undisputed queen of one kingdom and had a fair claim at least to the succession of the other. She had indeed lost the active support of France, but the death of her husband, if it averted from us one danger, exposed us to another. Her hand was now free for a Habsburg bridegroom, and Philip, who so long as Francis II lived, had been perforce a supporter of Elizabeth, could now frankly side with Mary against Elizabeth. The whole of Catholic Europe wished well to Mary's claims, and, as we have seen, the Counter-reformation was at hand. What chance would remain for Elizabeth when the religious question should be settled and it should become,

as it were, a fundamental law of Christendom that no heretic could wear a crown?

How much the advent of Mary alarmed Elizabeth may be seen by her refusal to permit Mary to travel through England into her own kingdom. Mary Stuart, the Catholic, the Tudor by descent from Henry VII, but yesterday Queen of France and not unlikely soon to be married to a Habsburg, must have seemed to the daughter of Anne Boleyn like Mary Tudor risen from the dead. Nor could Elizabeth at this time help regarding Mary as equally adverse to her in intention and in position. Francis and Mary had assumed the title of king and queen of England, and on her marriage to Francis, Mary had made a solemn donation to Henry II of France or his successors not only of her own kingdom of Scotland, but also of her claims to the throne of England in the case that she should die without children. The stipulation afterwards made in the Treaty of Edinburgh that Francis and Mary should abandon the title of king and queen of England, Francis had refused to ratify, and Mary still, after Francis' death, refused to ratify it.

All this was most alarming, and became more so when the Counter-reformation turned the balance of the confessions suddenly in favour of Catholicism. Of the two great rivals in Britain, one of whom aspired to rule Scotland from England and the other to rule England from Scotland, Mary might seem at first to hold by far the better hand.

At the same time she was a stranger in Scotland, which she had quitted when she was but six years old. She had lived at the French Court through almost the whole reign of Henry II. She had imbibed there the most

unbending Catholicism from her uncle the Cardinal Guise, and when she left France the Huguenot party had barely made its appearance on the public stage. She returned to a country where the fiercest zeal of Protestantism reigned, and was strangely blended with barbaric manners in the aristocracy. She found the Mass forbidden, and it was allowed to herself only by exceptional indulgence. In this religious alienation of her people lay a disadvantage which might counterbalance all her advantages.

But in this respect, as in many others, she only resembled Mary Tudor at her accession. Yet Mary Tudor had attained her objects. There was room perhaps for a reaction against Knox in Scotland as there had been against Edward's system in England. And when once she had established herself upon the throne she might give her hand, as Mary Tudor had done, to some powerful Habsburg prince. If Elizabeth's ships should then appear again, at least they would be supported by no such national movement against the French garrison as they had found in 1559, and moreover Mary might retaliate by rousing a Catholic rebellion against Elizabeth in England.

It was a question, however, whether Mary Stuart had either inherited or acquired the relentless firmness, the knowledge of public opinion, or the familiarity with dangerous crises and revolutions which had prepared the daughters of Henry VIII to overcome difficulties. Nor had she as yet any fixed policy. For the attitude of hostile rivalry towards Elizabeth which she had maintained hitherto had been merely imposed upon her by her French connexions. It was the policy not of Mary herself but of Henry II and Francis II. If she did not at once abandon it when her connexion with France was

severed, yet she began gradually to feel the necessity of forming a policy of her own. She might reconcile herself with Elizabeth. Almost all her life she had been familiar with the idea that through her the union of England and Scotland might be established amicably, and not, as had recently been intended, by war and French invasion. The first scheme had been that she should be married to Edward VI, and it still kindles the imagination to dream out the course of English history, on the assumption that this scheme had taken effect and that Edward had not died prematurely. For then there might have been an absolute union of the Churches, and Tudor statesmanship instead of Stuart perversity would have presided over the consolidation of Great Britain! That prospect was closed now, and the problem had become much more difficult. Elizabeth was on the throne, and how was it possible for Mary to adjust her own claims to those of Elizabeth? Evidently only one amicable arrangement could be made, namely, that Mary should be recognised as heiress after Elizabeth. She could not of course expect to succeed before the children of Elizabeth, but Elizabeth at this time uniformly professed her intention to remain unmarried.

We find Mary as early as 1561 meditating a new policy of close concert with Elizabeth, and even pleasing her mind with the dream of a romantic friendship with that other queen, somewhat older and somewhat greater than herself, with whom she divided the admiration of the world. It is worth while to decipher the quaint Scotch which shows how she imagined as a noble idyll that relation which was to prove a terrible tragedy—'quhilk mater being anys (once) in this sort knyht up betwix us, and be (by) the meanes thair of the

haill sede of dissentioun taken up by the rute, we doubt nocht but herefter oure behaviour togidder in all respectis sall represent to the warld als grite and firm amytie, as be (by) storyis is expressit to have beene at any tyme, betwix quhatsamever cupple of dearest frendis mentionat in thame (them),—lat be to surpasse the present examplis of oure awin age—to the greit confort of oure subjects, and perpetual quietness of baith the realmes, quhilkis we ar bund in the sicht of God be al gude meanys to procure.' (Jan. 5, 1561–2.) Labanoff, I. 126.

The first period of the relations of Elizabeth and Mary extends to Mary's marriage with Darnley, which was celebrated on July 29th, 1565. As usual in that age the foreign policy of Mary was summed up in a marriage. The question she had to decide was whether she should assert her right to the English succession in the hostile or the amicable manner. If she decided for the former, she must marry into the Habsburg or the Valois family; if for the latter, she must choose a husband in England. We have remarked how ill-provided the House of Tudor always was with the instruments of a marriage policy. Elizabeth could offer no bridegroom of royal blood, who might compete with Don Carlos or the Archduke Charles or the Prince of Condé. She could but offer Lord Robert Dudley.

It happened however that the candidates put forward by the Continental Powers, though of much greater rank, were not satisfactory. Don Carlos already displayed that perverseness which was to bring him to a tragic end; it was not thought safe, though it might have been appropriate, that he should be united to Mary Stuart, one great tragic character to another. As to the archduke, he belonged to the wrong branch of the House of Habsburg,

and Mary holds that a marriage with him would afford her little protection, as he was 'a foreigner, poor and very distant, the youngest of the brothers, disagreeable to her subjects and without any apparent means or power to help her to the right which she asserts to the succession of this island.' It is useless, she concludes, to accept a foreigner unless he should be powerful enough to protect her against her subjects, amongst whom she pathetically describes how helpless she feels herself. And so she resolves to take a husband 'from this island.'

Shall she then take Leicester? Yes, perhaps, if by complying with Elizabeth's wish she could obtain a recognition as presumptive heiress. But just this recognition Elizabeth, reluctant herself to marry, conscious of her own doubtful title, and alarmed at the prospect of seeing a brilliant rival court set up, which should draw away all popularity from herself, could never be induced to give. In these circumstances we cannot wonder that Mary shrank instinctively, as from a trap, from this marriage, which, even if she could consent to abandon her religion, offered her no definite worldly compensation.

Out of all these embarrassments the marriage with Darnley seemed to offer an escape. It was not a mere marriage of preference, though preference may have existed. Mary defends it on political grounds. Darnley was 'of the blood of England and Scotland, next to myself in the succession, a Stewart by name, so as to keep still the surname so pleasing to the Scotch, of the same religion as myself, and who would respect me as he would be obliged by the honour I did him.' She resolves to marry him and so to gratify, 'if not all, at least the respectable party, the Catholics and those of my own surname.'

And thus Mary Stuart acquired a policy of her own.

She neither submits to Elizabeth, nor allies herself with the Catholic Powers, but strives to consolidate the Stuart and Catholic interest in Scotland.

[And now follows the second period of Mary's personal reign in Scotland. Beginning in July 1565 with her marriage to Darnley, it extends to her flight into England in May 1568. Into a period of somewhat less than three years is crowded that drama which later generations are never tired of contemplating. Never has history furnished better materials to poetry. Nor can we find any more fascinating chapter of biography.

In this place we regard neither Elizabeth nor Mary biographically, still less poetically. What we have in view is solely to trace the development of English and Scotch policy until they are merged in a British policy.

Mary's one stroke of deliberate policy as Queen of Scotland is her marriage with Darnley. Up to this point she had been in leading-strings, first to the French court, afterwards to her natural brother, Lord James Stuart, later the regent Murray; and soon afterwards she was whirled away in the eddy of barbarism. But her marriage was a resolute and startling act. The first judgment of it formed by Elizabeth's advisers apparently was that it was a most skilful and effective move, which must be parried by some move equally well considered. Scotland, like England, was for the first time in its history ruled by a woman. In both countries therefore all policy was summed up in marriage; both north and south of the Tweed the one question was, When will the Queen marry and whom? The English were impatient that after seven years Elizabeth had taken no step, and now her rival in the North, as it were, outstripped her in the race. While the English and in fact the whole Reformation

party both in England and Scotland asked themselves 'What would become of us if Elizabeth should die as her brother Edward died?' the Catholic party in both countries were now sanguine that *their* royal house, already so strong in title, would soon have heirs. For it was as a Catholic that Mary chose Darnley, and he soon declared himself such. She assumed therefore a position wholly independent of Elizabeth, and excluded for ever the possibility to which the English government had clung, that she might marry Leicester and allow the religious difference to drop. As by the treaty of Berwick Elizabeth had put herself at the head of the national religious movement in Scotland, so Mary by her marriage put herself definitively at the head of the Catholic party in England. Nevertheless she refrains from assuming any attitude of hostility towards Elizabeth, claiming credit for having forborne, in compliance with her wish, to 'deal with the houses of France, Hispanzie and Austriche in marriage' and for having matched with 'one of this isle, her own subject and near cousin.' And indeed we see Mary after her tragic fall throwing herself for protection upon Elizabeth, as though she had no reason to regard her but as a friend.

Here then was a new crisis in Elizabeth's reign, and the only advice that could be given her was that which she so much disliked, yet which her subjects could scarcely believe that she really never meant to take, namely, that she should marry.

Had Darnley proved to Mary either an able adviser or, like so many royal consorts, a mere 'Est-il-possible,' we can imagine that from this time she would have risen to a proud position of superiority to Elizabeth, supposing Elizabeth to remain obstinate in the matter of marriage.

On the other side should both the queens marry and both have children, what would become of that grand ideal, which all parties alike had in view, the union of the kingdoms?

But Mary, if she knew anything of the history of her predecessors or even of her own minority, might have known how much she risked in raising one of the wild Scottish aristocracy to her throne, and at a moment when the chronic civil war of the country was yet further embittered by a religious war.

Meanwhile we are to remark that this marriage falls in 1565, that is, in the year after the Counter-reformation. Mary raises boldly the banner of Catholicism in Britain at the moment when the great continental kings in concert with the Pope were preparing to put down heresy all over the world. As Mary Tudor had taken the lead at the beginning of the Counter-Reformation, so in this its decisive stage Mary Stuart is somewhat in advance of Philip or Charles IX. This was not surprising, for it was in Mary's kingdom that the Reformation was most frankly rebellious and intolerable to a sovereign. Everywhere in this age, we have seen, the Calvinistic Reformation defied the civil government, but nowhere was its defiance so insolent or so triumphant as in Scotland. If in France the Huguenot aristocracy took the field they had no great success, but the Scotch nobles in 1559 had carried with Elizabeth's help everything before them. They had done everything short of deposing Mary. In open Parliament they had changed the religion of the nation, and made the celebration of the Mass penal. Thus for four years after her return Mary had felt herself like a sovereign fettered and imprisoned. And meanwhile in the world at large the tide was turning. The Reformation, as it now began

to appear, had had its day; and the new age was to be ruled by the Counter-Reformation. Already there were considerable signs of reaction even in Scotland, and in England, over which Mary never forgot her claims, the people were disappointed and anxious because Elizabeth did not marry.

In these circumstances Mary's marriage and her open declaration against the Protestant lords, her bold assertion of her sovereign rights, followed by a great military success, may be regarded as the outbreak of the Counter-Reformation in Britain. It raised Mary Stuart to the height of power, from which for a moment she could look down on the humbled and embarrassed government of Elizabeth. The connexion of Mary's new policy with the Counter-Reformation of the Continent was visibly marked by the presence and influence at her court of the Italian Riccio, who from the position of a valet rose to be a kind of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. But this prosperous period lasted only from July 25th, 1565, to March 9th, 1566, from the day of the Queen's marriage to that of the murder of Riccio.

Mary proved as little able as most of her predecessors, as James I or James III, to withstand the fierceness of the Scottish nobles, which at this time was reinforced by the Judaic fanaticism of Knox and by the hostility, inspired by fear, of Elizabeth. I need not tell again the tale of the murder of Riccio. But to show that the conspirators knew that they were struggling with the Counter-Reformation let us remark that when the provost of Edinburgh and his burgesses, aroused by the disturbance, appeared at the door of Holyrood, they were informed that 'it was only the killing of the Italian secretary, who had conspired with the Pope and the King of Spain to bring

in foreign troops for the purpose of subjugating the nation and restoring the ancient religion.' (Labanoff, VII. 94.)

This catastrophe arrested the triumphant course of Mary's policy, even before it was crowned by the birth of an heir, who was to be, and who actually became, King of England as well as of Scotland. The Catholic cause ceases to make progress, and we enter upon a cycle of tragedies in which the historical interest is utterly lost in the personal. First there is the tragedy of February 1567, which may be called from Darnley, then that which may be named from Bothwell and which ended in June of the same year. The Queen runs through all high tragedy parts in succession, before she arrives many years later at the tragedy, of which her own death is the catastrophe. Shakspeare's great Scotch play might have been suggested by these events of 1567, when a king is murdered by treachery and then the murderer and the instigatress rule Scotland together, no man's life being safe, and the nobles taking flight to England. Then follows the tragedy of Lochleven and Langside, closing with the flight to England.

Through its whole subsequent course the Stuart dynasty was to furnish materials for high tragedy, many of its kings and pretenders displaying that mental bewilderment which leads to misfortune with qualities and a pose that makes misfortune interesting. But Mary Stuart in an age of wilder characters and intenser crises far surpasses in this respect all her descendants.

But what was the total effect upon international relations of all this tragedy? We are to fix our attention on the abdication of Mary, July 25th, 1567, and the coronation of James at Stirling which immediately followed. At this date ends the Counter-Reformation within Great Britain,

for as the infant king was put in Protestant hands, and Knox himself preached at his coronation, the change corresponds in Scotland to that which took place in England at the death of Mary Tudor. From this moment, the very moment when the Counter-Reformation was proclaiming all over Europe that no heretic could wear a crown, both the crowns of Britain were taken away definitively from the Catholic Church.

Secondly, at this date the way was cleared for the union of the kingdoms. We have remarked how it had hitherto been closed by one obstacle after another. The marriage of Edward VI and Mary had been hindered. Then a new prospect had opened when the French garrison was expelled from Scotland and at the same time the Reformation established there under the shield of Elizabeth's power. In 1560 for a time modern Britain seemed to appear and Elizabeth seemed to rule England and Scotland together as Queen Victoria does now. Even Mary on her return had been tempted for a time to accommodate herself to this new condition. But a new estrangement of the kingdoms had begun with her marriage and her decided choice of Catholicism. Henceforth there seemed but two alternatives, either the union of the kingdoms on a Catholic basis, or else a marriage of Elizabeth and no union at all.

By the accession of James in Scotland it is true that many new difficulties were introduced, it is true that Elizabeth heard with indignation of a sovereign forced to abdication by her own subjects. Nevertheless if this new settlement could be maintained it would lead naturally to the union of the kingdoms. In those days, as we have remarked, the established mode of uniting kingdoms was by royal marriage, but this was a miserable method indeed unless some natural sympathy between the nations con-

curred with it. And what are the natural influences by which nations, as distinguished from governments, may be united? The greatest of these is religion. Between England and Scotland the royal marriage was not wanting, though it would have been better if more than one such marriage could have been arranged; it was the old marriage of Margaret Tudor with James IV. But so long as Mary reigned and held aloft the flag of Catholicism, how was it possible that this royal union could be supplemented by a truly national union founded on religion? This grave difficulty was removed at once by the fact that the new king was an infant, whose religion would depend upon his teachers, and that he was in the hands of those who would rear him as a Protestant.

Those obvious occurrences of the first ten years of Elizabeth to which we have called attention, namely her intervention in Scotland and the Treaty of Edinburgh, with the second marriage of Mary and the birth of her son—those occurrences considered by themselves and without regard to the other occurrences so tragic and so obscure with which they are connected, represent one of the greatest and most memorable transitions in English policy. The confusion that had prevailed at the moment of Elizabeth's accession began to diminish; a possible solution of the fatal double problem of succession and religion came in sight. A new day began to dawn from Scotland

Before Elizabeth's age indeed England had struggled not merely with that problem but at the same time with another difficulty, the standing hostile alliance of France and Scotland. During a certain time, says Philippon, Scotland and France formed, so to speak, one and the same nation. Of the reign of Henry II of France, Teulet

in his great collection of the documents which concern this subject (*Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse au seizième siècle*) says, "All the efforts of Henry II aimed at a sort of incorporation of Scotland with France¹." The Treaty between France and Scotland concluded at Rouen in 1517 is entitled 'A Treaty of alliance offensive and defensive against England' and contemplates war with England in every clause. By this permanent hostile league England was, as it were, held in check; she remained incapable, while it lasted, of rising into the position of a Great Power. But, great as the question was, it was still secondary at the accession of Elizabeth to the question of succession and religion. J

But this latter question and the question of royal marriage which was involved with it concerned Scotland as well as England. For Scotland had been united by marriage with England as well as with France. If James V had made two French marriages, James IV had married Margaret Tudor. Accordingly Mary Stuart could lay claim to succeed or to supplant Elizabeth, and a different combination might take the place of the standing alliance of France and Scotland against England. It was possible to imagine a union of the whole island of Britain under one king, a union which would be an event no less great than the union of Castille and Aragon. In the first ten years of Elizabeth the course of events, as it slowly developed the question of succession, developed at the same time the Scotch question. The queen of England did not marry, but the queen of Scotland did, and then the queen of Scotland had a son. Difficulties indeed accumulated, but the Britannic idea certainly made progress. There was now another, a sixth, James Stuart.

¹ Teulet, Vol. i., p. viii. ed. 1862.

He began his life indeed in the same atmosphere of tragedy which had been the element of his predecessors. James I and James III had been murdered. James II was killed by an accident in the prime of life. James IV perished in a disastrous battle. James V died in despair. And now James VI saw his father murdered, and, long after, his mother die by the executioner. Nor had he admirable personal qualities. But he had a great destiny of the Habsburg type. He was an Iulus. In him, as it were, Britain was embodied. In his person lay the solution of all those thorny questions, the question of succession, which was involved with the question of religion, and at the same time the Britannic question. But before he should become Protestant King of the whole island of Britain he was to wait thirty-six years.

He had the advantage that he was not only a Stuart but also a Tudor, being connected with the Tudors both by the mother and the father. If he should abide by the Reformation, and if at the same time the party of the Reformation should continue to gain ground both in England and Scotland, the time might come when he would be welcomed as king both in England and Scotland. In that case he might fulfil the dream which in that age haunted our race; he might unite England and Scotland, and make the whole island of Britain the basis of a great Insular State. Such were the possibilities which came to light as soon as James was born. But they were only possibilities. Things might too easily take another course. In particular the Reformation might lose instead of gaining ground. For the Counter-Reformation was in full career; even in England and Scotland it was a power of unknown magnitude, and on the Continent Philip could devote to it the whole resources of the Spanish Monarchy,

while France too was declaring in its favour. These Great Powers were in a manner pledged to prevent the establishment of the Insular State. And before the problem of the Elizabethan age could receive the happy solution which now came in sight there must be a settlement of accounts with the Great Continental Powers.

It thus became apparent that the great law of aggregation by means of royal marriage and birth might possibly be applied in these islands. As Castille and Aragon had been made the basis of Spain, as Spain and Portugal were soon to be made the basis of a great Iberian union, so with the appearance of a sixth James Stuart the possibility of a British Union began to appear. It was conceivable that in such a Union the standing difficulties of the English state would vanish—that stubborn succession problem which from the Wars of the Roses to the accession of Elizabeth had so frequently broken out afresh, the religious question which had been opened by Henry VIII and was not yet closed, the border question which had led to so many barbarous internal wars and the standing league of France and Scotland which lay like an incubus upon our foreign policy. Such a union seemed natural, and yet in the Scandinavian countries a similar union failed, and the union of Spain and Portugal was dissolved again after sixty years. In any case it could be accomplished but slowly and in many stages, but it was the great event of the early years of Elizabeth to have raised for the first time in a promising form the *Britannic Question*.

CHAPTER V.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF ELIZABETH.

THE first years of Elizabeth witnessed the beginning of many new things in our history. Under the head of policy they are chiefly memorable for having brought into prominence the Britannic idea. It was at this time that the hostile union of France and Scotland against England was broken. But to this negative there was soon added a still greater positive developement. In place of the union of Scotland and France the foundation was speedily laid for a union of Scotland and England, for a Britain, which might ultimately stand out as a political aggregate in rivalry with the Spanish Monarchy. With the birth of James there appeared a British dynasty similar to that Habsburg dynasty which at the beginning of the sixteenth century had sprung from the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Thus the first period of Elizabeth, which at the time was often called her 'halcyon days,' has a Scottish tinge. When we survey her whole reign we see another period which is just as decidedly Spanish, when she makes war with the Spanish Monarchy, has to withstand a great Spanish invasion, and having done this successfully retaliates by assailing Spain. But the Spanish period

cannot be said to begin before 1585. And thus between this and the Scottish period there is a long interval, an interval of not less than eighteen years. It is an interval on the whole of remarkable prosperity for England, as we shall recognise when we consider how intense and terrible those years were in other countries. In France that was the time of the St Bartholomew and of a long series of atrocious religious wars; it was a period of horror in the Low Countries; in Scotland it saw three Regents in succession, Murray, Lennox and Morton, die violent deaths. And the causes which wrapped the age in a mantle of such appalling darkness were just as much at work, let us reflect, in England. It would have been by no means surprising if England too had spent those years in religious war and had closed them, as France did, by attaching herself to the Counter-Reformation. Nay, England too might have seen a St Bartholomew, for it has been remarked that Catharine de Medici 'challenged Elizabeth to do to the Catholics of England what she herself had done to the Protestants of France, promising that if they were destroyed there would be no loss of her good-will'.¹ Yet this middle period of Elizabeth is on the whole a tranquil time. The tremendous influences that were working in secret do indeed once or twice come to light; about the year 1570 there was serious cause for alarm. The class of occurrences of which this essay takes note is represented in this middle period by the Rising of the North, the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and the treason and execution of the Duke of Norfolk. In this crisis the influence of foreign Powers is particularly visible. It is first by the Pope,

¹ Catharine to La Mothe, September 13th, 1572, cited in the article on the Massacre of St Bartholomew, *North British Review*, New Series, Vol. xii., p. 47.

but also by the concert of the great Continental Powers with Mary Stuart, that Elizabeth is threatened. We may say indeed that these disturbances constitute the decisive attack of the Counter-Reformation upon England, and that the repulse of it settled finally for us the religious question. In order to understand the middle period it is most necessary to consider what might have happened and to what precise danger the country was just then exposed. A little later we had to resist the Spanish Monarchy, the greatest Power in the world, but a greater danger still threatened Elizabeth about 1570.

The great rally of Catholicism marked by the conclusion of the Council of Trent might be expected to be followed by a grand concert of the European Powers for putting down heresy all over the world. Not Spain alone, therefore, but at least Spain and France together might be expected to strike at England. This would be the Counter-Reformation realised in action. It would be not merely a Spanish Armada but this supported by the force of France, which by attacking England might regain that control over Scotland which she had so recently lost. And the Insular State had at that time not only no army, but scarcely even that rudiment of naval power which, when the hour of trial actually came twenty years later, had had time to grow up. Had it even a government which could resist hostile pressure? had it even a religion? The Continental assailants would be supported in England by all the party which secretly favoured the old religion and by all those who wished to see religion settled somehow as it might now be settled through the Counter-Reformation. They would be supported by all who favoured Mary Stuart and who saw a prospect through Mary Stuart of settling the succession question. For what

alternative prospect could Elizabeth offer? The Reformation seemed about to disappear, and Elizabeth had no heir. Was it reasonable any longer to think that the Reformation could form the basis of a national settlement? At this very time the Emperor Maximilian II, who had long been regarded as almost a heretic, seemed returning to the Catholic fold, influenced partly by the growing bitterness that reigned between Lutherans and Calvinists. And in England too it began to be seen that Reformation would end in irreconcilable religious division, for a Puritan party began to disengage itself in the bosom of Anglicanism.

All these difficulties taken together constituted a national danger such as has rarely threatened us. In the disturbances which actually arose they are distinctly visible. In the Pope's Bull of Excommunication we may hear the authorised voice of the Counter-Reformation. The Rising of the North shows us the old Catholicism of the country in motion. In the proceedings of the Duke of Norfolk we see plainly the hand of Mary Stuart. And we may be surprised that the crisis after all proved so slight and that the disturbances of this middle period left so faint a mark on our history.

How did it happen that the great Continental Powers, at the very moment when they were united in the Counter-Reformation, could suffer the Counter-Reformation to fail so disastrously in Scotland? Why did not her French connexions, or why did not Philip, interfere to save Mary from deposition, and to prevent Scotland from passing for ever under the control of the Reformation? The principal cause was that great fact which contributed as much to save the Reformation in England as in Scotland, namely that in 1567 the Huguenots in France and the

Gueux in the Low Countries screened Britain in the most effectual way. In that year the religious war of France broke out again with startling suddenness; in that year too Philip found it necessary to take the rebellion of the Low Countries seriously in hand. The Counter-Reformation was indeed overwhelmingly powerful, but at the critical moment it was not in a condition to interfere in Britain.

The Counter-Reformation from within the country, initiated by Mary Stuart in 1565, comes to an end with her flight to England. Nevertheless her influence remains formidable, and about the same time the Counter-Reformation on the Continent acquires a decided superiority. Now therefore a period begins in which Elizabeth apprehends invasion from abroad and expects to see it strongly supported by disaffection at home.

Mary Stuart had for the moment ruined her own cause. Nevertheless Elizabeth did not altogether recover from the blows which Mary had struck in 1565. The Catholic party had been considerably roused by her successes of that year, and meanwhile Elizabeth had done nothing to settle the question of the succession. Hitherto the Catholics had been reconciled to Elizabeth's government partly by the moderation of her Anglicanism, partly by the prospect of a Catholic succession. But the new prospect which now opened of a Protestant successor naturally disturbed their minds, which the rising tide of the Counter-Reformation disturbed still more. In 1567 the Huguenot party appeared strong in France and the Protestants were strong in the Low Countries. But the fortune of war went decidedly against them. In France they suffered the great defeats of Jarnac and Moncontour, and they were deprived of their leader Condé. Alva

took in hand the Low Countries, where also the leaders Egmont and Hoorn fell, and in about two years this region too appeared to be almost pacified and purged of the Reformation. }

It was still but ten years since Philip had been king of England, and Francis II had borne the title even later and had been pretty effectively king at least of Scotland. Was it not likely, now that both Philip and the French government were on the point of putting down internal rebellion, and were united in the Counter-Reformation, that they would cross the Channel once more and reestablish their influence in the island of Britain? If so, their intervention would be welcomed by the whole Catholic party both in England and Scotland, which had but lately been supreme, and by all those who, whatever they might think of Mary, disliked rebellion, the deposition of kings by their subjects, and Calvinism.

At the outset Mary had had to choose between urging her rights on England in a hostile manner, which meant marrying a Continental Prince, and in an amicable manner, which meant marrying within the island. She had chosen a middle course in marrying the Scotsman Darnley, when the husband Elizabeth offered her was Leicester. But Mary's policy had now exhausted itself. Darnley was dead, and Bothwell, the ruffian, was buried in a Danish prison. Accordingly the discussion among those who still preferred Mary to James began again where it had been dropped in 1565. It was thought possible for Mary to be divorced from Bothwell, and then to adopt a new policy, that is, enter upon a new marriage negociation. And thus naturally grew up the scheme of a marriage between Mary and the first of English nobles, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Such a scheme could not but suggest itself, while the succession remained utterly uncertain, while Elizabeth did not marry, and at the same time the marriage of Elizabeth would probably make impossible the union of the kingdoms, and while the succession of a purely Scottish dynasty in England could not be quite agreeable to the English nobility.

And yet such a scheme involved the total downfall of Elizabeth, and retrogression to the disturbed times which she had brought to an end. A Catholic heiress, married to a great English noble and leaning on the powerful Counter-Reformation of Europe, on the Guise family and on Philip II, would have pushed Elizabeth on one side and revived the times of Mary Tudor. The Counter-Reformation however could not but pass through this second phase in England when the fall of Mary Stuart from her throne in 1567 had brought the first phase to an end. The plot which cost Norfolk his life was that final rally of the Catholic party in England which was inevitable considering how large the party was and how overwhelmingly powerful Catholicism became just at this moment on the Continent.

Ten years of Elizabeth had by no means placed England out of danger. Had the two great Catholic Powers, the Habsburg and the Valois, acted with energy and full mutual understanding about 1570, they might probably, by the help of the Catholic party in England and the party of Mary, have overthrown the Elizabethan settlement. If we ask what saved this country from the Counter-Reformation the answer which we obtain is in one word this, that the rally of English Catholicism in Norfolk's rebellion was but feebly supported from the Continent, and that after this time the forces of the Counter-Reformation were

ever more and more divided by a new outbreak of the old rivalry between France and the House of Habsburg.

The failure of Norfolk's rebellion thus marks the decisive transition in England and the close of the movement begun by Henry VIII forty years before. After the oscillations of Edward and Mary, Elizabeth had returned to the policy of her father, and now this policy prevailed, even though the whole aspect of Catholicism had been altered by the Counter-Reformation. The Rising of the North is the last of those reactionary movements which began with the Pilgrimage of Grace. Here for the last time Catholic England appears in the field, able still fairly to claim that the future as well as the past belongs to her cause. Hers is the successor, while the other side can name no successor, and hers too is the great overwhelming movement of the age, which is the Counter-Reformation. And yet her failure is complete. The Catholic party in England makes its venture and fails, and then the Continental party, of whom Ridolfi is the agent, makes an equally unsuccessful attempt, of which Norfolk pays the penalty. For want of correspondence and unity of plan the resources of the Counter-Reformation were dissipated at the decisive moment.

In all this evolution, which is the starting point of all subsequent history both for England and the Continent, by far the most important feature is to be found in the inability of France and Philip to act resolutely together. It was the theory of the Counter-Reformation that the great Powers should act together to put down heresy, and had this been resolutely done about 1570, the two kingdoms of Britain might have been united under Mary Stuart by the intervention of France and Spain, and the great Insular State might have come into existence as

a Catholic state. This result would have had a decisive reaction upon the struggle in the Low Countries, which hitherto had been fomented by Protestant England, and perhaps also upon the struggle in France. Thus heresy would perhaps have been put down all over the world.

Let us then examine the fatal flaw in the system of the Counter-Reformation, which, not only at this critical moment but much more clearly in the next age and throughout the seventeenth century, caused the final failure of Catholicism. It lies in the fact that the grand religious division now so sharply defined by the Council of Trent was crossed by the division between France and the House of Habsburg.

We are to remember that a whole long age had passed during which this latter division had ruled the politics of Europe, while the religious division had either not commenced or remained secondary. There had been an old discord between France and Burgundy since Charles the Bold; there had also been a discord between France and Spain since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. Charles V therefore had inherited, as it were, two distinct wars with France, the one from Charles the Bold, the other from Ferdinand of Aragon. These wars he had prosecuted throughout his reign against Francis I and Henry II, with success in the main but with one disastrous failure. But this whole cycle of European wars seemed to have been closed in 1559 by the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis, just at the time when the Catholic kingdom of Philip, substituted for the universal dominion of Charles V, was consolidating itself. That treaty had been cemented by the last grand Habsburg marriage, that of Philip II with Elizabeth of Valois. Since that the Counter-Reformation had been consummated at Trent in 1564, and it had

begun to be evident in the course of the religious dispute in France that that country intended to side with Philip in religion.

It seemed therefore by no means unlikely that a firm alliance of Spain and France on the basis of the Counter-Reformation might now successfully undertake the restoration of Catholicism all over the world. On this possibility hung the destinies of mankind. The meeting of Catharine de Medici and Charles IX with the Spanish Queen, who was accompanied by the Duke of Alva, at Bayonne in June 1565, gave the world notice of such a policy, and in the years next following, when the Huguenots suffered terrible defeats and the rebellion of the Low Countries seemed for a moment to be suppressed by Alva, the policy seemed to be triumphantly realised. It only remained to take in hand the two island kingdoms. And here too, considering the state of the succession and the use that might be made of Mary Stuart, the prospect seemed good, the task easy.

The momentous alliance however that had been represented by Philip and Elizabeth of Valois proved little more solid than that which it replaced, the alliance of Philip and Mary, as indeed Elizabeth of Valois herself died in 1568. The union of the Habsburg and the Valois in the Counter-Reformation was a dream which held Europe for about ten years. At the end of that time the spell was snapped, the rivalry of Habsburg and Valois took its place again, and was soon succeeded by a rivalry still more memorable, that of Habsburg and Bourbon. And thus the Reformation was saved. Thus also Elizabeth found herself in the latter half of her reign engaged indeed in a dangerous conflict, but a conflict with Philip only, France being either passive or a useful ally.

From about 1565 to 1569 the alliance was at its height. After the Conference at Bayonne, where, if not much was settled, much was discussed between Alva and Catharine de Medici, we see in 1567 the alarming entrance of Alva upon his government of the Low Countries. This is the first decisive act of the Counter-Reformation. It is felt throughout the Protestant world as the Pope's Day of Judgment. The Huguenots in France feel their fate involved with that of the rebels of the Low Countries. They rise on Sept. 27th in all parts of France with a skilful suddenness which was the astonishment of the next generation, and endeavour to seize the person of the King near Meaux.

There had been already more than one short religious war in France. But perhaps this occurrence of 1567 may be regarded as the commencement of the serious struggle by which the religious position of France was to be decided for future ages. And it corresponds with the commencement of the struggle which established the Republic of the Netherlands.

But in both countries Catholicism has the upper hand. The Belgian rebels lose their leaders, and seem deprived of the means of resistance. The Huguenots have indeed a momentary success, for they extort a peace and a toleration (March 28th, 1568). But it appears that their conduct has left a deep resentment in the mind of the Catholic population of France. And the Counter-Reformation proclaims with a hundred voices that the treaty is null. So speaks the Pope, the saintly inquisitor, Ghislieri. Alva too would rather see a kingdom ruined but preserved for God and the king, than unimpaired but devoted to the demon 'and his sect, the heretics.' French public opinion displays strange features. It appears to be much more wedded

to its orthodoxy than to its nationality. It does not engage to stand by the House of Valois if the king should make concessions to the Huguenots. There are also symptoms, which afterwards became more clearly visible, of a decided preference for Philip, the truly Catholic, though foreign, prince over the native House of Valois.

Such is the age of the Counter-Reformation! National feeling, which for centuries past had been gaining ground at the expense of the Papal Church, seems now again to fall into abeyance. The Pope is once more supreme, and wide populations are prepared to put their orthodoxy above their patriotism.

Thus after a few months civil war broke out again in France, war more than civil, fratricidal, leading straight to the St Bartholomew. At the same time the Low Countries continued to be trampled down by the Spanish and Italian troops of Alva. The years 1568, 1569 saw at last the combined effort of the Counter-Reformation to put down heresy. In 1568 the scene of war was chiefly the Low Countries, in 1569 it was chiefly France. And great success attended the arms of the Counter-Reformation.

Meanwhile 1567 had witnessed the downfall of Mary Stuart and the beginning of her captivity. Had a Catholic government, firm and efficient, been ready in Scotland to act in concert with Alva in his hour of success and with the French government after Jarnac and Moncontour, the Counter-Reformation might have been as victorious in Britain as on the Continent, and its whole plan might have been carried into effect. But in 1569 Mary was in prison, and the Rising of the North was not a sufficient basis for Alva to build upon. Accordingly the opportunity was lost of crowning the edifice of the Counter-Reformation.

And it did not return. In 1570 division began to appear in the commanding Catholic Alliance, and henceforward France drifts into that middle position, Catholic in religion, yet allied with Protestant states, upon which all subsequent history has depended.

The French government began to be aware that the plan of the Counter-Reformation, successfully carried into effect, would make Philip universal monarch and would depress, if not dissolve, France. For the religious war occupied France entirely, while it raged only in one corner of Philip's dominion. It seemed likely at this moment permanently to divide France, as it afterwards did the Low Countries, into a Catholic half, Continental and leaning on the Habsburg, and a Protestant half, maritime and leaning on England. For as a year or two later Protestantism, beaten in Flanders and Brabant, gained a firm footing in Holland and Zealand, so did the Huguenots now, retreating from the interior, establish themselves in Rochelle and along the western coast, where they might be in close connexion with Navarre and might also look for aid to England. Such a rudiment of maritime power might perhaps be crushed by the French government, but only after an exhausting struggle and by the help of Philip, who with his claims on Navarre and his naval superiority would perhaps acquire a principal share in the spoils. Meanwhile he would prosecute other schemes, with which France would not have leisure to interfere. For instance Mary Stuart had originally belonged to France, but she became useless as an instrument of French policy while France was absorbed in civil war. Philip however was in a condition to help her, and at the same time to appropriate her. The new scheme was that she should marry Don John of Austria, who in 1571 defeated the Turks at

Lepanto, winning the greatest naval battle of the age. Then by the help of Spain she was to mount the thrones of Scotland and England, making Britain a province of Spain, as she had before endeavoured to make it a province of France! But the Counter-Reformation, which would lead to such results, could be no system for France.

That intense national consciousness of France which showed itself in later times and since the Revolution, was strangely wanting in the sixteenth century. As a few years later than this a great party with its head-quarters in Paris proposed to hand over the country to Philip, so now in 1570 the prospect of a dissolution of France was not viewed with the patriotic horror we might expect. Nevertheless it created misgivings, out of which sprang a desire for some arrangement with the Huguenots and some new experiment in policy.

A new policy at that period was almost always a new proposal of marriage. This great European transition was indicated to the world by two great marriage negotiations, that of the Duke of Anjou for Elizabeth, and that of Henry of Navarre for Margaret of Valois.

Such proposals involve an almost complete secession of France from the Counter-Reformation. Elizabeth was under the excommunication of Pope Pius V, Henry of Navarre was the leader of the Huguenot party. And the grand principle of the Counter-Reformation was precisely this, that heretic princes, and chiefly these two, lost by their heresy the right of reigning or the right of succession.

In the view here taken of the Elizabethan age the greatest occurrence in it is that struggle with the Spanish Monarchy which reached its height in 1588, and therefore the greatest transition in it is the growth of the hostile feeling which led to that struggle. We are now con-

cerned with a middle period when this struggle has not yet been reached. Politicians did not yet prophesy that Elizabeth would wage a great war with Philip, still less that an Armada would sail against England. It appeared indeed always a possibility. Angry negotiations with Spain went on with little intermission, and on one occasion Elizabeth expelled the Spanish Ambassador, Guerau de Espes. But in the middle period with which we deal, not a war of England and Spain but a war of the Catholic Powers in concert with Mary Stuart against heretic England seemed for a good while to be the catastrophe which was approaching. And as during this period, that is, throughout the sixties and a great part of the seventies, the religious wars of France principally occupied the attention of the world, and the final victory of Catholicism seemed to depend on its success in France, the middle period of Elizabeth has mainly a French tinge as the period before it had a Scottish and that which succeeded it a Spanish tinge. We have to consider mainly the bearing of Elizabeth towards the religious wars of France and towards the massacre of St Bartholomew. Then we have to consider how, while in France Catholicism actually prevailed, the grand scheme of the universal victory of Catholicism contemplated by the Counter-Reformation nevertheless did not take place, and Elizabeth had in the end to struggle not with united Catholicism but with the Spanish Monarchy alone.

But we are reminded once more in this period that the problem for England was by no means purely political but also personal. The struggle was not simply of religions or of great principles, but also of succession and therefore of royal marriage. This is true of other countries as well as of England. The measures of the Counter-Reformation

were considerably affected by Philip's fourth marriage to one of the daughters of the Emperor Maximilian II and Charles IX's marriage to another, and the St Bartholomew itself is inseparably connected with the marriage of Henry of Navarre to Charles IX's sister, Margaret of Valois. But it is in the case of Elizabeth herself that foreign policy is always merged in marriage negotiations, and in this period, as France comes into the foreground of policy, so we find that French princes are candidates for her hand. First it is Charles IX himself that would marry her, then his brother Anjou, afterwards King Henry III, and then again Alençon.

We find then a period predominantly French followed in Elizabeth's reign by a period predominantly Spanish. The two periods cannot indeed be held altogether distinct; nevertheless it will suit our plan to put on one side for the present Elizabeth's relations with Philip and to consider first her relations with France, while France under the three brothers of Valois went through her terrible ordeal of religious war. In more recent times we have been accustomed to see on the Continent almost exclusively France, but in the period before us France is wholly unlike the France with which we are familiar. It is France not yet transformed by Richelieu, not yet ruled by the House of Bourbon, not yet secularised by philosophy or free-thought, France possessed by religious ideas and adhering fanatically to Catholicism. Towards England she is not in this age a rival, as she had been in the fourteenth century and was to be again in the eighteenth; so that Elizabeth is able to steer us through this her middle period without a war with France. And yet it is a critical period in the relations between the two countries. There was great danger of a hostile coalition between

France and Mary Stuart; great danger also of a universal Catholic Coalition in which Philip of Spain and the Pope should be joined with the Valois in crushing the heretic state. But this middle period, which opens with the Counter-Reformation, ends in a revival of the old secular system of politics. Instead of a union of the Catholic Powers there is seen a revival of the old hostility between the Habsburg and the Valois. By the troubles in the Low Countries a new chapter of international history is opened; France begins to take up a position hostile to Spain, Elizabeth is able to hold her own against the Pope's Bull, and before long a constellation is seen which had not been anticipated by the Counter-Reformation. England finds herself opposed by Philip alone, and has France on her side. A Balance of Power shapes itself, in which England and France assisting the insurgent Low Countries hold in check the ascendant power of the Catholic Ring. And for some time there is a prospect of a closer union between France and England: Elizabeth may marry a Valois prince, and from the marriage there may spring one who shall inherit the thrones of France and England.

French history reckons seven civil wars of religion between 1562 and 1580, and civil war did not cease in France till almost the close of the sixteenth century. These convulsions remind us in many details of the great French Revolution, and there is also a broad resemblance between the failure of the French to reform religion or to introduce religious toleration in the sixteenth century and their failure at the end of the eighteenth to sweep away a whole world of abuses and raise human nature at once to a higher level by a simple appeal to reason. In both cases the darker side of human nature revealed itself in

the same unexpected manner. As the Reign of Terror took by surprise people who were expecting a final regeneration of humanity, so when Chancellor L'Hôpital dreamed of religious toleration there arrived seven wars of religion and in the course of them the St Bartholomew. But when we consider the attitude which England maintained towards the religious wars of France we must particularly take note of the prevalence of the Counter-Reformation near the commencement of those religious wars, and then of its decline and of the revival of national policy which took place just before the St Bartholomew. For England the all-important question was whether she would have to fight all the Catholic powers at once or the Spanish Monarchy alone.

The principal occurrences which mark the advance of the Counter-Reformation in the time of Elizabeth were the accession of Pius IV to the Papal Chair, the reassembling and successful termination of the Council of Trent, then the meeting at Bayonne, then the commencement of the troubles in the Low Countries, and finally the promulgation of the Bull of Pope Pius against Elizabeth. These occurrences embrace the sixties of the century, since the Bull is dated February 25th, 1570; and the same period embraces the first three of the seven religious wars of France. The first of these wars, for we may overlook here the disturbance called the Tumult of Amboise, which falls in the reign of Francis II, began in April 1562 and was ended in March 1563 by the Peace of Amboise. The second war began in September 1567 and was ended by the Peace of Longjumeau in March 1568. The third war began in the same year 1568 and was brought to an end in August 1570 by the Peace of St Germain.

So far it may be said that Catholicism or the Counter-

Reformation made steady progress. 'The first war,' it has been said (Armstrong, p. 27), 'decided, once and for all, that France should not be a Protestant nation.' If there was some reaction in the second, in the third Catholicism won the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour. It was in the year after these Catholic victories that Pius V issued his Bull against Elizabeth. But now sets in that new development which by reviving secular policy definitely checked the Counter-Reformation. Charles IX of France begins to threaten the king of Spain with war; he begins to hold out a hand to the rebels in the Low Countries; he begins to listen to the counsels of Coligny. A turning-point in French policy is reached which led immediately to the St Bartholomew, but which in the end gave France that position between the two confessions which, when it had been consolidated by Henry IV, was to raise her to a European ascendancy in the seventeenth century.

The correspondence in time between the Bull of Pius V against Elizabeth and the victories of Catholicism at Jarnac and Moncontour may be held to mark the year 1569-'70 as the culminating point of the Counter-Reformation. The reaction in favour of a more secular policy sets in speedily. The occasion for it was supplied by the commencement of the troubles in the Low Countries. Charles IX could not but consider how closely France was interested in the fortunes of Flanders, which we already find spoken of as naturally a part of France, '*partie naturelle de la France*.' He could not but be jealous of the glory his brother Anjou had won at Jarnac. He fell back into the train of thought natural to a French king, and began to dream of campaigns and victories, which would most naturally be found by aiding Philip's rebels, that is, by war with Spain; in other words, by retiring

from the purely religious system of the Counter-Reformation. The prospect began to open of a war between Spain and France, and in such a war on behalf of the Flemish insurgents England would be inclined by her interests to go with France. On July 11th, 1571, Louis of Nassau said to Charles IX, 'My brother the prince of Orange has been raised up by God to deliver us from this yoke. It only remains for us to lay ourselves at your Majesty's feet and to beg you to take us under your protection. All the cities will open their gates to us; the king of Spain has but 4000 men to oppose to us. We are masters of the sea and the princes of Germany are ready to assist us; to you, Sire, will fall Flanders and Artois, possessions of France in former times; to the Empire Brabant, Guelders and Luxemburg, to the queen of England Zealand and the rest of the States, that is, if she gives us her aid.' Here is the first glimpse into a future which would not be the Counter-Reformation. The partition of the Low Countries anticipated by Louis of Nassau did not indeed take place, and yet he here roughly sketches what was really to be the course of international policy for nearly a century after this time. Not a general union of the Catholic Powers against heresy; he sees something different and more secular, a resistance offered by Catholic and Protestant Powers in concert to the burdensome ascendancy of Philip II as displayed in the Low Countries.

This is the great transition of the middle period of Elizabeth. Those insular occurrences which mark that period, the flight of Mary Stuart to England, the Rising of the North, the Bull of Pius V, the trial and execution of Norfolk, and Ridolfi's plot, are to be considered in close connexion with other continental occurrences, the first three religious wars of France, the commencement of the

troubles in the Low Countries, and the change of Charles IX's policy, when he began to prepare for war with Spain and came under the influence of Coligny. Along with these occurrences insular and continental we are to consider the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and three princes of the House of Valois in succession, which belong to the same period.

All these things taken together form a sort of prelude to the later or Spanish period of Elizabethan policy. The troubles of the Low Countries and Charles IX's change of policy have the effect of making the Spanish Monarchy stand out isolated. Hitherto Spain has been a member along with France of a great Catholic Coalition. Elizabeth, who in her Scottish period has feared France almost more than Spain on account partly of the connexion of France with Mary Stuart, partly of the ancient alliance of France and Scotland, and who might expect France to unite with Spain in enforcing against her the Pope's Bull, now sees France separate herself from Spain. Philip begins to assume a new position. The Low Countries question exhibits him as dangerous to all states alike, and especially as dangerous to France and England, who are neighbours to the Low Countries, at the same time. We see here the beginning of one of the greatest of all international controversies, the commencement of Spanish Ascendency. There is a record of a conversation between Coligny and a certain agent of Elizabeth, Middlemore. It took place on June 10th, 1572. Coligny enlarged on the danger both to France and England which would arise from the success of Philip's policy in Flanders, his design being nothing less than to make himself supreme monarch of Christendom. His ambition must absolutely be checked, occasion must be taken from the troubles in Flanders. Middlemore

answered that he was by no means qualified to discuss such matters, and that he did not know the intentions of the queen his mistress. The Admiral pressed at least for a confidential expression of opinion; whereupon Middlemore remarked that in England the ruling opinion was a desire that France and Spain should keep what they possessed, that the aggrandisement of either might be a real danger for England, and that what was principally feared was that France should get possession of Flanders; this could not on any terms be endured by England¹.

Our middle period, if it be taken to extend as far as the commencement of the proper Spanish period, will reach far into the eighties. But it falls naturally into two halves. The St Bartholomew (August 24th, 1572) — falls between the third and fourth of the seven religious wars of France. It was closely connected with Charles IX's change of policy, which brought Coligny, the great victim of the St Bartholomew, into the foreground. It nearly corresponds in time with those occurrences at Brille and Flushing, which for the first time gave European importance to the movement in the Low Countries. It was in other respects so unprecedented and so pregnant with consequences that we may fairly regard it as a turning-point.

Elizabeth has now reached the fourteenth year of her reign and has begun to take up a definite position among the great European sovereigns. We have seen with what immeasurable difficulties she had had from the outset to contend, wanting a clear title, wanting a recognised successor, ruling a country which had not made up its mind about religion, yet on the whole adhering to the

¹ La Ferrière, *Le xvi^e Siècle et les Valois*, p. 315.

Reformation in an age which seemed to belong to the Counter-Reformation, in the age of Pope Pius V and King Philip II, and when France too rejected the Reformation with a strange decisiveness.

In these circumstances Elizabeth had seemed at first to have a position almost as precarious as Lady Jane Grey, and it would seem that her safety required her first as soon as possible to marry and have heirs, secondly, as soon as the Counter-Reformation would allow her, to put her throne under the protection of some great alliance. And now that fourteen years have passed what progress has she made?

She is not married, and as she is thirty-nine years old marriage has become difficult to her. The world has grown far more hostile to her in the course of these years since the Counter-Reformation has prevailed beyond all anticipation. The Reformation has failed in France, and reviving Catholicism has had rare good luck in finding such a Pope as the Ghislieri. Jarnac, Moncontour and the Pope's Bull have fallen like successive blows upon Elizabeth.

As against the European Counter-Reformation she has accomplished nothing. But within the island she has presided over a memorable developement. The British Question has ripened more than in many ages before. Scotland has followed England in adhering to the Reformation; the control of France over Scotland has ceased; in Scotland a child is growing up who may one day claim to rule over the whole of Britain. Elizabeth's rival is now acknowledged only by a party in Scotland and she is a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth. The Catholic Reaction too has struck its blow and failed. The Rising of the North has been suppressed.

And now at last a rift becomes visible in the storm-cloud. The Counter-Reformation begins to break up. It appears that Europe will not after all adopt the fixed idea of Pius V. Secular politics revive. The question of the Low Countries breaks out. France at the moment when she declares herself Catholic declares also that she cannot see Spanish ambition swallow up Flanders. She appeals to England, and Elizabeth too begins in a secular spirit to re-enter Continental politics.

Now that it is once more possible to think of resisting Catholicism the question arises in what way shall resistance be offered. What shall be Elizabeth's attitude towards the rebellion in the Low Countries and towards the wars of religion in France? Shall she stand forward as the patroness of the Reformation and throw down the gauntlet at once to Philip and to Catharine de Medici; shall she send aid to the Prince of Orange and to Coligny? This would be a violent change when we consider that she had lately been dreading an irresistible attack, and that she had but just suppressed a Catholic Reaction in England. The Counter-Reformation was not dead, though it had received a check; Catholicism was not weak, though it had ceased to be all-powerful. The new fact was simply this, that France and Spain were no longer united. Accordingly the natural course for Elizabeth was not to defy them both at once, but simply to take advantage of their division by making advances to one or the other. Accordingly a principal feature of this middle period is that friendly relations arise between England and France.

Spain, as representing the ancient Burgundy, had hitherto been England's ally, and in the last great European war Spain and England had stood together against

France. Elizabeth's reign had opened with the cession of Calais, and in her Scottish period France had been her most dangerous enemy. The question of Calais had perplexed her first years until it was settled in 1564 by the treaty of Troyes. Mary Stuart had been connected with France by her mother and by her first husband and by the ancient French alliance with Scotland. But when the middle period begins and the incubus of the Counter-Reformation is lightened it becomes possible for Elizabeth to form an alliance with France. On April 29th of the memorable year 1572, the year of the St Bartholomew, there was concluded at Blois a treaty of confederation and alliance between Charles IX, King of France, and Elizabeth, Queen of England, in which the parties promised aid to each other against any attack made on any pretext or colour or for any cause without exception. The Queen shall be bound to furnish six thousand infantry; the most Christian king shall be bound to furnish eight ships of reasonable size. A considerable security for Elizabeth in her tedious struggle with Mary Stuart!

It is also a feature of this period that French princes are now the most prominent candidates for Elizabeth's hand. In 1563 Condé proposed that she should marry Charles IX himself, and this negotiation dragged on till the year 1565. In 1570, after the Peace of St Germain had brought to an end the third war of religion, Anjou, afterwards king Henry III, was put forward as a candidate, and this negotiation brings us to 1572, when the third Valois prince, Alençon, takes Anjou's place:-

+ All these facts taken together point to the year 1572 as a memorable turning-point. England is not indeed yet placed in direct mortal opposition to the Spanish Monarchy. The Spanish period of Elizabethan policy does

not yet begin, but the great international question in which the struggle with Spain is but an incident is already open. In 1572 the full seriousness of it was first understood; in 1572 both England and France began to take up a decided attitude towards it. It was the beginning of a new international period, when both these Powers began to speak of holding the ambition of Spain in check. But in the same year occurred the death of Pius V and an event so unprecedented as the St Bartholomew. France plunged again into religious war.

Elizabeth having for the time surmounted her insular difficulties begins to enter into the politics of Europe. She forms relations with France which extend beyond the Low Countries Question. Altogether her position, though still difficult, is considerably improved. When compared with other countries, it begins to appear that England is passing prosperously through one of the darkest periods of European history. It has been a time of horror in France, convulsed with atrocious wars, in Scotland which has seen the tragedies of Riccio and Darnley, and in the Low Countries. Meanwhile in England, where the political difficulties had been as great as elsewhere, there had been little disturbance and little bloodshed.

The great European event of these years has been the decisive declaration of France in favour of Catholicism. But France is not yet the first of European Powers. The first Power is the Spanish Monarchy, which in this year 1572 begins to feel the difficulty of the great problem of the day, the suppression of rebellion in the Low Countries. But fourteen years earlier Philip had borne the title of king in England, and it was still apparent that the question of the Low Countries could scarcely be

separated from the question of England. Philip's mind was still possessed with the ideas of the Counter-Reformation: to him Elizabeth was as the Prince of Orange, a heretic who could have no right to sit on a throne. A duel therefore between England and the Spanish Monarchy began now to be foreseen.

CHAPTER V.

THE SPANISH MONARCHY.

✓ THE Spanish Monarchy, which begins by degrees to confront Elizabethan England as a rival and then as an enemy, was the greatest of Christian Powers. In certain respects it differed widely from the other great Continental Power, France. It was not an ancient Power, but in its actual form was of yesterday. It had been formed out of the dominion of Charles V; his son and successor, Philip II, was the first sovereign who had ruled precisely the complex of territories which we call the Spanish Monarchy. He too, unlike his father, was a genuine Spaniard by temperament and habits, and in his administration he leaned much more than his father had done upon the Castillian element, so that a dominion which extended over so many different populations might henceforth justly be called from its ruling population, the Spanish Monarchy.

The first characteristic which this new Power displayed had been its absolute devotion to the Counter-Reformation. Neither in Spain nor Italy nor in the New World was there any such rebellion as was seen in Scotland and

France, and as might be feared in England. And throughout the whole period, nay, throughout the whole seventeenth century, this Catholic Monarchy, founded by Charles V, remained in all these regions exempt from the disturbance of the Reformation.

But one region of Philip's empire formed, as we know, an exception. The rebellion of the Low Countries became after a time highly important. We shall soon observe it gathering to itself all the international politics of the west of Europe, and we shall see that in the last quarter of the sixteenth, and in the first quarter of the seventeenth century it determines the foreign policy of all the western Powers. Nevertheless in the period now before us this is not yet the case. The disturbances began indeed about 1567, but the government interfered with ruthless decision, and as at that moment the Counter-Reformation was at its height, there was every reason to suppose that heresy would be stamped out in the Low Countries, as it had already been in Spain and in Italy. Not till about 1572, that is, almost at the end of the period before us, did this prospect begin to fade away; not till then did observers begin to surmise that the rebellion might succeed.

And just at the same time the Counter-Reformation in its first form began to disappear. It began to be perceived that France and Spain could not act together for the suppression of heresy all over the world. From this time forward then the cause of Catholicism falls more exclusively upon Philip. Henceforth he is more than Catholic King; he is Christian Emperor almost as his father had been before him. He is a kind of second Spanish Theodosius, whose sword is at the service of orthodoxy.

In its foreign relations this Spanish Power had another

very marked characteristic. As it possessed Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and the Duchy of Milan and had some hold on northern Africa, it might be called the mistress of the western or Christian Mediterranean.—In this maritime region it was neighbour to the Porte, and we are to bear in mind that in the period now before us the House of Othman had not yet even decidedly entered upon its decline. Soliman, the victor of Mohacz, lived till 1566; that is, the series of invincible sultans, who had overthrown the Greek Empire, had not yet ceased to reign, Islam had not yet ceased to conquer, and it was reasonable to expect that Christendom would suffer new blows and perhaps have to surrender yet new kingdoms to the enemy of the Cross.

If the Turk was to make new conquests must they not be made at the expense of the Spanish Monarchy? In the sixteenth century his advance had been chiefly in the Mediterranean; he had become more and more a naval Power. In the Mediterranean he would now speedily meet the Spaniard. It would fall to the successors of Soliman, if they would follow the tradition of the House of Othman, to make their way into the western basin of the Mediterranean; they had already been withstood by Charles V on the African coast; it was to be expected that the new Spanish Monarchy would have to withstand them in Sicily.

Fortunately at this conjuncture decline began for the first time to show itself in the Ottoman State. Had this not happened, had the irresistible march of the Turkish conquests continued through another generation, the Spanish Monarchy would perhaps have suffered even more than this. A sultan of the great race succeeding Soliman would not have rested content with the con-

quest of Sicily; he would have remembered the kingdom of Granada, which had been torn from Islam in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella; it would have been his ambition to send his fleets to the Spanish coast and to revive any embers of Islam that might still be discoverable in the neighbourhood of the Alhambra or of the Mosque of Cordova.

We shall have in this view of Elizabeth's reign to think principally of the Spanish Monarchy in its relations to the Low Countries, until we come to speak of its direct attack upon England. But it had a foreign danger in the South more pressing than any which threatened it in the North. It had to look to its own southern coasts and to its Mediterranean relations as well as to its relations in the North Sea. This reflexion prepares us for the phase through which Philip's affairs are passing in our middle period. About 1570 the discord with England is not yet ripe; what we see is first a rebellion of the old Moriscoes, who set up a prince of the old Ommyad line and look to the sea, where they hope to see Turkish fleets arriving to their aid; and next we see the campaign of Lepanto, naval strategy on an unheard-of scale, Philip's rehearsal of his invincible armada.

The secession of France from the Counter-Reformation, and her secret adhesion along with England to the rebellion of the Low Countries, seem to have been immediately caused by the campaign of Lepanto. That campaign was in fact the crown of the Counter-Reformation; the reunion of Christendom could not be accounted complete without a great triumph over the Infidels. But Lepanto was almost as much a victory of the House of Austria over France as it was a victory of the Cross over the Crescent. All through Charles V's time France had sought the aid

of the Infidel against the Emperor. For against the Turk the Habsburg was so placed that he could not but take the lead of Christendom, and reap the chief glory of any Christian victories. It seemed indeed to be the principal providential calling of the House of Habsburg in the grand form which it assumed under Charles V to resist the House of Othman on something like equal terms. And now that the Reformation seemed to recede into the past and Christendom seemed to be reunited, only one wish remained, namely, that the progress of the Turk, so long favoured by Christian divisions, should now be arrested by the common action of Christendom. The Pope was no longer, after the abdication of Charles, afraid of the Emperor; he could call in the aid of a Christian sovereign who was sufficiently strong and yet would not urge those imperial claims of which the Holy See had been so jealous in the reign of Charles V. Philip was to be the champion of Christendom in this age, as a hundred years later another Habsburg, the Emperor Leopold.

The progress of the Turk had been uninterrupted since the fourteenth century, nor was there yet any clear reason to suppose that it had arrived at its limit. The centenary of the conquest of Constantinople was past, and the Turk had developed a great naval power, besides annexing Egypt and Syria. The Sultan and the Catholic King now confronted each other in the Mediterranean, the former being lord of the eastern, and the latter of the western, basin. Philip ruled Naples and Sicily and was a kind of paramount Power in the rest of Italy. A Christian Power, the Knights of St John, had been put by Charles V in possession of the great strategical position of Malta, and when Selim II succeeded Soliman in 1566, Cyprus was still a province of the Venetian Republic. There was

thus a great Christian confederacy in the Mediterranean, consisting of Philip, the Venetians and the Knights, which by a little diplomacy could be set in motion, whether for offence or for defence, against the Turk. There were the materials of a great crusade, which it was open to the Pope to call into existence and to nourish with the funds of the Ecclesiastical State and of the Catholic Church.

And thus while the great religious war of Charles IX was ripening in France, and the insurrection in the Netherlands, while Mary Stuart's short reign in Scotland was hurrying to its tragic end, and the last Catholic rebellion was approaching in England, a grander European crisis arrived in the Mediterranean. The Power of the western basin was to grapple with the Power of the eastern, as Octavius and Antony at Actium. In this case all probabilities seemed in favour of the eastern Power. For the Turk was as yet almost invincible by Christian forces. He had been steadily victorious for two centuries, and was still to all appearance at the height of his energy and valour. Moreover the Christian Power presented one most vulnerable point. Spain itself, in which Moslem Powers had reigned for centuries, had still a Moslem population, which at this very moment was provoked to violent rebellion by the bigotry of Philip's government. As then forty years earlier Soliman had struck down the King of Hungary at Mohacz, the time seemed now to have arrived when the Turkish fleet would break into the western basin of the Mediterranean, and perhaps by aiding the rebellion of the Moriscoes revive the reign of Islam within Spain itself.

France could hardly be expected to wish any other consummation. The Turk had been her ally in her last war with Spain, and after her disaster at St Quentin a

diversion of Soliman's fleet, which swept the coasts of Italy and the Balearic Isles, had been of the greatest service to her. The war which still raged between Philip and the Porte was but a continuation of that from which France had retired at Cateau-Cambresis. It had been for a long time disastrous to Philip. In 1559 he had lost an armament which he had sent from Oran and Merz-el-Kebir against Algiers, the most western province in possession of Islam; he lost another still more disastrously near Tripoli in 1560. In 1563 a Spanish fleet was destroyed near Malaga by a storm in which 3000 men perished. The Turks now began to take a decided offensive, and threatened to tear from Philip the few African ports that still remained to Spain from the conquests of Cardinal Ximenes. But Oran and Merz-el-Kebir were successfully defended in 1563, and in 1564 Peñon de Velez was actually taken from the Moslem corsairs by the Spanish Admiral, Garcia de Toledo. The decisive struggle now approached. Soliman, still on the throne, began to fix his thoughts on the conquest of Sicily. In 1565 he formed the siege of Malta. But Lavalette and his knights successfully defended it until 6000 Spaniards arrived from Sicily to its relief. A heroic deed of this simple kind, ending in a victory of the Cross over the Crescent, shone with a peculiar splendour in the dark age of religious war, religious murder, religious massacre, which was then commencing in France, the Low Countries and Scotland.

In 1566 a new Sultan came to the throne, Selim II. In the great days of the House of Othman he would have held himself bound to undertake some mighty conquest, and there could be no question what task lay ready to his hand. He had to plant Islam firmly in the western basin by the conquest of Sicily, and then by holding out his

hand to the Moriscoes now rising in rebellion to restore Islam in Spain itself. He might depend for success upon his own mighty military power, but he had another resource in the divisions of Christendom. France was an old ally of the Porte; and though just at this moment she was disposed to join with Philip and with Austria in a crusade against the Infidel, yet in a short time she recollected her old national quarrel. The diplomacy of one of the great sultans, a Soliman or a Mohammed II, might have played successfully upon the jealousy of Philip that was felt by the French government and the jealousy of the Counter-Reformation that was felt by the Protestants.

But the decline of Turkey began visibly at this point. It began not in her army or her navy, but in her Padishah. Selim II was not a sultan of the great race. He must however undertake something, and something, it must be allowed, he accomplished. He attacked the Venetians in Cyprus. He took Nicosia and Famagusta, and in 1570 a Turkish Admiral, setting sail from Cyprus, took possession of the greatest position that still remained to Philip in Africa, Tunis.

Here was enough to alarm and rouse Christendom, but by no means enough to disable it. It gave an opportunity to the great Pope of the Counter-Reformation, Pius V, to appear in that character which the Papacy always affected. In May 1571 there was established a Holy League of which Philip was the chief member and undertook three-sixths of the expenses, while Venice undertook two-sixths, and the Pope himself the rest. The fleet assembled at Messina, Don John arriving on August 23rd, and the battle of Lepanto was fought on October 7th.

It is not to be supposed that the Turkish Power, then the greatest in the world, could be seriously shaken by a

single defeat even on a large scale. The victory of Lepanto was by no means an equivalent to Christendom for the loss of Cyprus, nor did it lead to further successes, for Don John could not succeed in permanently recovering Tunis. It is chiefly important in European history as having given a position of preeminence to the Spanish Monarchy. It was achieved not only by a Catholic League of which Philip was the leading member, but by a fleet commanded by a prince of the House of Habsburg, a son of the great Emperor, a half-brother of the Catholic King, if not the Augustus, yet as it were the Caesar of the day. It was a great triumph of reunited Christendom; for when had Christendom before won a great victory over the Ottoman Turk? But it was most of all a triumph for Philip, and a triumph almost as much over France as over the Porte, her old ally. And to what an eminence did it raise him, when we consider that this was the second resounding victory that had been won by his arms! The last great European battle of that age had been the battle of St Quentin, won by Philip over the French, and now the greatest naval battle of many ages had been won by the same Philip against the ally of France.

Thus then does Philip rise, early in the seventies, into a preeminence similar to that of his father. England and France, enemies and rivals only ten years before, begin to make common cause against an ascendancy so insupportable. The vulnerable heel of the giant lies very near to them; almost without being perceived, almost without being conscious, they are able to wound it. How did it happen that in the year after the battle of Lepanto, when Alva seemed to have made himself completely master of the Low Countries, when Egmont and Hoorn were dead, and Orange had gone into exile, there suddenly occurred

a decisive turn of fortune, so that the great state of Protestantism, the Dutch Republic, appeared in germ in this very year? At the height of his triumph we are told how startled was Alva by the message which told him that Brill in the island of Woorn had been occupied by the followers of Orange, and we may see that this occurrence proved the beginning of the Dutch Revolution. We are to remember that in these regions the Powers of England and France are very close at hand. Ranke writes: 'The jealousy of the two Powers against Spain was sharpened by the league which Philip II concluded with the Venetians and the Pope against the Ottoman and the great victory of Lepanto, won by the confederates. European history will always dwell on the situation and feeling of those years, since they produced an event of the greatest importance. There was need of such men and such circumstances that the Republic of the United Netherlands might come into existence. For undoubtedly but for the united opposition of the English and French to Spain the ships of the Prince of Orange would have been destroyed; and when the Gueux had succeeded in occupying Brill and Flushing they were only able to maintain themselves there because the taking of Mons, which was achieved chiefly by a force of French Huguenots under Count Louis of Nassau, forced the Spaniards to divide their forces.'

And thus we pass out of the age of the Counter-Reformation proper, when all Catholic Powers are united under the guidance of the Pope to put down heresy, into an age of the ascendancy of Philip, when heretical England and Catholic France begin to act in concert for the purpose of fomenting and maintaining the insurrection of the Low Countries.

One of the periods of European resistance to ascend-

ency begins. Philip II is henceforth to Europe what Louis XIV was a hundred years later and revolutionary and Napoleonic France at the end of the eighteenth century.

But for a long time the resistance of England and France is more or less underhand. It was an age of great disorder in international affairs. As France at home was divided into hostile camps, so on her Belgian frontier she could act at pleasure, either against Philip through the Huguenots or officially on his side. England in like manner by keeping intentionally a lax police on her seas was able without avowed war to prey upon Spanish trade year after year, and year after year to lend help to the Flemish and Dutch insurgents. This disguised condition of things lasted till about 1584, when it suddenly passed away both for England and France. Then began the intense crisis of the long struggle, under the shocks of which both English and French policy assumed their permanent shape.

The kind of provisional period that preceded this, the period in which we see some anticipation of the seventeenth century, might be labelled with the name Alençon. France, England and Holland are already in the general relation they are to maintain later, but the relation is as yet indistinct and insecure. It does not yet appear that the Dutch are to form an independent state, and that neither France nor England is to acquire what Spain is to lose. France too is in a half-liquid condition. The Valois dynasty is sinking, and with it apparently the unity of the state. There is as yet no victorious and august House of Bourbon. In England the succession remains as unsettled as ever. The Duke of Alençon represents this unsatisfactory interval. For he represents on one side the feebleness into

which the Valois Monarchy had fallen, being a kind of rival or anti-king to his brother Henri III; on another side he aspires to rule the Netherlands as Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, and also to marry Queen Elizabeth. His sudden death without an heir in 1584 introduces in a moment the House of Bourbon to Europe. Immediately afterwards begins the intense crisis.

In this stormy period famous men have a brief and meteoric career. Only Philip and Elizabeth hold a steadfast course, presiding over the vast developement and accompanying the sixteenth century to its close. But for the most part the great personages of the sixties disappear early in the seventies, and a new group takes their place, which in like manner disappears before the crisis of the eighties arrives. To the sixties belong those heroes of tragedy, Egmont, Don Carlos, Mary of Scotland, and others whose fate was not less tragic, Coligny, Murray. But all these with John Knox are passed away when the transition we now take note of occurs. They are succeeded by another group not less short-lived. The great men of the seventies are Don John of Austria, William of Orange, and that French Duke who may be taken to represent the period, Alençon.

Of the Spanish Monarchy the representative man is for a certain time Don John. He stands by the side of Philip like the true successor of Charles V. The legitimate son may resemble his father in painstaking diligence, as in rigid orthodoxy. And he has had, and is still to have, not less good fortune. But the illegitimate son alone has inherited the comprehensive views and the military talent of Charles V, so that we may surmise that in the seventies the unwieldy dominion might, under his sole direction, have been raised to a prosperity of which the battle of

Lepanto only furnished a delusive prospect. That victory had however but little fruit. About the year 1575 Spain appeared to be on the whole worsted in the grand maritime struggle with the Porte, and the Holy League had been long since dissolved. For Philip had no large views corresponding to the greatness of his position. But such large views, at least where the subject was military, Don John appears to have had. In his short life he dealt in turn with all the great military questions of the Spanish Monarchy, first with the threatening rebellion of the Moriscoes. From this he passed to the grand Turkish or Mediterranean question. This he had handled not only brilliantly but comprehensively, so that we can imagine him, had he enjoyed fuller freedom of action, commencing a work, which actually was deferred almost to the advent of Eugene, and reducing the Porte to the defensive.

But thirdly he dealt also with the great question of the Low Countries. Four years after those first successes of the Prince of Orange at Brill and Flushing, on March 5th, 1576, Requesens, Governor of the Netherlands, died suddenly, leaving the country in the utmost confusion from the advance of the insurrection. In the autumn of 1576 Don John set out from Spain to take his place. At every stage of Don John's career we may observe that he regards himself by no means as a mere officer in the service of Philip II, but as a born prince, who aspires to an independent crown. At one time he had begged his brother to make him king of Tunis. After the death of Don Carlos we find Don John spoken of as the natural successor of Philip; at other times he is suspected of planning a violent usurpation of his brother's place. And so when he comes to the Low Countries he brings the ideas not of a provincial governor but of a king and

conqueror. He grasps at once the connexion, so fundamental in Spanish policy, between the question of the Low Countries and the questions of England and Scotland. He writes to Philip on May 27th, 1576:

‘The true remedy for the evil condition of the Netherlands in the judgment of all men is that England should be in the power of a person devoted and well-affectioned to your Majesty’s service; and it is the general opinion that the ruin of these countries and the impossibility of preserving them to your Majesty’s crown, will result from the contrary position of English affairs. At Rome and elsewhere the rumour prevails that in this belief your Majesty and His Holiness have thought of me as the best instrument you could choose for the execution of your designs, offended as you both are by the evil proceedings of the Queen of England, and by the wrongs which she has done to the Queen of Scotland, especially in sustaining against her will heresy in that kingdom.’

This passage will help us to pass from those more general relations of the Spanish Monarchy which have been considered in this chapter to its particular relations to England and Elizabeth. We have to consider out of what root the great mortal struggle of the two nations sprang. In the first and middle period of Elizabeth there were two principal points of contact between England and Spain. In the first place England had passed over to heresy, and this necessarily seemed intolerable to a Philip II at the crisis of the Counter-Reformation and in the Papacy of Pius V. The question at that moment was of restoring absolutely the unity of religion. France already was visibly lost to heresy; the infidel received a serious blow at Lepanto; for a year or two the prospect of suppressing the rebellion of the Low Countries was good; in

these circumstances what remained but to strike a decisive blow in England where Philip himself had recently been king?

Then set in the transition by which the Counter-Reformation was paralysed. France and England alike began to grow jealous of the ascendancy of Philip; division appeared in the Catholic camp; the rebels of the Low Countries began to receive help underhand from France and England alike. If the Muse is asked to say what first caused the discord which brought the Spanish Armada to our shores, she must answer that it was the conviction which the Spaniards formed that they could not deal with the rebellion in the Low Countries without dealing at the same time with the English question.

Nor had Spain yet learned to think of Elizabeth's government as strong, nor of the Elizabethan settlement in England as stable. The rights of Mary of Scotland, the total uncertainty of the succession and the unsettled condition of the religious question in England made it seem for the time as easy as it seemed desirable for the Spanish Monarchy to bring about a new revolution and to overthrow the government of Elizabeth. And so she passed through the crisis of her middle period, the Rising of the North, the Pope's Bull, the Ridolfi plot and the rebellion of Norfolk. During this crisis there was a sort of anticipation of the Armada, for the question of an invasion was much considered in the Spanish Councils. In 1571 Alva had formed a very decided opinion, which we find expressed in his letter from Brussels, May 7th¹. It is that the English enterprise would be very hazardous except in one of three contingencies. These are that the

¹ Given in Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, App. K.

queen should die either by a natural death or in some other manner, or that she should fall into the hands of the rebels. In any one of these cases he insists that the enterprise presents no difficulty, so that if any of them should be realised, he holds that he ought to attempt it at once without waiting for any further instructions from His Majesty.



So critical were the relations of Elizabeth with Spain seventeen years before the Armada and while Pius V was still in the Papal chair. Philip II was not disposed by character to strong and decisive measures, though he showed himself capable of them in one part of his reign by the Armada and in another by the mission of Alva to the Low Countries. But when he gave Elizabeth a respite of seventeen years, which she knew how to employ in consolidating her government, he seems indeed to have neglected an opportunity which never returned.

Imperceptibly a great international change has been advancing between the accession of Elizabeth and that transitional year of her middle period, 1572. The ancient alliance of England and Burgundy has been breaking up and signs are already observable that it may soon be replaced by a mortal enmity. Philip had been King of England; Philip and Mary had not only shared the English throne, they had also fought in alliance against France. To Elizabeth when she came to the throne the friendship of Philip had seemed the most indispensable support. As late as April 1566 Cecil writes in a paper entitled 'Reasons to move the Queen to accept the Archduke Charles': 'By marriage with him the Queen shall have the friendship of King Philip, which is necessary considering the likelihood of falling out with France.' He adds: 'No Prince of England ever remained without good

amity with the House of Burgundy, and no Prince had ever less alliance than the Queen of England hath, nor any Prince ever had more cause to have friendship and power to assist her estate.'

It is one of the greatest international events that, so soon after these words were written, the Spanish Monarchy and England began to be regarded as belonging to opposite systems in Europe. First there grew up a general opposition from the fact that England attached herself decidedly to the Reformation at the very moment when the Counter-Reformation reached its height in Europe and Philip assumed the lead of it. Then the rebellion of the Low Countries furnished a more particular cause of quarrel, giving Elizabeth a strong motive for aiding Philip's rebels, and at the same time almost forcing Philip to interfere in those controversies about Elizabeth's title and her succession, which led to the Rising of the North and the treason of Norfolk.

Now began the concert of English and French policy with respect to the Low Countries, the treaty between England and France and that recommencement of the rebellion of the Low Countries in the year 1572 which may be considered to mark the first step towards the foundation of the Dutch republic. These occurrences made the growing hostility of England and the Spanish Monarchy considerably more marked. Hitherto France had continued to be, as in old times, England's rival, and England's next war seemed more likely to be waged with France, or with France and Spain together, than with the Spanish Monarchy alone. France too through her connexion with Scotland and with Mary Stuart could always find a ground of war against Elizabeth. It was not yet therefore clearly discernible that an age was opening in



which the old rivalry of England and France should be suspended, and should make way for a rivalry destined to have the most far-reaching consequences between England and the Spanish Monarchy. And yet it was early perceived by some persons. In 1570 there was published by a certain Dr Wylson a translation of some of the orations of Demosthenes, the moral of which is that the English of Elizabeth's time resemble the Athenians whom Demosthenes addressed in this that they have to maintain an arduous conflict against a certain King Philip. 'Therefore,' says Wylson, 'he that desireth to serve his country abroad let him read Demosthenes day and night, for never did glass so clearly represent a man's face as Demosthenes doth show the world to us.'

When we have noted how and when a national rivalry sprang up between England and the Spanish Monarchy we may return to Don John, who in the last phase of his career, between 1576 and 1578, is the statesman who represents this rivalry. France has ceased to be subservient to Spain and has made a treaty with England, yet if a Spanish attack upon England should be contrived from the Low Countries, Don John may hope for much assistance even from France. His chief ally is to be Mary Stuart, who will bring with her not only her party in Scotland and England, but also a great and rising party from France. New developements are already appearing there, and the germ of the League is already visible. The Guise family leads this party, and to the Guise family Mary of Scotland belongs.

We may see then what the attack on England was which Don John meditated. The party, composed of Philip, Mary and Guise with their respective adherents, has now a leader, the hero of Christendom, the victor of

Lepanto, the great Bastard of Austria, Don John. Such royal Bastards in those ages seemed the natural leaders of every bold adventure in which a kingdom changed hands; but they expected a great reward. Don John set out for the Low Countries resolved to strike for Mary of Scotland herself, if not also for the throne of Britain and the Low Countries.

Little indeed came of this enterprise, nor need we linger on it long. Don John found in the Low Countries mainly disappointment, which wore him out in two years, so that he died on October 1st, 1578. But in the correspondence of Mary Stuart herself we find a curious passage in which she seems to refer to Don John. It occurs in a form of testament which she drew up in February 1577 and runs thus: 'That I may not contravene the glory, honour, and safety of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church in which I would live and die—if the prince of Scotland, my son, can be brought back in spite of the evil training in the heresy of Calvin which he has received to my great regret among my rebels, I leave him sole and only heir of my kingdom of Scotland and of the just right which I assert to the crown of England and the countries depending on it; but if not, and my said son continues to live in the said heresy, I cede and transfer and make donation of all my rights in England and elsewhere...to the Catholic King, *or others of his family at his pleasure*, with the advice and consent of his Holiness, both because I see him at the present day the only sure support of the Catholic religion, and from gratitude for the undeserved favours which I and mine, at my recommendation, have received from him in my greatest necessity, and also in consideration of the right which he may himself assert to the said kingdoms and countries. I

entreat that in return he will form alliance with the House of Lorraine and, if he can, with that of Guise, in memory of the race of which I descend on the mother's side.'

Here is expressed the principle of the Counter-Reformation, that heresy disqualifies for succession to a throne. Here at the same time is sketched the combination which was to dominate western Europe in the period of the League. But at the same time the two British kingdoms are handed over, with the consent of Philip, apparently to Don John.

Had Don John arrived in the Low Countries about seven years earlier, at that crisis when the Counter-Reformation seemed to want nothing but a prompt and daring leader, such a plan might have succeeded. But the face of affairs had since been entirely transformed by Alva. New events were deciding the course of the rebellion when Don John arrived at Luxemburg near the close of 1576, for he arrived on the day before the Fury of Antwerp and four days before the promulgation of the Pacification of Ghent. A crisis had been produced not altogether favourable to a romantic crusade against England, yet naturally suggesting enterprises of the kind. The Fury of Antwerp, following other violences scarcely less enormous, possessed all minds in the Low Countries with the single thought of expelling from the territory the foreign army. In the Union of Brussels signed early in January 1577 this point was gained. The foreign army under Don John was to leave the Low Countries. But this measure had two faces. For whither was the army to go? What was possible and what was in the mind of Don John appeared from his proposal to withdraw the army not by land but by sea. It might cross the Northern Sea to the land where a heretic queen reigned, and held imprisoned a

Catholic princess who would give to any husband she might choose, rights over both insular kingdoms. So near to the domain of practical politics did the romantic scheme arrive; so near but no nearer. It was debated for a while whether the Spanish army should retire by sea or by land, but the debate was over by the end of February, and by the end of April 1577 the troops had actually withdrawn by land, and for the time at least the danger of Don John appearing in England at the head of a Spanish army and claiming the throne of Elizabeth had vanished. It did not reappear. Don John's scheme seems to have received some support at Rome in the shape of promises, perhaps even payments, of money. It bore indeed the stamp of the Counter-Reformation, which had its centre at Rome, and which had entered upon a somewhat new phase when Pius V was succeeded by Gregory XIII. Gregory XIII fixes his mind particularly upon the reconquest of England. But how would Philip himself regard Don John's enterprise? Philip understood clearly the nature of Don John's ideas, and could discern in him not a loyal subject but an adventurer of vast and dangerous ambition, who was running a course not unlike that of Don Carlos. Accordingly he does not support the English scheme of Don John unless, it may be, by one or two vague and casual expressions. It becomes identified in Philip's mind with high treason and passes out of the domain of politics into that of court-mystery and tragedy, where we cannot follow it. We cannot tell here the story of the death of Escovedo.

We are concerned simply with the Spanish Monarchy and its attitude towards Elizabeth in the earlier part of her reign. Don John represents one phase which might have proved memorable. But it was very transient. Don

John did not strike in the Northern Seas any such blow as he had struck in the Mediterranean. He won indeed in Brabant the battle of Gemblours, in which the superiority of the Spanish soldiery was wonderfully displayed. Then he fell ill and died, distrusted by his brother and leaving his vast designs unaccomplished.

When Don John died in 1578, the last Valois, Henry III, was reigning in France. Since the St Bartholomew religious war had begun again in that country, but a considerable intermission set in with the Treaty of Bergerac in 1577. The Scottish question had also developed considerably. Europe was approaching a period when it would unite against Philip, as later against Louis XIV or Revolutionary France. But this simpler international arrangement was not arrived at immediately, not before 1585. In the meanwhile a great event took place in Spain, an event so great as to alter materially the character of that Spanish Monarchy which was so rapidly assuming the character of an ascendant Power. Spain had in those years enough to do in the Low Countries, where Alexander of Parma began his great career almost before Don John so prematurely ended his. She was spared however those terrible and intricate religious conflicts which tormented France. Nevertheless at this time she added to her Low Countries Question a Portuguese Question, which was not less momentous though it occupied her a shorter time.

In order to arrive at the crisis of 1585 it will be necessary to glance at intricate changes in several countries. It may however be most conducive to clearness to begin by carrying the view that has been attempted in this chapter of the Spanish Monarchy past the great event, which may be called transformation, that befel it in 1580. That event, the annexation of Portugal, the substitution

for Spain of a great united Iberia, though one of the greatest events in Spanish history, was at the same time an event of simple nature, and may be described, so far as it affected England, briefly, for which reason we may give it precedence over some other events which we must also consider and which precede it chronologically.

The dream of a contest on equal terms between France and Spain for the Low Countries was soon to pass away. Already the renown of Spain stood far higher than that of France or any other Power. To the historical student now Philip II is an embodiment of ignorant statesmanship, narrowness and dulness of mind, perverted morality, every quality which brings a state to ruin, and we trace to him the ruin of Spain. But we are wise after the event. In the period before us Philip's realm was the only state in the world which could be called glorious. Germany was passing through a period of strange obscurity; Elizabeth had won no battles, the French king only the dismal victories of Jarnac and Moncontour. Only Spain had earned such laurels as those of St Quentin and Lepanto, and she had now in her service the great military genius of the sixteenth century, Alexander of Parma.

And now Spain was suddenly to rise higher than ever, and at the same time France was to sink as suddenly lower.

These changes took place between 1580 and 1584, so that in 1585 Europe assumed a wholly new aspect. No transition so abrupt occurs at any other point in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The occurrences which produced this great alteration in the relative position of France and Spain are

- (1) the annexation of Portugal by Philip II.
- (2) the recommencement of religious war in France,

when by the death of Alençon the Huguenot Henri of Navarre became presumptive heir to the throne of France.

Hitherto we have seen Philip availing himself principally of his character as the champion of Catholicism and of the Counter-reformation. But we are to remember also that he is the head of the House of Habsburg, the heir of that Charles V, who had founded an unlimited dominion upon the basis of royal marriage. His house has never abandoned this method, and now in 1580 a demise occurs which is to Philip II something like what the death of Ferdinand of Aragon had been to Charles V. Don Sebastian of Portugal falls 'with all his peerage' in battle against the Moors at Alcazarkebir. He leaves no heir, and the Cardinal Henry, his successor at sixty-seven years of age, dies in 1580. A very brief war of succession was decided in favour of Philip II by a land-battle won by Alva and a naval battle won by Santa Cruz. In 1581 Philip II was solemnly proclaimed king of Portugal at Lisbon, while his rival, the national representative, Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, was driven into exile and a price set upon his head. ✓

It is hardly usual to think of the annexation of the Portuguese Monarchy by Philip II of Spain which took place in 1580 as an event in English history. Nevertheless if we would trace the rise of the Britannic Great Power among the Great Powers of Modern Europe we shall find that among the greatest steps in that development, in which the Spanish Monarchy was throughout the antagonist, were two Portuguese events counterbalancing each other, that of 1580, by which Portugal was merged in Spain, and that which began in 1640, the War of Acclamation, by which Portugal recovered her independence under the House of Bragança. In 1580 when

the rivalry of England and the Spanish Monarchy was so rapidly growing up, a new complexion, highly important for our history, was suddenly given to it by the Portuguese occurrence. Hitherto it has come under the general category of the Counter-Reformation. Elizabeth has been the heretic queen, Philip the champion of reviving Catholicism. But a new aspect of the Spanish Monarchy is brought into prominence when the Portuguese is merged in it. Those Monarchies were twin not merely in geographical position but more strikingly still in their foreign and international relations. They had precisely the same relation to the maritime and extra-European world. The two peninsular states had hitherto divided between them the dominion of the sea as they had divided the discovery of the New World. The fusion of them therefore produced a single state of unlimited maritime dominion. This at the moment when its rivalry with England was springing up. The rivalry then was henceforth between the two united peninsular states and the great insular state of Europe. It became therefore no mere rivalry of religions, but a rivalry of maritime dominion. The maritime and oceanic aspect of the English state is pushed more into the foreground.

The greatness of the catastrophe by which Portugal was annexed to Spain seems at first difficult to reconcile with the facility and rapidity with which it was accomplished. The Portuguese Monarchy was not much less than five centuries old. For so long a time Portuguese monarchs distinct and independent had reigned. The sixteenth century had seen the brilliant reign of Manoel the Fortunate, then that of John III, then that of Sebastian. Now suddenly there begins in Portuguese history the age of the Philips, in which for sixty years the

King of Portugal is also King of Spain, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV in succession. The Portuguese territory in Europe had not indeed been large, but the distinction of the Monarchy had been altogether out of proportion to it and indeed quite unique. In the great achievement of laying open the extra-European world no state had done nearly so much, first in circumnavigating Africa, then in laying open the Indian Ocean and India itself and the Spice Islands. It is to be added that the very greatest of all the achievements of that age of exploration, not excluding that of Columbus, had been achieved not indeed in the service of Portugal but by a man known now as Ferdinand Magellan, and known at the time when he achieved it as Fernão Magalhães, but a Portuguese by birth and education, and named originally Fernao Magalhaes. It may seem strange that a monarchy so ancient and so illustrious should be so easily subverted and should disappear after so little resistance in the state of Philip II, at a time too when Philip was so hard pressed in the Low Countries and was making enemies of France and England.

This great European change was effected at very little expense of war. If it was a conquest, we are to remember that it was a conquest of the Habsburg type. It turned upon a marriage. The Portuguese Monarchy was merged in the Spanish because Philip II's mother had been Isabella, daughter of Manoel the Fortunate, that king of Portugal who represents the highest greatness of the old house of Avis, and because in 1578 king Sebastian died childless. Thus there befel Portugal what might at any time have befallen England had Elizabeth died leaving the succession unregulated. The Portuguese succession became in a moment what the Spanish succession became

at the end of the seventeenth century, and might have shaken a whole generation with war had France and England been prepared to check Philip by a warlike Coalition. But the Habsburg marriage was there, and it was supported, if not by any overwhelming military or naval power, yet by a greater power in the hand of Philip than any which could be brought against him.

Thus the cause of the calamity of Portugal was twofold. There was first the fall of king Sebastian with all his peerage at Alcazar in 1578, by which Portugal was left without army, without nobility, and without king, or child of the king. This Flodden Field of Portugal might by itself have thrown the country open to Philip's occupation. But for the moment Portugal found a king in the Cardinal Infant Henrique, the uncle of Sebastian, who averted the full calamity of an open succession till he died in 1580. This second event, as I have said, is to Portugal what the death of queen Elizabeth about the same time might have been to England. The circumstances indeed were in some respects strikingly parallel. Elizabeth was a virgin queen, who however was courted up to the threshold of old age. Henrique had cherished through life a clerical aversion to marriage, but in his old age after the death of Sebastian, when his people began to see that their very independence required that he should leave heirs, we find the authorities of Lisbon requiring that he, 67 years old, should marry. His Alençon is at one time the widow of Charles IX, but he himself inclines rather to Maria, eldest daughter of the Duke of Bragança, a girl of 14 years. Negotiations with the Papal Court for a dispensation were actually opened. And as in England, so in Portugal it was held, and truly held, that the whole interest of the nation depended

absolutely upon this personal question, and because two years later no heir to the Portuguese House was forthcoming Portugal fell at once from her place among European states.

On the death of Henrique in January 1580 there appeared two Portuguese pretenders to the crown, descended, like Philip II himself, from Manoel the Fortunate. One was the Duchess of Bragança, of a family whose day was to come when the Spanish tyranny was overpast. The other was Antonio, Prior of Crato, who however was stained by illegitimate birth. There were also foreign pretenders, among whom Catherine de Medici put herself forward. Her claims were so slight that her object in urging them appeared plainly to be to put a hindrance in the way of those of Philip. A rivalry had for some time been growing up between France and Spain. It is one of the most important incidents of the great event which now occurred to ripen this rivalry into actual war. Philip had no great difficulty in annexing Portugal, but when the war reached the Azores the Prior of Crato was aided by 7000 French troops and a French fleet of 70 sail, and open war began between the Spanish Habsburg and the Valois.

The annexation of Portugal is not only important in English history, it is also one of the greatest European events of that age, and the greatness of it is seldom sufficiently perceived. If the union of England and Scotland to form Great Britain is one of the leading events of our own history, is it not evident that Philip must have risen at once to a higher level of power when from being king of Spain he became king of a united Iberia? For Portugal was not a mere isolated acquisition, as Sicily or the duchy of Milan might have been; it was continuous with Spain,

and by being united with Spain created a kingdom with a peninsular frontier. There could be no greater strategical and commercial acquisition than Lisbon with the mouth of the Tagus and a long Atlantic sea-board; and the acquisition must be reckoned twice over, since it was not only acquired by Philip but taken away from a possible enemy of Philip. The entrance by which in the War of the Spanish Succession and again in the Peninsular War the English made their way to Madrid was closed to England or any other naval Power so long as Portugal and Spain were under the same Government. So long Spain was secure against invasion except through the Pyrenees.

And yet this is but the smaller half of the event. What was conquered was not merely a small European kingdom, however favourably situated. What was conquered was the greatest maritime and colonising Power in the world except Spain, the only great maritime and colonising Power beside Spain. In 1580 no European Powers except Spain and Portugal had colonies of the slightest importance. What was conquered was not only Portugal but Brazil, the Azores, Guinea, Angola and Benguela, the Cape, Zanzibar, Quiloa, Mozambique, Socotora, Ormuz, Cambai, Ceylon, Malacca, Macao. And this again was doubly conquered. From the whole Oceanic world every second Power was henceforth excluded, and henceforth the whole New World belonged exclusively to Spain. So mighty a revolution has never since taken place in a moment in the extra-European region with which Europeans are concerned.

If Spain had been by much the greatest European Power before 1580, how far must it have surpassed all others after that year! And shortly afterwards France, the only possible rival of Spain, saw its old wound reopen,

as grisly, as incurable, as ever. The religious wars of France began again. The circumstances of this event will engage our attention later. It was caused immediately by the death of Alençon-Anjou in 1584.

And to Elizabeth, brooding on all these things, there came a month later the tidings that William of Orange, who divided with herself the active leadership of the Reformation in the world, upon whose Atlantean shoulders the whole insurrection of the Low Countries rested, had been murdered by one of those fanatics, who as she well knew had been in pursuit of her own life for a dozen years past.

It was evident that events were hurrying to a crisis, that the respite which had been first granted to her and to her England about 1562, and had been prolonged again about 1570, was now running out. The daughter of Anne Boleyn, who had been called in early womanhood to the most dangerous position in the world, and had maintained herself there in a kind of miraculous security for more than twenty years, would soon find the danger more pressing than ever and refusing to be held aloof by delays and temporising measures. But it was a remarkable feature of the great crisis which was brought on by the two deaths just mentioned that it affected France as much as England, and in a similar way. The Spanish Monarchy now raised by the annexation of Portugal to the pinnacle of power placed itself in opposition to France as well as to England. We have seen two phases of the international relations of Spain, the Counter-Reformation phase, when she threatened in union with France to put down heresy all over the world, and the phase when France threatened war against Spain in the cause of the Low Countries. A third phase is now commencing, when

Spain, more powerful now than ever, began to stand out as an ascendant Power. A great war of England and the Spanish Monarchy is at hand, but at the same time France and the Spanish Monarchy are entangled in war. Already in 1581 we see a naval battle between France and Spain off the Azores. And the death of Anjou in 1584 opens at once a new age for France, an age not less troubled than that age of religious wars from which she had just emerged.

Both in England and France it was the age of the religious question, yet great as that question was it was in neither country the greatest. In England, as we have seen, the really formidable problem was the succession, the danger of the failure of the House of Tudor, and the uncertainty what House would take its place. So long as Mary Stuart lived and Elizabeth remained unmarried the country could have no assured prospect. And now in France, where all struggles were more intense, the religious question in like manner gave place to the question of succession. The death of Anjou warned the country that the House of Valois was about to be extinguished. It was an event similar to that which had happened in Portugal in 1578 and had led to a national catastrophe. Spain had reaped the benefit of that; Spain seemed also about to interfere in England, and Spain too might be expected to undertake the solution of the French succession problem. From the beginning of the century the Habsburgs had been on the watch for such crises; they had provided claimants for thrones left without heirs and bridegrooms for virgin queens. And now the Counter-Reformation had complicated the succession-problem by laying it down that no heretic could sit on a throne. And the legitimate heir to the House of Valois now failing was

a heretic, as the Queen of England was a heretic. Thus the events of 1584 seemed to bring to a final crisis the whole struggle of the age, and threatened to consummate the whole century of the Reformation by handing over France and England to the great representative of the Counter-Reformation, who would exclude Henry of Navarre in France and settle the succession of Elizabeth in a manner agreeable to the Papacy.

If we look at the period of war now opening from the English or insular point of view, we see the expedition of the Armada and a succession of naval operations filling all that remains of the reign of Elizabeth. But if we take the international point of view we see the same Spanish Monarchy, now near the height of its power, intervening with equal energy in French as in English affairs. If the Spanish war with England lasts till 1604 the Spanish war with France lasts till the Treaty of Vervins concluded in 1598. It was in this double struggle that the Spanish Monarchy and at the same time the Counter-Reformation came nearest to complete success. The war in France is not strictly one of the religious wars, but more properly the war of the establishment of the House of Bourbon, and by it was asserted for France at least the principle that a heretic cannot reign. The religious wars had already given France definitively to Catholicism; this war gave to it the rising House of Bourbon, which was to fill two centuries with its glory.

The French war was in itself as intense and as striking as the English. It included a startling rehearsal of the great French Revolution. The House of Valois disappeared amid scenes of terror and in an upheaval of subversive theories just such as attended the downfall of its successor the House of Bourbon. All this corresponded

closely in time to the great events of the English war. The day of Barricades immediately preceded the sailing of the Armada, and the murder of the Guises followed hard upon its failure. The murder of the last Valois king took place in the following year. Meanwhile in the Low Countries the rebellion has lost Orange, and Spain has gained Alexander of Parma. Thus over the whole of western Europe at once Spain appears on the eve of acquiring a universal dominion. She possesses Portugal, she is recovering the Low Countries; in France the House of Valois is disappearing and a revolutionary fanaticism has sprung up which may well throw the country into the hands of Philip. In England the temporising policy of Elizabeth, which has hitherto supported her throne in defiance of the Counter-Reformation, seems exhausted. The Spanish history of the Invincible Armada takes as its starting-point a letter¹ written to Philip II on August 9th, 1583, from the island Terceira in the Azores, the scene of the great Spanish victory in the war of Portugal. It was written by the victor himself, Santa Cruz, and it solemnly exhorted Philip to follow up his victory over Portugal by a direct attack upon England and assumption of the Monarchy of England. It was written before the two great deaths occurred, and plainly announced the approach of the great crisis of the sixteenth century.

¹ Duro, *La Armada Invincible*, i. p. 241.

CHAPTER VI

FROM PEACE TO WAR.

THE transition of 1585 brings the Counter-Reformation once more into the foreground, but in a limited form. Under the leadership of Spain the question is now to be tried, for England and France at once, whether a heretic may wear a crown. The period between 1572 and 1584 was embraced by the Papacy of Gregory XIII, who falls between the great Popes Pius V and Sixtus V. Gregory devoted himself especially to the English Question, which his predecessor's Bull had thrown open, but he laboured under the disadvantage that in his time the great Powers, as we have seen, were not prepared for war against Elizabeth. Accordingly he is driven back upon his own resources, and scarcely any Pope has assumed more purely the attitude of a belligerent against England than Pope Gregory XIII. He does not confine himself to spiritual weapons, nor does he content himself with invoking the aid of temporal sovereigns, but actually levies war with his own resources and in his own name against the heretic queen. The spiritual weapons are not indeed neglected. A seminary is established at Rome, from which the thirteenth Gregory hopes to send out missionaries who may restore the ruined work of the first Gregory. Parsons and Campion arrive in 1580; the Counter-Reformation begins to blow up

a rebellion in England, as it is doing at the same time in France, against the monarchy of a heretic. At the very same time we hear of a league between Philip, the Pope, and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, being concluded at Rome against the Queen of England. It is believed that the Grand-Duke hopes to further designs upon Urbino by thus ingratiating himself with Philip and the Pope, and here are some of the articles of the League from a copy which the English Ambassador gave to the Venetian Ambassador in December 1580: (1) that his Holiness will furnish ten thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, the Catholic King fifteen thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, and the Grand-duke eight thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry; and to these forces are to be added the Germans who have gone to Spain and who are to be paid *pro rata* by the above-named princes. (2) Should it please our Lord God to give good speed and success to the expedition, the populations are in the first place and above all things to be admonished, on the part of his Holiness, to return to their obedience and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church in the same manner as their predecessors have done. (3) That his Holiness, as sovereign lord of the Island, will grant power to the Catholic nobles of the kingdom to elect a Catholic Lord of the Island, who under the authority of the Apostolic See will be declared King, and who will render obedience and fealty to the Apostolic See as the other Catholic Kings have done before the time of the last Henry. (4) That Queen Elizabeth be declared a usurper, and incapable to reign, because she was born of an illegitimate marriage, and because she is a heretic.... (7) That the Queen of Scotland is to be set at liberty and to be aided to return to her kingdom should she desire to

do so. (8) That his Holiness will use his best influence with the King of France, in order that neither his Majesty nor Monsieur his brother shall give assistance either to the Queen or to the Flemings against Spain¹.

We may see from this last article with what main difficulty the Pope and the Counter-reformation had now to contend. France in its double aspect, the France of Henry III and at the same time the France of Alençon, stood in the path of the Counter-reformation.

Throughout this period, as almost from the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth has owed her security to the fact that her turn to be swallowed up cannot come till the rebels of the Low Countries and the French Huguenots have been devoured and digested by the Cyclops, Counter-reformation. She does not depend much upon her own efforts, but upon the efforts of others. She does not come forward herself to help Orange with the whole force of her kingdom, but she is content to see this done by Anjou with the countenance of the King of France.

We picture Elizabeth as a Britomart or Amazon Queen surrounded by heroes and men of war, and then we wonder at the selfishness with which she watched the sufferings and the well-nigh desperate struggles of those Netherlanders whose cause was after all her own. It is true that from the outset they had received much English help. In their sieges and battles Englishmen had taken part sometimes by the hundred. English sea-rovers had plundered the Spanish marine. Elizabeth herself had seized Spanish ships in the Channel and had at times even rendered open help to the insurgents. Such in that age was the confusion of international relations, that not only France and England but even the Austrian House of

¹ Calendar of State-Papers (Venetian), ed. Cavendish-Bentinck, No. 826.

Habsburg interferes between Philip and his rebels in a manner most damaging and practically hostile to Philip. But we expect to find Elizabeth assuming a much franker and more generous tone and openly telling Philip that if he would maintain his oppressive rule in the Low Countries he would have to reckon with the strongest fleets and armies that England could bring against him.

Here then is the place to remark—for we are approaching the grand turning-point of Elizabeth's reign—that it is only in her later years and under the pressure of necessity that she appears in any degree as an Amazon or thunderbolt of war. She had indeed always shown a high courage. That fear of assassination which, as Macaulay says, 'shook the iron nerves of Cromwell' did not shake her nerves, though in her time assassination seemed the inevitable end of all leaders, though Guise and Murray and Coligny and Orange had already fallen, though other Guises and Henry III and Henry IV were still to fall by this doom. But she had never shown the slightest inclination for war. Nay it may be said that never sovereign was more recklessly devoted to peace than Elizabeth. If not 'peace at any price' yet, 'peace at any price short of throne and life' was her maxim. She had indeed sent war-ships to the Forth in 1561, but that was a case where intervention might be called absolutely necessary. And since 1561 she remained at peace till 1585, though war raged in France, in the Netherlands, and in the Mediterranean. Nor did she even seem to look forward to war. She made no preparations on a great scale, she allowed the country to remain almost unarmed, although nothing might seem more certain than that the exemption of England from the terrible struggle of the age was only temporary, and that the final and most cherished object of

the Counter-reformation was the destruction of Elizabeth of England.

When we have remarked this, her behaviour towards the Netherlanders assumes a different appearance. Any other monarch in her position would have intervened eagerly, under pretence perhaps of humanity, but really in order to make a conquest. Here was an opportunity for Elizabeth to wipe out the cession of Calais, with which she had had to commence her reign. As we shall soon see, the Netherlanders would have gladly made Elizabeth their sovereign in return for substantial aid. She would have stood out in English history as the conqueror of the Low Countries. Such a prospect would have tempted almost any other sovereign; it did not tempt Elizabeth. She preferred to see France play this part.

But though France and England had lately been drawn into the same system, the two nations continued to regard each other as in old time with animosity and jealousy. Elizabeth could scarcely be prepared to leave the defence and the sovereignty of the Low Countries entirely to the French prince; public opinion would not allow her to do so. It is on account of this competition between the two countries for precedence in the patronage of the Low Countries that the Alençon marriage negotiation is taken up so seriously at this late stage in the life of the Virgin Queen and when the transition was at hand which brought on the duel between England and Spain. She was approaching her fiftieth year; her marriage had been a matter of discussion at almost any time since the days of Henry VIII, and now when her youth was utterly gone she seemed really to lose her heart to a prince who had the appearance of a frog and who was the worthy son of her whom Sir Philip Sidney called the Jezebel of the

age. Elizabeth did not use marriage, after the fashion of the House of Austria, as an instrument of empire, and in the end she founded the greatness of England upon her persistent abstinence from marriage. And yet this question of the queen's marriage is thrown like a mantle over the whole diplomacy of her reign. Especially now when the struggle in the Netherlands seemed daily approaching a crisis, when decency required that she should intervene in an energetic manner, while she clung to the hope of avoiding war with Spain as she had succeeded in doing for more than twenty years, this idyll of Elizabeth and Alençon serves a definite political purpose. It enables her to play at once a passive and a very prominent and impressive part in the affairs of the Netherlands. While Alençon stood forward, supported by the whole influence of Orange, and assumed the sovereignty, with all its attendant risk of war with Philip, Elizabeth, doing nothing and running no risk, presented herself as taking an equal part and advancing an equal claim to their loyalty in the character of his affianced bride.

And so the rings were exchanged, and when Alençon, on his way to assume the sovereignty, left England, Elizabeth accompanied him as far as Canterbury, March 1st, 1582. So much was forced from her by the French Government, which would not undertake the war against Philip without a security for English aid.

But if the match might seem necessary, or in some aspects politically judicious, it had been manifest two years earlier that it did not please the English public. Sidney's invective against the brood of the Medici and Stubbs' pamphlet on the ruin of England by a French marriage had appeared in 1579. And indeed, whatever political purpose the marriage-negotiation might serve,

the marriage itself would have formed indeed a strange climax in Elizabeth's life. When we think of the monstrous behaviour of this very frog-prince at Antwerp in 1584, when we think of the deeds of his brother and of his mother in 1572, and then when we consider that there was a Guise in England too, viz., Mary of Scotland, that in England too there was a vast Catholic party ready to respond to an appeal from the leaders of the Counter-Reformation, a vision shapes itself of what might have followed! Elizabeth herself taken off in some violent way, Mary liberated and then married to Alençon, a rising of the Catholic party in concert with an invasion from France,—part of this had been already foreseen by Sir Nicolas Bacon, and it is impossible not to assume that Elizabeth, to whose thoughts assassination must have been only too familiar, foresaw it too.

When in the twenty-sixth year of her reign a new chapter opened by the deaths of Alençon and Orange, how did the reign of Elizabeth, then more than half expired, look in English history?

She could boast that for twenty-six years she had so picked her way that in the very age of the Counter-Reformation England itself, that is, the state which, more than any other, kept the Reformation alive, not only held her own, but had enjoyed a halcyon calm, such as no other country knew, such as England herself had never known before. The result was almost miraculous, but it is assuredly not the result which has given Elizabeth her fame in history. Elizabeth had saved herself, but she had done little for the cause she represented, and meanwhile it might be feared that Englishmen had forgotten how to fight. Such sluggish periods are often followed by a great catastrophe. Elizabeth however was not to give her name

to any such catastrophe. We think of heroism, adventure, victory and glory when we name the Elizabethan age. But in that sense the Elizabethan age begins in 1585.

Transition is observable throughout the reign of Elizabeth, but the moment of transition, abrupt, decisive, is in the year 1585, when open war began between England and Spain.

This is visible on the very surface of the history. From 1585 to the death of Elizabeth we were at war uninterruptedly; before 1585, excepting one or two slight military operations in Scotland and in the Northern Rebellion, there had been since her accession uninterrupted peace.

The peace of Elizabeth is not less remarkable than the war of Elizabeth, and it lasted somewhat longer. It is most important to note the sharp contrast between them. The war, in which England for the first time displayed her greatness, does not stand out as more unique in our history than the peace, which we enjoyed for a quarter of a century amid the wildest religious discord that Europe has ever known.

But the transition is the more notable because the war of Elizabeth is strikingly unlike our earlier wars and strikingly similar to the great wars which we have waged since. We see a great naval war, waged on the open ocean; to this is attached a land-war in the Low Countries. Such has been the general form of most of our later wars. The long wars of William and Anne, the war of 1744, the war of the French Revolution, are composed in like manner of a widely-scattered naval war and a war in the Low Countries. Our medieval wars are of quite another type; the oceanic side is wanting, and on land the commonest feature is an invasion of France.

Thus it appears that during the long peace the position of England in the world has altered. After that quiet incubation the modern great Power comes to light.

But this will explain itself as we advance. Standing at the point of transition, we find the question forced upon us, What is to be thought of the two contrasted policies of Elizabeth, and why was one so suddenly exchanged, just at this moment, for the other?

Mr Froude has written the history of the Peace of Elizabeth and of the first years of her War. He has given a minute and damaging description of Elizabeth's vacillations, frauds, and frivolities, and seems to draw the conclusion that she had really no policy at all. He despairs however of convincing people of this, because of the undeniable success which she met with, although he himself attributes this success only to her 'singular fortune.' However unsatisfactory this conclusion may appear, it is certainly difficult to understand how mere irresolution, mere abstinence from decided action, can be called a policy. And yet Mr Froude seems always to hesitate when he tries to state what decided action Elizabeth should have taken during this period.

There are emergencies, in which a persistent abstinence from action, a kind of resolute irresolution, is the only sound policy. When a man finds himself on a narrow ledge of rock with a precipice above and below, and sees the ledge narrowing till it almost disappears, he may think that though action might conceivably save him, absolute inaction is the only policy which can be called safe. And in the case of Elizabeth safety for herself meant also safety for her subjects.

Elizabeth had clearly an energetic nature; she was positively ambitious to show that a woman could wield

authority as effectively as a man. Quite early in her reign the Spanish Ambassador writes that she was 'more feared without any comparison than her sister,' more feared than Bloody Mary! It is therefore extremely remarkable that this ambition did not for a moment mislead her into the error which nine out of ten ambitious rulers commit, the error of doing too much. The talent of letting things alone, so rarely combined with energy, is perhaps the most indispensable talent of a statesman. It was displayed with a singular perseverance for twenty-six years together by Elizabeth.

Everything at her accession was in a sort of suspense. Whether the nation was Catholic or Protestant, by what title she herself reigned, who would be her own successor, and whom she should marry,—all was undecided. Twenty-six years later these questions remained undecided still. As every decision was dangerous, she took no decision at all. And yet her inactivity struck the world as masterly; she looked majestic in her repose.

Shall we say that this inaction was cowardly, or, with Mr Froude, that it was only because she was wholly indifferent in religion that she abstained from taking her proper position as the head of the Reformation in Europe? English history would certainly have run a different, can we think a better? course, if Elizabeth had imitated her brother instead of her father. The question was not what Elizabeth herself believed, but what her people believed. To our surprise we find that this haughty Tudor has grasped the principles of popular government which have prevailed in England in later times. She throws the reins on the neck of the horse. She will not act herself, but she lets the people act. Her people was perhaps at her accession mainly Catholic; twenty years

later it was not prepared to call itself Protestant. What right had Elizabeth on the ground of any private opinions to give England a position in the religious struggle of the age, which England did not like? But it was possible in the international confusion of that age for the people to outstrip the Government in international action. Had the Government declared itself Protestant, established a Protestant succession and openly defied the Powers of the Counter-Reformation there would probably have been a violent rebellion, but meanwhile Englishmen were able in large numbers to aid the rebels at Brill and Flushing in 1572 and again in 1578.

It is a familiar maxim of statesmanship that difficulties insoluble by action are often soluble by lapse of time. In such cases the hand-to-mouth policy is the wisest, because it is directed to gaining time. The disease of England in 1558 might well have seemed incurable. That it was actually cured is matter of astonishment. The medicine used was time, but an enormous dose of it was administered, and in circumstances where the application might have seemed impossible. Twenty-six years of peace were administered, and England lay quietly under the influence of this anæsthetic, while the Fury of religious war was let loose, as never before, on the Continent, in the age of Jarnac and Moncontour, and the St Bartholomew and the Fury of Antwerp. It is not disputed that Elizabeth meant this, and laboured for this, resisting opposition on the part of her council. It is not disputed that the plan was successful. When the crisis came, when the head of the Catholic party in Britain laid her head upon the block and when the Armada appeared, England stood firm. Such was the result of twenty-six years of peace, obtained for us by Elizabeth at the cost of many acts of meanness

and petty falsehood, but it is doubtful whether the result could have been obtained by six years or by sixteen years of peace.

This policy, like every other that could be suggested, was no doubt extremely hazardous. The risk lay in this, that Elizabeth not only did not make war, but did not even prepare for it. She did not suffer even the shadow of approaching war to dim the sunshine of her Peace. Why not? Along with what is called her parsimony it was part of a system of bribing her people with prosperity. She would not burden them with an army. She reduced the burden of government to a minimum. By the most extreme economy she avoided all those disputes about taxation which proved so disastrous to the Stuarts, and which her government, weak in title and hanging by a hair in religion, could not, at least in her earlier time, have sustained. Thus she gradually inspired a deep feeling of satisfaction, which lay deeper down than all discontents, and bore up her government.

But as she early acquired the conviction that her position just as it was might be maintained, but that every alteration of it, even the slightest, was fraught with danger, it is not wonderful that irresolution grew in her to be a mania. So did the other habit, which seemed always safe and right, that of saving money.

The result was that a person of proud and powerful nature and of indomitable courage, one too whose counsellors urged her to vigorous measures, adopted in spite of them a peddling cheeseparing policy which often degenerated into shameful and cruel dishonesty. But necessity, the urgent necessity of a whole nation, must be allowed to excuse much.

No doubt if, as Mr Froude thinks, a Protestant League

might have been formed in Europe which could have driven Catholicism across the Alps and Pyrenees, and it was open to Elizabeth to put herself at the head of such a league, then her actual policy was feeble and contemptible. The view presented here is that this was wholly impossible, that the Counter-Reformation was the overwhelming spiritual force of the time, that France was intensely Catholic and even England not Protestant, accordingly that such a rally of the forces of the Reformation would probably have ended within twenty years in the complete and final triumph of the Roman Church. Elizabeth herself could probably have given no distinct explanation of the manner in which with *her* plan she meant to win. But she *did* win. She maintained the forces of England fresh and vigorous till a time when Spain began to be exhausted and utterly bankrupt, and at the same time she maintained her authority in England in spite of the Counter-Reformation. When the tempest of war broke upon her she was indeed terribly unprepared. But though she had no good army, she had a good navy which had grown up almost unperceived through the lawless privateering which had long been connived at. England, Scotland and Seven Provinces in the Low Countries were saved to the Reformation, and France joined the Protestant Powers as an ally.

Such then was the Peace of Elizabeth. Through what causes after enduring so long did it come to an end in 1585? In one word, through the deaths of Alençon and Orange and the victorious advance of Parma towards Antwerp.

The Peace of Elizabeth could be maintained so long as the Rebellion of the Low Countries held out, and this could be ensured so long as the help of France was available. While the insurgents were moderately successful, a little

assistance rendered under hand from England and France was sufficient, and when they were unsuccessful, England might still remain at peace if only France was ready to take action instead. Since the Pacification of Ghent (1576) when the Rebellion attained its high-water mark, the insurgents had been generally unfortunate, and France, represented by Alençon, had been pushed into the foreground. Don John had defeated the rebels at Gemblours, and since his death a greater than he, like him descended from Charles V, Alexander of Parma, had taken the rebellion in hand. He had actually recovered to Spain the Walloon provinces. He had created a general impression that the designs of Orange were doomed to failure. He seemed a match for Orange in statesmanship, and in war the first man of the age. He was engaged in conquering Brabant and Flanders, he had formed the siege of Antwerp. If Antwerp should fall, the rebellion would be shut up in Holland and Zealand. Thus the crisis approached threateningly, and everything now depended on the action of France. No languid good will or assistance rendered under hand would any longer suffice. France must take the field openly against Spain, and must conquer the Low Countries for herself or for Alençon. Only in this way could the Low Countries be saved and also the Peace of Elizabeth be preserved. And of course the idea of a conquest of the Low Countries, including the maritime provinces, by France, of ports like Antwerp and Amsterdam passing for ever into the hands of 'our natural enemy,' the idea in short of France taking the lead of England for all time as a maritime Power, was most unwelcome to Elizabeth. But the only alternative was that England should take the field herself. And still more, if France should be unwilling or unable to act, if France

should suddenly be paralysed, so that the Rebellion in its last extremity should find no other friend left in the wide world but England, then would not England be absolutely forced to take the field?

In other words, the Peace of Elizabeth must at last come to an end. And indeed in the last scenes between Elizabeth and Alençon the system showed itself scarcely tenable any longer. And then fortune dealt the decisive strokes. Alençon died, whose peculiar middle position had enabled France to act with vigour and yet to avoid responsibility. Orange died, who had been the soul of the insurrection, and upon whom seemed especially to hang the resistance of the maritime provinces. Thus at the same time the Rebellion seemed at extremity and the chance of rescue appearing from France seemed very much reduced. Such were the determining circumstances which brought the Peace of Elizabeth to an end and led to the War of Elizabeth which was to consume the rest of her reign.

The reign of Elizabeth is one of the longest in our history; it is as long as the reigns of James I and Charles I put together, longer than the reigns of Charles II, James II and William III put together. Accordingly it does not form a single age, but two ages, if not more; just as the reign of Louis XIV, when examined, falls into not less than three ages. The year 1585 is therefore particularly useful as an epoch. When we speak of the reign of Elizabeth as a glorious period, which called out as no other period before or since, the genius of the English nation, we have in mind chiefly the period which began in 1585. To this belong almost all the great names, though Philip Sidney, a precursor, only just saw the commencement of it. To this belongs the great national awakening, the new

sense of power and self-confidence, the oceanic swell and thunder. The earlier age, which we have called the Peace of Elizabeth, is wholly different, and cannot be called glorious, but it is equally remarkable and interesting, and, if our view be correct, was a necessary introduction to the glorious Elizabethan age.

The death of Alençon was an event of much greater importance than we have indicated. With him disappeared not merely the most convenient instrument through which France could act on the Low Countries; no, with him disappeared also all the prospects of the House of Valois. Henry of Navarre now steps to the front of the stage. He is first of the new group of men who in the critical year 1585 take the place of Orange, Don John, Alençon, Gregory XIII. While Philip and Elizabeth still hold their supreme position, we now follow the movements of Parma, Henri de Guise, Francis Drake, Sixtus V, but principally of Henry of Navarre. He is the Bourbon and the ancestor of all the Bourbons; he introduces a grand chapter of French history. But even contemporaries, who did not see the unrolling of that grand chapter, could recognise how much henceforth he would stand out above all secondary personages of the drama. For he, the heretic, was now by the death of Alençon, next in succession to the French crown. Accordingly just at the moment when the Counter-Reformation seemed on the point of prevailing in the Low Countries, its grand opportunity arrived in France. 'That no heretic should be allowed to reign' was its watchword. And we have seen how favourable a field France, with its intense Catholic feeling, offered to the Counter-Reformation. Now then at last the great day of decision would dawn. France instead of thwarting Philip in the Low Countries would turn inward upon herself and purge

her own bosom of heresy. Guise would overwhelm Navarre in France, while Parma, soon to be master of Antwerp, would pass triumphantly on into Holland and Zealand. And when so much was achieved and the Counter-Reformation was supreme on the Continent, there would remain to be conquered only the Island! And was it likely that a heretic would still keep her seat on the throne there, when it should have been demonstrated so signally that thrones were not for heretics? The daughter of Anne Boleyn would fall as her mother had fallen.

These were the extreme circumstances which forced Elizabeth at last to declare herself in favour of the Low Countries and openly to defy Spain. And so the inevitable transition was made from peace to war. But we must not for a moment suppose that Elizabeth felt what she was doing, or that she deliberately at this moment doffed her robe of peace and appeared as a Pallas armed with spear and shield. The habits she had formed in twenty-six years of such intense pressure as scarcely any human being ever underwent could not be put off, nor did she consciously wish to put them off. Her object was still as ever to abstain from action, to contrive delays, to mark time. But we have seen her all along outstripped, and not unwilling to be outstripped, by her people. From this time she had less control of them than ever. The mastiff escaped from her leash, and there began, especially on the sea, a duel between the English and Spanish nations.

There is no greater epoch than 1585 in the history either of England or of France, or consequently of the modern world. It marks the first appearance of England as an Oceanic Power, and also the first appearance of the House of Bourbon as claiming to be the royal House of France. Before the century was out these two events had

already visibly led to a complete revolution of all international relations. Hitherto Spain and Portugal had had exclusive dominion of the oceanic world, until in 1580 they had been merged in one. But in 1600 the sceptre of the sea was passing to England and Holland, which states in the seventeenth century come to be spoken of as the Sea Powers. Moreover at the same date France under the reign of the first Bourbon has recovered from Philip at Vervins much of what she lost at Cateau-Cambresis. But France has now settled her religious question, and is a decidedly Catholic Power. Consequently, when the seventeenth century began, the events of 1585 had produced this result, that two Protestant Powers had begun to control the sea, and that the two great Catholic Powers, stood, the religious question being settled, in fixed rivalry among themselves, contending for ascendancy on the Continent.

The crowded period before us lends itself very ill to the method of rapid delineation here adopted. Let us remark first that the policy of England in 1585 is most characteristically Elizabethan, that is, that in actual war not less than in peace it aims at accomplishing as little, and altering as little, as possible. This, once for all, is the statesmanship of Elizabeth, not probably from natural disposition, but from a habit formed in twenty-six years, during which she had maintained a position in which no action of any kind was safe. A very striking example of this appears on the threshold. When in 1585 the Netherlanders finally despaired of French aid, and when it appeared that Elizabeth was prepared to come to their help, the petition of the States-General to her took this form: 'Recognising that there is no prince or potentate to whom they are more obliged than they are to Your Majesty, we are about to request you very

humbly to accept the sovereignty of these Provinces and the people of the same for your very humble vassals and subjects.' There is much evidence to show that at this time and long after, the most earnest wish of the party which had till lately been led by the Prince of Orange was to become subjects of Queen Elizabeth. Yet Elizabeth steadfastly rejected their proposal.

There are positive events and there are negative events, and in the whole of English history there is no greater negative event than this. Acquisition of territory has been the business of most sovereigns, and their established road to glory. To Elizabeth especially it might have seemed necessary, for she had been forced to begin her reign with the humiliating cession of Calais. No compensation for this had been acquired since; nothing had been acquired, unless we reckon the rudiment of a colony which had been formed in Newfoundland. And now there was laid at her feet a new kingdom which desired nothing better than to be added to her dominion. It was in every respect such as statesmanship would pronounce a convenient and natural acquisition. In language, disposition, turn of mind, religion, the Dutch closely resembled the English. Elizabeth herself said that the English and Netherlanders had been in the olden time 'as close as man and wife.' They were rich and had the conditions of maritime power, so that at the time it was remarked that a union of England and the Low Countries would carry with it the empire of the sea. So strong was their sense of affinity that throughout the seventeenth century we may perceive that the relations of England and the Netherlands do not resemble those of distinct nations. Their intercourse, even their quarrels, have a family character. The House

of Orange allies itself twice with the House of Stuart, and interferes with strong party feeling in our civil war. The English Commonwealth actually proposes union to the Dutch Commonwealth. Finally the Dutch Stadtholder becomes King of England, and perhaps had William and Mary had a son, that union which Elizabeth disallowed would at last actually have taken place.

Let us imagine Elizabeth accepting the throne of the Low Countries; she would no doubt have found herself involved in war with Spain. But she did not escape this by declining it; three years after came the Armada. Meanwhile the two fleets of England and Holland would have been united, and the great colonial expansion which each state made separately in the seventeenth century, and which led to collisions and wars between them, would have been one expansion. The two polities would, to all appearance, have blended very easily, for both states had arrived at the same system, England having converted her feudal into a rational or political monarchy, and the Netherlands having created a similar political monarchy out of a republic.

We cannot therefore see how Elizabeth's refusal can be justified on the grounds of statesmanship. It is none the less characteristic on that account. Great and daring actions were done in abundance by Englishmen in this latter part of Elizabeth's reign, but they were not done by Elizabeth. It is difficult to grasp the fact that a ruler of so high spirit, of so much energy and courage, did not possess the talent of action but did possess in a unique degree the talent, in certain circumstances equally valuable, of refraining from action. Perhaps most great statesmen are somewhat sparing of adventurous action; nevertheless the great masterpieces of states-

manship are commonly sudden and rapid strokes of well-timed audacity. But though we trace almost all that makes modern England to Elizabeth, no such strokes were struck by her. Her statesmanship is almost purely negative; it consists solely in providing time and room and liberty for the energy of the nation to display itself. She does not lead her people, but in rare emergencies she—lets them go. We have as yet seen her taking action only once, when she came to the help of the Scotch against Mary of Guise, and then she acted in necessary self-defence. Now in 1585 comes a change of policy indeed of the utmost importance, but it scarcely appears that Elizabeth intended it seriously as a change of policy. She did indeed use brave words in her Declaration of 1585. But as she said in that document that her main object was peace, so it would appear from her subsequent conduct of the war that she rather intended to deter Philip from action than to take action herself. Peace and war were not in those days international conditions so sharply distinct as they are now. In 1585 there had been already many a sea-fight, and many a battle in the Netherlands, between Englishmen and Spaniards, and twice a Spanish Ambassador had been expelled from England by Elizabeth. Philip indeed had shown a long-suffering spirit, and it was therefore not unreasonable for Elizabeth to calculate that her threats and declaration of war might determine him to make peace.

And now when we look at the operations of war which followed we perceive that the naval and the military operations must be considered separately. The former are of immense historical importance, as showing that the English nation had found a new path to great-

ness. The latter are in themselves somewhat insignificant, but they throw light on the Queen's policy. She sends Leicester to the Low Countries with 6000 men to assist the insurgents, just as in 1559 she had sent her fleet to the Forth to aid the Scotch rebels. But we are led to think that she may have counted on a like result, on an easy success that would save her further trouble.

Had she consciously adopted at this moment a war-policy, we should have seen her devoting herself to military preparations, and she was assuredly not so blind as to imagine that war could be carried on with the greatest Power in the world without a large expenditure of money. The mania of parsimony which possessed her may be understood, so long as she remained at peace, as the instinct of sound finance in an uneducated form. During the long peace of Elizabeth her cheese-paring economy may well be supposed to have done much more good than harm. But what are we to think of the same propensity in time of war? We see that the campaign of 1586 in the Netherlands was ruined by the frenzied struggle of Elizabeth to carry on war without spending money. We see her starving her soldiers, reducing her servants to despair, and forfeiting her reputation among her allies by tricks of miserly economy unworthy of a great prince. Certainly if we should judge her by this campaign we should pronounce her one of the most incapable of War Ministers, or at least we should be driven to suppose that she had not mental elasticity enough to comprehend what is involved in a great change of policy. It rather appears that she intended no change of policy, and that she did not understand or admit that her period of peace was over and that her period of war

had begun. She intended in short to avert war by threatening war. As soon as she found that her measures had not produced this effect she conceived a disgust of the war in the Netherlands. Leicester returns in 1586, and this phase of the war comes to an end. Something of the old English valour has been displayed at Zutphen and Philip Sidney has died the death of a hero. But otherwise neither the reputation of England nor of Elizabeth has been greatly raised.

We understand both her prompt and firm refusal to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and her feeble conduct of the war, if we assume simply that a serious war with Philip had never entered into her calculations. She could not accept the sovereignty for herself, simply because she meant the sovereignty to remain with Philip. Artois and Hainault had already submitted to him, Brabant and Flanders were already half conquered; these successes had been due partly to concessions made by Parma in the name of Philip. It was still therefore natural for Elizabeth to expect that Holland and Zealand would in the end submit too, but on terms. The result which actually arrived was too unprecedented, the confused Dutch republic of the seventeenth century was a thing too shapeless, to be foreseen in 1585. No; Philip would win, but he might be forced to make considerable concessions to Holland and Zealand as he had done already to Artois and Hainault. Philip had all along recognised the extreme difficulty of suppressing the rebellion of the Low Countries so long as it received the support of England. Now therefore that new prospects, involving new efforts and expenses, opened before him in France, so that some settlement of the Dutch difficulty seemed doubly imperative, Philip might certainly be

brought to terms—so Elizabeth might calculate—if England should once more step decidedly forward and show that the decision of the question lay in her hands. In one word, what Elizabeth had in view was simply mediation. She proposed simply to draught a treaty which Philip on the one hand and the states of Holland and Zealand on the other should sign.

It was observable throughout that she contemplated applying force to the rebels as well as to Philip. As against Philip she almost seems to have no military plan, her calculation being that he will be brought to terms by the mere appearance of her troops; but she *has* a plan for reducing the States under her control. She is eager to get possession of Brill and Flushing, those positions in which the rebellion had first with the help of England maintained its ground in 1572.

She seems indeed to have regarded the Low Countries much as the English Government seventy years ago regarded Greece. Philip then, as the Sultan the other day, seemed to have legitimacy on his side; on the other hand the rebels had most real and substantial grounds of complaint. Meanwhile neighbouring Powers were inconvenienced and endangered by the interminable conflict. Accordingly England would interfere, as in the case of Greece the great Powers, and dictate a treaty by which justice should be done to the claims of either belligerent.

But her plan failed. The interminable war went on as before, and the only result of her interference was found to be that at last she was at open war with Philip. From this war she could not now withdraw, for while her delays and her economies had prevented her from inflicting much damage on Philip by land, it was

quite otherwise on sea. Sir Francis Drake was sweeping the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and Santa Cruz was urging Philip that the safety of his empire required the suppression of the piratical and heretical Power.

And while Elizabeth at war was blundering so strangely by land and running so victorious a course by sea, there occurred another great event. This event brought to a decision some of the main questions which it had hitherto been her policy to keep undecided, it convulsed all the European Courts, and it provoked Philip, whose natural indecision had hitherto played into the hands of Elizabeth's system of delay, to take for once a decided step. This event is the catastrophe of the Queen of Scots.

The trial and execution of a queen regnant naturally startled the world. For the first time Scotland had fallen to a queen, and for the first time England had been for a long time under the government of a queen. Mary in one of her earlier letters, written when she pleased herself with the thought of a romantic friendship to Elizabeth, alludes to this when she says, 'for we are both queens,' i.e. queens regnant. What could strike the imagination more painfully than to see one of these august sovereigns put the other to an ignominious death! Even to the present day our conception of Elizabeth's character is perverted by the impression which this event produces on the imagination. We remember that she was the daughter of Henry VIII, and instinctively conclude that she gave way to an inherited impulse of his tyrannic cruelty and also of his imperious contempt for public opinion. There can be no greater mistake, for, as we have just remarked, it was not in Elizabeth's character to act with decision at all, nor, we may add, in any

case to despise public opinion. But besides this we do great injustice to Elizabeth if we fail to recognise that precisely she had brought to an end the cruel system of the earlier Tudors. Her accession had closed the long Reign of Terror that had overshadowed England for nearly thirty years, between the scaffolds of More and Fisher and the stake of Cranmer. It was the special pride of Elizabeth to have given England not only peace and prosperity but also on the whole mild government. In her whole reign of forty-five years there occur only four of those gloomy executions which had been of so frequent occurrence under her sister, brother and father. Norfolk and Northumberland had fallen in 1571, Mary was now to fall, and long after, Essex. And in all these cases Elizabeth made it plain, as her predecessors had never dreamed of doing, that she acted with reluctance, that she broke a rule which she had laid down for herself. Pitiless severity towards the great nobles had been the *arcanum* of the Tudor House, and this *arcanum* Elizabeth most consciously and deliberately renounces.

The truth is that in no act of her reign did Elizabeth display the irresolution which had become a habit with her and which concealed much statesmanlike wisdom so signally as in her conduct towards Mary in 1587. That she professed irresolution is of course not to be denied, but that she felt it as much as she professed to feel it is evident if we consider her whole reign together. The maxim of her reign was to settle nothing, but to gain time. She had applied this maxim to Mary Stuart for not less than nineteen years together, and doubtless desired nothing better than to abide by it always. Was Mary Queen of Scotland, or was her abdication valid? Was Mary to succeed in England or was she not? These questions

were studiously left unsettled, and so long as they remained open, neither the Catholic party in Britain were driven to despair, nor did the Great Powers feel themselves obliged to take decisive action against Elizabeth. This policy had sufficed for a quarter of a century. Mary Stuart had become almost necessary to Elizabeth. Should Mary disappear, the ship of English policy would be driven from its moorings.

In 1585 we have seen that she took an apparently decided course when she published her declaration against Philip. But we have also seen that her secret object in this was not really to undertake war but to guard peace. In like manner it appears that in the case of Mary Stuart she was as unwilling as possible to act, and that not merely on grounds of humanity and pity, but on grounds of policy. By acting she could not but convulse Europe, and her system throughout had been to soothe and reassure Europe.

Such an act may be considered and may be endlessly debated from several points of view. Was it morally justifiable, at least on the principle *Salus populi suprema lex*? Was it consistent with the principles of monarchy, which at that very moment were assuming a form more mystical and transcendental than ever before? Is it to be attributed mainly to Elizabeth herself, or ought the chief responsibility to be thrown on Parliament and the public opinion which clamoured for the death of Mary as necessary for the safety of the country and of Elizabeth? And when we consider the singular behaviour of Elizabeth herself in the whole affair, what light does it throw upon her character? But all these aspects of the tragic deed are wholly distinct from that which it presents to those who study the history of English policy. For it was the decisive act by which the Gordian knot of English history

in those times was cut. The problem was not simple, how to secure England for the Reformation, but threefold, namely, how to do this in such a manner as to establish a clear succession to the House of Tudor, now evidently about to be extinguished soon after the House of Valois and at the same time to lay a foundation for the union of England and Scotland. Hitherto but one step had been taken towards the solution of this threefold problem. A child had been born, who on the hereditary principle had a strong claim to the throne both of England and of Scotland; this child belonged to the Reformation and not to the Roman Church. In him, in James Stuart, seemed to be embodied the happier future of the island of Britain, the union of its two parts in one Monarchy, in the strict hereditary principle and in the Reformation. Here was a clear prospect. On the other hand what a chaotic gloom gathered round his mother's head? She represented the Counter-Reformation, foreign invasion and the party of Guise. Should her designs prove successful, nothing but confusion was reserved for England.

It is only as it affected international relations that we are concerned with the execution of Mary Stuart. It affected these in two principal ways. First it entirely altered the attitude of the Counter-Reformation towards England. So long as Mary lived the Counter-Reformation might indulge a tranquil hope, and had no need to make haste, for the recovery of England. Only the death of Elizabeth, now fifty years of age and believed by the Catholics to be of shattered constitution, at any rate almost certain speedily to go the way of Orange and Coligny,—only her death was needed for the triumph of the Counter-Reformation. On the morrow of Elizabeth's death Mary would stand before the English nation representing legitimacy, promising at

the same time to avert one of those terrible wars of title of which England had had so many, and bringing in her hand the union of the kingdoms. All the Catholic party in England and Scotland would rally round her, her son possibly would pass over to her religion, and the whole victorious Counter-Reformation of Europe would favour and bless the happy consummation. One stroke of an axe had shattered all this. It now appeared that the death of Elizabeth would have no such consequences. James was not a Catholic, and henceforth his way to the throne of England might seem to lie through the favour of Elizabeth. The union of the kingdoms seemed henceforth more likely to come about under Protestantism than under Romanism.

Accordingly to the Counter-Reformation the death of Mary Stuart was an occurrence similar to the death of Alençon three years before. As that made Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, heir to the French throne, so this made James of Scotland, the Protestant, heir to the throne of England.

Now it was the grand principle of the Counter-Reformation that no heretic can succeed to a throne; hence the death of Alençon had been immediately followed by the formation in France of a League to exclude Henry. Something similar might be expected to follow the death of Mary Stuart. It would rouse Sixtus V. He would proclaim a crusade against England, since henceforth the Counter-Reformation could only hope to procure by vigorous action what hitherto it had expected to obtain by waiting.

But a similar effect would be produced on the mind of Philip not only through the same considerations, but also through other considerations peculiarly affecting himself.

So long as Mary lived, he had desired the fall of Elizabeth with but half a heart. That event would give England and Scotland not to him, but only to Mary, and she, as Queen of Britain, would be drawn, though Catholic, into a policy, more or less, of resistance to the Catholic king. For her affinities were not with Spain but with France, so that at an earlier period Philip had strongly favoured Elizabeth's resistance to her claims. Mary had tried to disarm this hostility, at one time by giving Don John a hope of her hand, at another time by disinheriting her son in favour of the king of Spain. Now that she was gone it was open to Philip to draw out of the Habsburg quiver one of those innumerable succession-claims. He had already laid claim to the French succession. He could now lay claim to the succession in England, for was he not descended from John of Gaunt? But this claim would need to be enforced by action. The title of James was like that of Elizabeth herself or Henry of Navarre; it was invalidated by heresy. It must be put aside, and Philip's own title must be supported by a Spanish fleet and army, the Counter-Reformation (represented mainly by the Pope) supplying funds.

It appears therefore that the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 contributed in the greatest degree, along with the campaign of Leicester and the far more effective maritime operations of Drake since 1585, to bring on open and decisive war between Elizabeth and Philip. In 1585 probably Elizabeth had defied Philip in the hope of intimidating him, for at that time Philip, it may be, did not desire war with England. But Philip now desired war with England, partly because his maritime empire was seriously threatened, partly because it was now open to him, with the enthusiastic approval of the whole Catholic

world, to strike for the crown of England. And so Elizabeth, who as late as 1587 desired nothing so much as peace with Spain, found herself in 1588 collecting all the forces of her kingdom to withstand the Armada.

Thus the great period of Elizabeth's reign is introduced against her will and by the downfall of her system. Her own achievement is the long peace; the war is forced upon her partly by circumstances, partly by her people. In 1588 arrived that crisis which she had devoted her whole ingenuity to averting. At last Philip and other Powers of the Counter-Reformation gathered their whole strength to strike a direct blow at England. They were immensely powerful, but in losing Mary Stuart they had lost their most effective instrument. Philip had been king of England thirty years before; he intended now to become king of England again. At the same time he put forward similar claims in France. Could he only meet with as much success in France and England as he had lately had in Portugal, all the aspirations of the Counter-Reformation and all the plans of Philip would be realised together, and the collapse of the Dutch rebellion would be a mere incident in the establishment of a universal Catholic Monarchy.

But England is an island, and more than once in recent ages the whole destiny of Europe has been decided by the fact that one of its great Powers has an insular position. In repelling the advance of Spain, France no doubt achieved as much as England, and she was far harder pressed. Henry of Navarre is the most strenuous wrestler of this time, but he had to abandon the cause of the Reformation; he had to barter this against national independence. It may be said that the Reformation was saved in that extremity by England alone.

A long peace, such as Elizabeth had procured for England, furnishes to a nation which has energy the opportunity of incalculable new developments. Perhaps if the Armada had come thirty or twenty years earlier it might have effected a landing, and had Alexander of Parma or Don John once landed and issued his appeal to the old Catholic party in England and in Scotland, especially in the lifetime of Mary Stuart, I suppose there would have been but a poor chance for Elizabeth. Even without the help of Mary Stuart, even in 1588, Parma would have had a great military superiority in our unprepared, unfortified island. But during that long peace, under a government which had held such a loose rein over private enterprise, an unexpected development had taken place. We were already busy traders, and we saw the Flemish trade ruined by the war,—Antwerp, the great port for New World commerce, now sacked by brutal mutineers, now besieged and taken by Parma; Flemish refugees flocked into our own country, and brought with them commercial ideas and habits. We meanwhile had peace, we could take up the trade which was passing from Flanders. Beyond the Ocean lay a vast world of wealth, from which every year silver-fleets arrived in Spain. The vast extent of this New World had been known since the memorable voyage of Magellan, but when Elizabeth came to the throne no Englishman had seen the Pacific Ocean, and no one could yet form an estimate of the amount of wealth that New World contained. When however English adventurers explored these regions in their trading vessels, they found themselves treated as interlopers, for Spain, now united with Portugal, claimed everything as its own.

A monopoly of this kind, had it been reasonably limited

and protected by treaties, would assuredly have provoked smuggling on a great scale. But it was practically unlimited, it secluded from English commerce the larger half of the planet, and it was claimed by Spain not on the ground of any treaty concluded with England or any other country, but on the ground of a Papal Bull issued at the beginning of the sixteenth century. By heretical England such a title was not likely to be admitted. Accordingly our traders had to choose between tamely submitting to an enormous injury, if they renounced the New World trade, or carrying it on in spite of Spain, that is, by systematic violence, by merging trade in war. Government connived at this during the peace, as it connived at breaches of neutrality committed in the Low Countries by hundreds and thousands of English volunteers. But at the covert maritime war Elizabeth connived far more heartily and gladly than at the war on land. For she got nothing by the latter, but by the former enormous gains might be made, silver-ships might be brought in, and some considerable share of the plunder might be appropriated by Elizabeth herself.

— We thus see that the war with Spain which was first openly declared in 1585 had a double character. The maritime part of it had an origin distinct from that of the land-war. In addition to a rebellion in the Low Countries, which England could not afford to see suppressed, a quarrel was springing up on the ocean between English traders and the Spanish monopolists which had already led to covert, and must in the end have led to open, war. It was the same difference which later under Oliver and again in the reign of George II led to war between England and Spain. The conduct of England in this matter may easily be misrepresented either by way of

blame or of praise. It may be represented as sordid and brutal piracy, and examples of cruelty may be produced. It may be represented again as a heroic policy of rescuing the New World from the Inquisition and giving it back to the free use of the sons of men of whatever race; and in favour of this view elevated sentiments may be quoted from Essex and Raleigh. But regarded as a whole it was neither above nor below the average of trade-wars. There was lawlessness, but all the customs of war were in that age ill-regulated, and this was especially the case upon the sea. On the other hand a few ardent imaginations saw beyond the immediate struggle the grand issue of the future of the Ocean. But the plain grievance itself of England against Spain was perfectly real and of enormous magnitude. It would in the most civilised age have led to war, that a single state should advance a general claim to the whole New World and all the riches of it. If the claim had been for a long time allowed, this was only because the spirit of commercial adventure was not fully aroused in England before the Peace of Elizabeth.

Hitherto we have had before our eyes mainly one person, Elizabeth herself. She had indeed able Ministers in Cecil and Walsingham, but it may be made a question whether these deserve to be called great men as well as able Ministers. It is quite otherwise with Francis Drake, who received knighthood from Elizabeth in 1580. He is one of the great men of his age; his name was bruited about Europe and pronounced with admiration by the Spaniards themselves. In our own history few men have originated so much. The British trade, the British Empire, the British navy—of all these colossal growths the root is in him. It was he who carried the English name over all those seas which hitherto had known only the

Spaniard and the Portuguese. He had accompanied John Hawkins in his expedition of 1567. In 1572 he had seized Nombre de Dios; soon after he gained his first glimpse of the South Sea. On December 3rd, 1577, he set sail again from Plymouth, passed the straits of Magellan, sailed northward in the Pacific as far perhaps as the Golden Gate, then struck across the Ocean, reaching Ternate in November 1579, Java in March 1580, the Cape of Good Hope on June 15th, Sierra Leone in July, finally Plymouth on September 26th. It is said that only the great Magellan himself before Drake had thus 'put a girdle round the earth' and Magellan died on his voyage. Such was Drake the explorer. But the earlier explorers had met with no enemies but the feeble aborigines of the New World; Drake fought the Spaniards wherever he met them, or wherever he could attack them with advantage. As yet they regarded him only as a daring pirate, but they were soon to give him an opportunity of enrolling his name at the head of the list in which stand the names of Blake, Hawke, Rodney and Nelson.

When Elizabeth in 1585 began to defy Spain, while she sent Leicester with an army to the Low Countries, she let loose also her knight of the Ocean, Sir Francis Drake. He seized St Domingo and Carthagena, in 1586 he forced his way into the harbour of Cadiz and burnt there a great number of ships.

If, as we suppose, Elizabeth intended not to provoke a war with Spain but to force Spain to make peace, this was one of those mistakes which brought about the great Elizabethan age. Drake struck far too hard. He created an alarm which convinced Spain not that she must make peace, but that in self-defence she must crush England. Hitherto England had been regarded by Philip merely as

the main support of the rebellion in the Low Countries. Drake displayed a new aspect of her. Henceforth the Spanish politicians could perceive that their vast New World dominion was, owing to its very vastness, utterly indefensible against any sudden attack, and that England was a nest of daring assailants.

And now by the death of Mary Stuart it was left open to Philip to lay claim to the throne of England. Everything therefore concurred in 1587 to induce him to put aside his long procrastination and to make a grand attack upon England. He had won the battle of Lepanto, and therefore even his inert imagination could rise, though rarely, to the conception of a grand naval enterprise. He had won still later in 1583 the battle of Terceira over a fleet, mainly French, commanded by Filippo Strozzi. It was asserted by the Spaniards that certain English ships, which formed part of Strozzi's fleet, had been the first to take flight, from which they drew the conclusion that English sailors were only brave against unarmed populations taken by surprise. Meanwhile these English sailors themselves had formed a contrary opinion, and while the rest of the world watched with awe the movements of the Armada, confidently asserted that 'twelve of her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys in the King of Spain's dominions.'

There was another consideration which impelled Philip just at this time to vigorous action. The maritime Balance of Power in that age lay between Spain on the one side and Turkey favoured by France on the other. Now Turkey was at this moment preoccupied with an ambitious war against Persia, and France was paralysed by the revival of her terrible civil dissensions.

We must consider England and France together if we

would understand the European crisis which is marked in English history by the Armada. That reign of Philip II, which from our modern point of view looks so deplorable, appeared to the contemporary world to grow more glorious year after year, and was now reaching its zenith. Beginning with St Quentin and the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis it had advanced in the seventies to Lepanto and in the eighties to the conquest of Portugal.

It had met indeed with some reverses in the Low Countries, but even that knotty problem seemed now on the point of solution. The rebellion had been sustained mainly through the firmness of the maritime provinces led by Orange, and through the assistance, most effective though concealed, of England and France. But how commanding was now the attitude which Philip was able to assume both against his rebels and against the Powers that favoured them! Orange was dead, and Parma after actually pacifying several of the provinces had taken Antwerp to the admiration of the world. And Philip had been able to take the offensive in the most overwhelming manner against France and England themselves. He laid claim to both thrones, he denied the right to reign both of Elizabeth and of Henry of Navarre. In France at least he was supported in this position by a most formidable Catholic League and even, so long as Henry remained a Huguenot, by the public opinion of the country. In England too he might count on a certain support, but besides this he had now an opportunity of bringing the whole force of his Monarchy, supported by the Counter-Reformation and the Pope, against the heretic queen. He enjoyed for a time at least this incalculable advantage that, though he waged a war of conquest against England and France at once, England

and France were nevertheless scarcely in a condition to help each other.

Let us note the principal occurrences which brought France to such an extremity.

The death of Alençon-Anjou in 1584 raised for France the great question of the age, whether a heretic could reign, by placing Henry of Navarre in the position of immediate heir to the reigning king. France entered upon the two last of its long series of religious convulsions. By the first of these the House of Valois was extinguished by assassination in the year after the Armada; by the second the House of Bourbon made its way through civil war to the crown. It is interesting to note the correspondence in time between one of the great crises in English and in French history. 1588 is for us the year of the Armada. For France it is the year of the Barricades and of the murder of Guise; the next year is the year of the fall of the House of Valois. If this phase of French history begins in 1584, we see in 1585 the organisation of the League and the establishment of its relations with Philip.

In 1586 falls the campaign so-called of the three Henries. France was so miserably divided that it saw a kind of triangular civil war. The Henry on the throne was at war with the Huguenot Henry, who now won the first Huguenot victory at Coutras; but the third Henry, Henry of Guise, headed a party not less independent of the Government and secretly paid by the king of Spain. This third party represented in fact the Counter-Reformation, whereas the Government inclined more to the Politicians.

In 1587 Paris enters the contest, declaring for the Counter-Reformation with all the fanaticism which two hundred years later it was to display in quite another

cause. It organises a sort of Committee of Public Safety, falls under the influence of fanatical preachers, and attaches itself to the Guise against the king. As in the last year the war had been mainly between the king and the Huguenots, it begins now to be mainly a war between the king and the League. On May 9th, 1588, Guise ventures with a slight following to enter Paris in defiance of the prohibition of the king. A crisis seems approaching which might resemble the St Bartholomew; but affairs take another turn, and the day of the Barricades resembles rather one of the brighter scenes of the French Revolution. Guise appears as a sort of Lafayette; the king's Swiss troops are disarmed; the king however himself is no Louis XVI, and instead of submitting makes his escape to Chartres. He summons a meeting of the States General to meet at Blois. In July he issues an edict, in which he promises to suppress heresy and accepts the principle that no heretic or favourer of heresy must reign.

Such was the condition of France at the very moment when the Armada sailed out of Corunna (July 28th). We know what bloody scenes occurred at Blois, and how the murder done there was avenged on Henry III soon after before Paris, and through what desperate campaigns the Bourbon made his way to the throne of France. The author of all the mischief, and the person who hoped to profit by it, was the same Philip II who at the same time sent the Armada against England.

No potentate has held a more formidable position than Philip II at this moment. He had approached much nearer to universal empire than his father had done before him, or than Louis XIV after him.

But his zenith was soon passed. He had indeed no

sudden complete catastrophe, but in ten years after the Armada he ceased to inspire alarm. When he died in 1598 he was still unquestionably ruler of the greatest Power in the world. But that Power was then effectually held in check, and from the moment that men ceased to fear it they began to take note that it was far advanced in internal decay.

LIV. SPAIN.

THE DECADE OF THE 1590S.

The decade of the 1590s was a period of great internal decay in Spain. The country was exhausted by the long and costly wars of the previous decade, and the population was suffering from the effects of the plague and the famine. The government was weak and inefficient, and the country was in a state of anarchy. The king, Philip II, was a weak and tyrannical ruler, and his policies had led to the country's decline. The nobles were powerful and corrupt, and they were the main support of the king. The common people were poor and oppressed, and they were the main source of the country's problems. The decade of the 1590s was a period of great internal decay in Spain, and it was the beginning of the end of the country's power.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF ELIZABETH.

Now then that the crisis arrives at last, we are prepared to understand in what way it will be handled by Elizabeth. She will be slow to believe that Philip means really to send a great Armada against her, and afterwards in resisting it she will cling convulsively to that parsimony, which indeed in a time of peace had been one of the best qualities of her government.

The victory itself then was won not by Elizabeth, but almost in spite of Elizabeth by her people. The maritime development of England had long been observable; naval power had grown with commerce, and had been favoured by Government because it brought in money. And now on the grandest scale the naval power of England was displayed before the eyes of Europe, saving England without aid from any army.

Much legend has perhaps gathered round the current tradition of the naval struggle in the Channel and the North Sea¹. Professor Laughton holds that there was no

¹ On this subject see especially the volume on the Defeat of the Spanish Armada recently published by the Navy Records Society. It is edited and furnished with an elaborate introduction by Professor Laughton, who claims that it ought to be considered as complementary to the Spanish work of Duro.

great difference between the two fleets either in number of men or size of ships. He holds that not more than 24,000 men actually entered the Channel and that they were met by probably from 17,000 to 18,000 Englishmen; also that in point of tonnage Spanish and English ships were much the same, though the Spanish were higher-built and looked larger. He holds also that in guns the Spanish ships were very ill supplied. But there is no doubt that the English ships were better worked and that the English sailors proved themselves more skilful.

The current tradition, if in some respects exaggerated, is also somewhat less distinct than it might be. It remembers the slow advance of the Armada from the Lizard to Calais roads, with several exploits performed by English sailors during this time. It remembers the fire-ships sent among the Spanish ships on Sunday night as they lay at anchor, and how they cut their cables and drifted eastward. It remembers also their flight northward and the tempest which scattered them in the North Sea. But it seems to have forgotten the great sea-fight fought on Monday, August 8th, off Gravelines, the Battle of Gravelines, which as Professor Laughton says, shattered the Spanish prestige and established the basis of England's empire.

The Armada was not defeated by a storm, any more than Napoleon's Russian expedition by a frost. The Armada was defeated at Gravelines, and the enterprise was defeated when Parma failed to bring up his flotilla. Only the pursuit of the flying host was undertaken, and ruthlessly performed, by a tempest. This began on August 14th and raged with little intermission through the rest of the month, making it impossible for the Armada either to land at some northern point of Britain or to return and try once more to put itself into connexion with Parma.

The Armada failed so completely that it did not in any degree avenge the damage done in former years and especially since 1585 upon Spain by English sailors, nor did it for more than a moment put the English upon the defensive. It did not anywhere effect even a momentary landing nor obtain any partial success however petty, whereas the Spanish Monarchy and Spain itself had for years past suffered grievously from English attacks and plundering expeditions. The island that was to be subjugated was not even touched. It is less accurate to say that the attack of the Spaniards failed than to say that the Spaniards could not succeed in making an attack. And yet it is to be observed that the expedition actually enjoyed the advantages which had been calculated upon. France did not interfere, though the Armada cast anchor near Calais, and though the ambition of Philip threatened France not less than England. The government of Henry III was paralysed by the success of Guise at Paris, which was the fruit of Philip's subsidies.

It would be absurd to imagine that the catastrophe of the Armada was fatal to Spain. Spain continued yet for many years to be the greatest Power in the world. But her navy had received the same kind of blow that her army suffered half a century later at Rocroi. The age of Lepanto and Terceira came to an end. The battle of Gravelines deprived Spain of her maritime preeminence. And the English sailors were shown to be not mere pirates, but promising candidates for the empire of the sea.

After September a third phase of the war necessarily began. It could not but modify all views of the relation between England and Spain, to have ascertained that Spain had no real naval superiority over England, and that England was not, like France, internally divided to

such an extent that a large part of the population would prefer Philip to Elizabeth. Almost from this moment the moral weakness, the consciousness of being liable to conquest in some high tide of the Counter-Reformation, ceased to depress the English mind. The country acquired a self-confidence which it has never lost since.

But what course should now be pursued? On the one hand Spain might acknowledge herself beaten, or she might, as Philip at first hinted, fit out a new Armada at Emden and entrust the direction of it to Parma alone. For whatever unexpected superiority the English naval captains might have shown, nothing was clearer than that they had not beaten Parma, and that an expedition conducted by him might have had a very different fortune. England too, if Spain left the initiative to her, might adopt either of two wholly different courses. Her naval adventurers had had their way for once, and they had made the nation proud of them. England might now plunge into a course of naval adventure which need have no end. She might, on the ground of the war, plunder the Spanish Empire on all continents and oceans. It lay before her almost as unwieldy and undefended as it had lain, when yet unsettled, before the Conquistadores, so that it was open to some English Cortez now to avenge Montezuma or to some English Pizarro to punish the crimes of the Spanish Pizarro. Who could say that it was impossible, or even perhaps very difficult, to carve a new dominion for England out of the Spanish Monarchy, or at least to derive from it inestimable wealth?

On the other hand England might take a very different course. Those who, like Elizabeth herself, desired only peace, might regard the disaster of the Armada as leading directly to that result. The Spaniards had always held

that they could not put down the rebellion of the Low Countries so long as England supported it. Now that they had ascertained that England could not be coerced, they must needs draw the conclusion that they must make terms with the Low Countries. On this ground a settlement of the great dispute of the age might be anticipated.

But war and peace being so ill-regulated as in those days they were, it was more likely that no such definite decisions would be arrived at on either side—that on the one side Spain would be too proud to make peace, while on the other side England would not rouse herself to a continuous effort or form a strategical plan, but would carry on her old plundering system with more daring and on a larger scale. In general it may be said that after 1588 the war began again to be as before 1585, that is desultory. It could not indeed become again covert, a war under the mask of peace, but it was scarcely avowed war. It was unlike later wars that have been waged by England, in having no definite object, unless Philip's claim to the English throne were still the object. It could therefore hardly end while Philip lived, nor, unless Spain could learn to tolerate heresy on a throne, while Elizabeth lived.

But between 1588 and the death of Elizabeth there intervened fifteen years. So long the war lasted, which on the side of England was chiefly a series of plundering expeditions, in which the Government scarcely aimed at a single national object, but rather allowed naval adventurers to make reprisals for their exclusion from the New World. It is a peculiar and unique period of English history, in which war is waged, but freely, with a triumphant sense of power, with scarcely any sense of danger, with some lawlessness, yet on the whole with a good conscience, and

with a national pride which no earlier generation had known. The glory of 1588 tinged every succeeding year of the war; the sense of danger and the tension that had held the national mind for a whole generation was gone and a new generation grew up to revel in victory and discovery. The inextricable problem was solved, the gloomy dilemma which had made Elizabeth herself incurably irresolute presented itself no longer. It is now that we feel ourselves in the Elizabethan age proper.

Elizabeth's personal position is henceforth perhaps the strangest in history. That a queen regnant should rule England was almost unprecedented, so that language did not readily conform to it, and we often find Elizabeth called 'the king.' That she should remain unmarried was still stranger. A Virgin Queen was a personage who seemed to require a special etiquette to herself. When to this was at last added in 1588 a splendour of glory, a visible preeminence that made her stand out among an armed nation like Britannia herself, then indeed men's imaginations were almost disturbed. She had a plenty of faults and weaknesses, nay of basenesses, but yet a strong outline of greatness, many commanding features. And now in the victor of the Armada all human infirmities, visible enough before in the mere daughter of Anne Boleyn, who ruled, as many thought, by usurpation and was destined, as many thought, to a miserable ruin, passed for ever out of sight, and there remained only the embodied Britannia.

But meanwhile she was growing old and the form of worship that had been gradually devised for the Virgin Queen was fast becoming inappropriate, just when her claim to receive worship and the general inclination to render it became greater than ever. In monarchy, where

the monarchical power is effective, the want is often felt of a royal counsellor who shall be more intimate with the sovereign than any mere official can be. Both Elizabeth and James I had *favourites*, dependent upon themselves, whom they took a pleasure in preferring to men of greater merit. The Virgin Queen, who might not have a husband, had yet from the beginning of her reign one whom she regarded in a similar way, whom she preferred to others, by whom she chose to be represented, whom she took pleasure now in indulging, now in henpecking. Leicester died at the very moment of her grand apotheosis in September 1588. He had been her commander-in-chief, as in the Low Countries in 1586, so against the Armada, and the appointment has justly been compared to the appointment of the Duke of York to the army of Flanders in 1793. She appointed him that the military force might not pass out of her own control.

After his death we see that she abides by a similar system. She cannot govern by a purely rational method, listening simply to the wisest counsellors and appointing simply the fittest men. But new men are rising, who might have been her children, men who can remember no other sovereign but the Virgin Queen. Out of these she has to select her new favourite; out of these she must fill up Leicester's place. And here begins the fantastic absurdity that disfigures so much that is glorious in Elizabeth's later years. No one was better fitted than Elizabeth to play the part of Spartan mother or 'severe Sabellian mother' to a nation in training for greatness, but her part had been arranged, and she had grown accustomed to her pose, in an earlier time. The Virgin Queen could not be conceived as a mother, but as an object either of devoted human courtship or mystic transcendental courtship. In

the Alençon period this view already began to pall upon the taste of her subjects, and by the time of the Armada it would have been well that she should have ceased to be thought of as marriageable.

After 1588 Elizabeth is really another person. Her own proper work is done, and she has achieved a victory which raises her to a station above 'the warrior-kings of old.' Her old counsellors are dropping off. Leicester went in 1588, Walsingham in 1590, Nicolas Bacon also was no more. Burleigh indeed remains, and Buckhurst, but they almost alone survive to tell of the old gloomy times when the stake stood so often in Smithfield and the scaffold on Tower Hill. The Virgin Queen herself remembered, no one better, those horrors, but she is now surrounded by gladsome young heroes, the Argonauts of English history, to whose imaginations, thanks to her, all such things are strange.

Why, we ask, must she continue to be an object of courtship and to be praised for her beauty? Essex, we see, speedily succeeds to the position of Leicester, and since a favourite must be taken as indispensable, we can only say, Pity that, as the old favourite had been regarded as a husband, the new one, of a younger generation, and Leicester's stepson, could not be regarded as a son! Raleigh too might very becomingly have regarded Elizabeth as a mother, he might have dreamed of her as a Virgin mother! But such was not the etiquette, and a reform was not made. Hence those incredible love-letters of Essex and Raleigh, which make us wonder at the taste of a time otherwise so glorious. There was a real difficulty. Court-life has always something fantastic about it; and here it was especially difficult to restrain the fantastic element.

In order to deal properly with a thing we must be able

to classify it, and the same rule applies to persons. Now the Virgin Queen as she had grown to be since the Armada, as she had been made by a career so unprecedented, by her unhappy birth and childhood, by the trials of her early youth, by her unparalleled reign of thirty years in the midst of every kind of peril, finally by her grand victory and apotheosis, was a person who utterly defied classification.

This period of fifteen years has scarcely yet received the special treatment it deserves. Mr Froude leaves Elizabeth at the opening of it. Mr S. R. Gardiner begins his tale at the close. It is indeed a kind of summit, one of those short periods of fruition, which seem to pass like a dream because a great struggle is over and no other struggle has yet begun. Happiness and glory however, where they occur in history, ought to receive due attention. This is the period when the English genius unfolded itself with the greatest vigour, as though braced by the sea-breezes. It had conceived a great self-confidence, it gazed upon a boundless prospect. It was full of audacity and originality, and showed as yet none of the defects, of which at later periods it has been accused, no narrowness or frenzied party spirit, no conventionalism or pharisaism.

We confine ourselves always to foreign affairs, and we have now to remark that a new Policy, which henceforth is the national policy, begins to be consciously entertained. Sir Francis Drake passed lately over our stage, and led us to reflect how many of the characteristics of modern England seem to begin with him. Now comes another person, representing a phase slightly later, and we may observe that he is more conscious, that he expresses the new ideas by speech and writing. This is Sir Walter Raleigh. As Sir Francis reaches his zenith with the

Armada; Sir Walter culminates a little later, and in him everything is more developed. The plundering raid with him is the colony; while Sir Francis explores the Ocean, Sir Walter penetrates the newly discovered Continent; while Sir Francis 'singes the King of Spain's beard,' Sir Walter lays down a strategical plan for overthrowing his empire; finally, while Sir Francis is dumb, Sir Walter gives utterance to the new ideas in Discourses, Maxims, Speeches, even in Histories. On this side indeed, if he is unlike Sir Francis Drake, he resembles Sir Francis Bacon, and if Bacon expresses the thought of that generation turned inward upon itself, Raleigh utters its view of the world around it, especially the new maritime and oceanic world into which it was breaking way for the first time.

The following passage written by him long after, when James I was reigning and perhaps when Henry IV of France was dead, deserves to stand here as the best expression of the new policy:—

'For Spain, it is a proverb of their own that the lion is not so fierce as he is painted. His forces in all parts of the world (but the Low Countries) are far under the fame; and if the late queen would have believed her men of war, as she did her scribes, we had in her time beaten that great empire in pieces and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old times. But her majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself and to see his own weakness; which, till our attempts taught him, was hardly known to himself. Four thousand men would have taken from him all the ports of his Indies; I mean all his ports, by which his treasure doth or can pass. He is more hated in that part of the world by the sons of the conquered than the English

are by the Irish. We were too strong for him by sea, and had the Hollanders to help us, who are now strongest of all. Yea in eighty-eight, when he made his great and fearful fleet, if the queen would have hearkened to reason, we had burnt all his ships and preparations in his own ports, as we did afterwards upon the same intelligence and doubt in Cadiz.

‘He that knows him not, fears him, but, excepting his Low Country army, which hath been continued and disciplined since Charles V’s time, he is nowhere strong¹.’

Here indeed is a large and simple view, and a view founded upon intimate knowledge. Raleigh might fairly have drawn from it a *prophecy*, but he attempts to deduce from it a *policy*. He sees, it is evident, the future British Empire as clearly as if it already existed; it is clear to him that the Spanish Power will disappear from the Oceanic world and that the British Power will take its place. But he also assumes, as if it required no proof, that Queen Elizabeth ought to have destroyed the Spanish Empire and to have set up an English Empire in its room, and that she would have done so but for her unhappy disposition to half measures.

It was perhaps almost inevitable that Raleigh’s generation should regard Elizabeth in this way. They saw her after the Armada stand before the world as a Semiramis, and they wondered that since she waged war with Spain and at so manifest an advantage she achieved so little. Certainly if her object was war, she is convicted of half-measures. But her object throughout was *peace*. That

¹ See Raleigh’s Works collected by Oldys and Birch; vol. viii. p. 246. The passage occurs in ‘A Discourse touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy.’

object she had held before her for thirty years, and if she had sometimes used threats or connived at violent measures this was because at particular moments peace seemed more attainable by a warlike than by a peaceful attitude. But probably after the grand success of the Armada she was for a time half reconciled to war by the superiority of her sailors and by the plunder they brought in. If however her policy became in consequence unsteady it was scarcely, as Raleigh supposed, because she waged war with half a heart, but rather because she ceased for a time to labour for peace.

The policy which Raleigh would have substituted is avowedly one of boundless conquest. Elizabeth should have listened, he says, to her men of war, not to her scribes. She should have beaten the Spanish Empire in pieces. In other words, England should have transformed herself into a military state, and have burdened herself, as Holland could not avoid doing, with an interminable war. We should thus no doubt have acquired a great empire and a great trade more speedily than we did, but it is also evident that we should have incurred infinite risks and have embarked on a policy of unprincipled adventure such as we have always avoided.

Before the Armada the great question in Elizabeth's Council had been, Should England stand forth at great risk to herself against the Counter-Reformation in defence of the insurgents in the Low Countries and of the Huguenots, or should she remain officially neutral, and confine herself to rendering secret help? But after the Armada the party-division is altered. The question is now between the old school of politicians and those who have deduced from the event of 1588 a new system of policy. It is the question whether England ought to desire peace with

Spain, peace of course on good terms, or should endeavour by means of the naval superiority of which she is now conscious to destroy and tear to pieces the Spanish Empire. And the result of the new balance of parties was such as Raleigh so impatiently describes. England did indeed strike several heavy blows at the maritime power of Spain, by which the lesson first taught in 1588 was effectively inculcated and driven home, so that all the world might know that the events of 1588 had been by no means merely accidental. But England did not shake the colonial empire of Spain, nor make any conquest from her.

It is time however to recollect that the war of England and Spain is but a part of the general war. Even while the Armada was on its way Europe did not quite stand at gaze, and afterwards while the naval power of Spain went down before Drake, Howard and Raleigh, Spain was winning victories on land, which perhaps attracted greater attention, just as two hundred years later Trafalgar itself was almost hidden from the observation of Europe by Ulm. Along with her war with England, Spain continued to wage war in the Low Countries and, what was more important, she carried on a covert though most deadly war with France, and such was her success here that for several years longer the fortune of Philip seemed on the whole in spite of his naval disasters as bright as ever.

In 1588 Philip had been able for a moment to separate France from England. In that year the struggle had been between Spain on the one hand and England and the Dutch insurgents on the other. But soon afterwards this isolation of France ceased. The latent discord which in 1588 paralysed her broke out after a short delay into an open civil war. Henry III murdered Guise at Blois and threw

himself into the arms of Henry of Navarre. The League, having its head-quarters at Paris, broke into open rebellion. France, as it were, *lynched* the royal assassin. Catharine de Medici had died shortly before, and thus the Valois line disappeared in an abyss of infamy. The Bourbon stood forth as King of France, but his kingdom was still to conquer. Here then Elizabeth saw again a condition of France with which she was familiar. Since almost the beginning of her reign she had been in the habit of leaning on the French Huguenots on one side as much as on the Dutch insurgents on the other. Instead of waging war herself she had been in the habit of aiding the belligerents in France and the Low Countries who had the same enemy, namely, the Counter-Reformation. After 1589 she was able to resume this policy. She could employ Henry IV to fight in her cause as earlier she had employed Condé and Coligny.

And thus in outline the war of Elizabeth after the Armada appears very similar to the principal wars of England since. In the naval part England takes the lead and strikes with her whole force. On land she assists her continental allies with subsidies. These allies are, as they continued till past the middle of the seventeenth century except in 1627-9 to be, France and the United Netherlands.

The stroke for universal empire which Philip struck in 1588 is the last of the memorable acts of that strange politician, perhaps the least able man who ever went near to conquer the world. He himself lived to acknowledge that he had failed. Before his death in 1598 he deliberately sought and obtained peace with one of his three adversaries, with France (Treaty of Vervins, 1598). Under his successor Philip III the war with England still dragged

on until the death of Elizabeth, which occurred five years later than that of Philip, and finally in 1609 the war with the Low Countries was suspended by a truce, which might at the time have seemed likely to ripen into a definitive peace. Thus a complete pacification took place, which indeed did not last long, but marks nevertheless the final close of the struggle of which Elizabeth for forty-four years had borne the brunt. When a new European war broke out near the end of the reign of James I, the whole aspect of Europe, and in particular the position of England, had become entirely different.

We have noted the great advantages which Philip enjoyed in 1588. What then were the causes of his failure?

In 1588 Parma was at the height of his success in the Low Countries, and at the same time the League, Philip's instrument, seemed almost all-powerful in France. The Armada failed indeed, but there remained a reasonable prospect for Philip that by becoming supreme through the League in France he would speedily settle with the Dutch and then send a new Armada, not this time from Lisbon but from Antwerp, which would easily effect a landing in England. The events of 1588 had indeed shown that it might be difficult to land here, but they pointed also to the conclusion that, once on English ground, an army commanded by Parma would meet with little organised resistance.

But now the new disturbances in France, the deaths of Guise and Henry III and the outbreak of civil war, defeated this calculation. The party of Philip was not only no longer supreme in France, but it had not even the Government on its side. Henry of Navarre was now legitimate king. He was indeed confronted by a rebellion

of the most formidable kind, of which rebellion Philip was secretly the leader. Nevertheless Philip was not ruler in France but only leader of the opposition. Henry was indeed reduced to great straits, but the conservative feeling of the country, the public opinion of France, was on the whole on his side. The League by itself could not overpower him, if even it could withstand him. Consequently it was necessary for Parma with his army to leave the Low Countries and to take the field in France itself against Henry. Thus in 1590, after Ivry has been won by Henry and when Paris is besieged, Parma advances from the Low Countries to relieve it. Again in 1592 he advances from the Low Countries to relieve Rouen.

Had Parma disposed, like some Napoleon, of great military means, of a large army and an ample war-fund, he would have had a good opportunity at this time of conquering the Low Countries and France together for Philip. But Philip from the very beginning of his reign had been bankrupt. His armies had been small and ill-paid. They had subsisted on plunder, and only the perpetual presence of a great leader, such as Parma, was able to restrain them from mutiny. It had been Parma's masterpiece that with such an instrument he had wellnigh succeeded in reconquering the Low Countries: but with such an instrument he could not conquer France at the same time. The consequence was that at this juncture he lost in the Low Countries as much as he gained in France. It is just at this moment, in 1590 and 1591, that Maurice of Nassau begins his great military career and that the fortresses of North Brabant, of the Waal and of the Yssel, are won to the Republic. Thus for the sake of conquering France Philip at this critical time relaxes his

hold on the Low Countries. In 1592 Parma dies, and soon afterward (1593) Henry's acceptance of Catholicism gives a mortal blow to the League and with it to Philip's interest in France. By attempting too much Philip has lost his advantageous position in both the two continental countries at once.

Meanwhile England has been active at sea. Between the two opposite doctrines, that we should live at peace with Spain, and that we should undertake to destroy the Spanish Empire, there was a middle opinion which it was impossible not to admit, and which at this time recommended an active course. Spain had taken the offensive in 1588, and was likely from mere pride to take it again. A new Armada might be expected. Was it not better to meet this Armada, while it was preparing, on the coast of Spain than to wait for it in the British Channel? This had been preached for a long time by Drake. Before the Armada came he had written, 'Her Majesty and people are not to fear any invasion in her own country, but to seek God's enemies and her Majesty's where they may be found,...for with fifty sail of shipping we shall do more good upon their own coast, than a great many more will do here at home' (March 30, 1588); and again, 'These vast preparations of the Spaniard may be speedily prevented, as much as in your Majesty lieth, by sending your forces to encounter them somewhat far off, and more near their own coast, which will be the better cheap for your Majesty and people and much the dearer for the enemy' (April 28th, 1588). This advice, by taking which, it is thought, the great peril of 1588 might have been altogether avoided, was equally good against any second Armada which Spain might contemplate, and recommended itself to the Queen as being 'better cheap.' Accordingly in 1589 England

sent, as we may say, an Armada against Spain. We made the attempt in which Richelieu was afterwards successful, to rouse the national feeling of Portugal, as Philip had so long counted on the party of Mary Stuart in England. A fleet of 150 sail, carrying not less than 23,000 men, first attacked Corunna and captured the lower town, but was repulsed from the upper. Then a force was landed at Peniche and pushed on to Lisbon, where Drake was to meet it with the fleet. But the weather proved unfavourable and Drake advanced no further than Cascaes. Meanwhile no rising of the Portuguese took place, and Philip held Lisbon securely. Tempest and disease made wild work with our fleet. On the whole our Armada, like that of Philip, failed, and our losses were so great that pains were taken to conceal them. It inflicted, however, considerable loss, brought home considerable booty, and confirmed the naval superiority of England.

Thus in the four years between the Armada and the death of Parma Philip has on the whole lost ground everywhere. Maurice is taking the place of Parma as the military genius of the age; Henry is holding his own against the League, aided by subsidies from England. And in the region where since the annexation of Portugal Philip had reigned without a rival, he sees with indignation a plundering piratical state establishing a kind of reign of terror, so that the harbours of his Atlantic coast are not safe and English privateers lie in wait near the Azores for his silver fleets.

But on July 23rd, 1593, an event took place which altered all his prospects and commenced a new age for the continent of Europe. Henry of Navarre was received on that day into the bosom of the Catholic Church by the Archbishop of Bourges at the Cathedral of St Denis.

The full effect of this act was not immediately visible, for it extended ultimately to Henry's international position. But that it destroyed the very root of civil war in France was not long doubtful. The decided adhesion of the French nation, especially of Paris, to Roman Catholicism had been apparent almost from the beginning of the wars of religion, but in adopting the maxim of the Counter-Reformation that no heretic should reign they had put a great constraint upon their feeling of nationality and their regard for ancient custom. In adhering to the Counter-Reformation the French did not desire to surrender their independence to Philip, nor even their old Gallican liberties to the Pope. Henry now gave ample satisfaction to all these feelings at once. He discovered, as it were, a new variety of religion, which differed from pure Popery as much as Anglicanism differed from pure Protestantism. It was a modified form of Gallicanism, and its secret resistance to Popery, which appeared more strikingly in the seventeenth century, was indicated at the outset, when Henry made his way back into Catholicism in spite, as it were, of the Pope, appealing to the authority of French bishops alone.

Neither the Pope nor Philip at first accepted the recantation as sufficient, nor did Philip withdraw his claim to the crown of France. But he could soon perceive that his position in the French party-war was materially lowered, and his chances greatly diminished. Nor could he prevent himself from regarding Henry after his recantation with different eyes. After all Henry was no longer a heretic. It was no longer a matter of principle to oppose him and to wage war with him. And Henry on his side was henceforth prepared for alliance with Spain, nay, for a marriage with the great Habsburg heiress of the

age, who seemed to be the Juana of the new time, Clara Isabella, daughter of Philip II. As his religion was changed, his sympathies began to change too. Hitherto he had taken English subsidies and made common cause with the Dutch. But he was not less open to conviction in politics than in religion. He had, as it were, restored France to her place among the Powers, and what alliances she should make, to what system she should attach herself, was a question which he considered with a mind perfectly unprejudiced.

Hitherto there has been concert and mutual aid between Henry, the Dutch, and England. But their concert has been most strictly limited. It cannot be said that either Henry or even Elizabeth herself wish success to the Dutch in their struggle against Spain. Both alike perhaps expect, and are contented to expect, that Philip will, on some terms or other, recover the Low Countries. Nor does France wish triumphant success to England nor England to France. But that any one of these three Powers should be utterly crushed by Philip is what the other two cannot allow, and so long as there is danger of this their concert continues. Now, however, that Henry has made his way back into the bosom of the Romish Church, and has acquired a prospect of Spanish alliance and Spanish marriages he begins to regard this concert as less indispensably necessary, and has at least passing glimpses of a wholly different system. It suits Philip to encourage this new way of thinking, the more so as he is quite able to admit the idea of alliance with Henry, now no longer a heretic.

And thus the war enters into a new phase, which extends to the year 1598. This is the year of a great settlement, which is immediately followed by the death of Philip II.

In this phase the concert of the three Powers against Philip which, though seldom avowed, has existed ever since the days of Coligny, takes a more articulate shape than before, for the very reason that it is threatened with dissolution. What had been secure because it was necessary now requires to be secured by forms. France in the fresh enthusiasm of restored religious unity seems likely to break away from the alliance of heretical Powers, and to go over to the side of Spain in politics as she has done in religion. England and the Low Countries fear to be deserted by their ally. And deserted in the end they are, when in 1598 Henry IV concludes the Treaty of Vervins. Meanwhile however, as Spain and the Pope still refuse to recognize the recantation, Henry must fight on, and accordingly he is forced to give his allies a new security. In January 1595 he issues a formal declaration of war against Spain. In 1596 a formal coalition against Philip is arranged by a Treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive between Henry and Elizabeth, to which alliance the States General accede in the same year.

This league had indeed little duration, and was cynically violated by Henry in the second year after it had been concluded, when he signed a separate peace with Spain at Vervins. In international history, however, it stands as an important landmark, partly as dating the admission of the United Netherlands into the number of independent States, partly as giving a precise picture of the European system of that age. It has long since passed away. Other ascendancies arose later, and other coalitions were formed to meet them, till it began to be almost forgotten that any European Power can be the object of universal dread except France. In the latter half of the sixteenth century however, as we see, the object of

dread is the Spanish Monarchy, and the coalition against it is composed of England, France and the Protestant Low Countries. This constellation, we shall find, did not pass away speedily. It is still visible in the age of Cromwell, and has not quite disappeared in the reign of Charles II.

Thus the whole Philippine war of Europe, as we might call the struggle against Philip's ascendancy that began in 1588, falls into three periods. In the first, which extends to 1596, the three Powers chiefly threatened fight either separately or with a concert which is secret. From 1596 to 1598 they are united in a formal coalition, which, be it observed, is a coalition between one Catholic Power and two Protestant Powers against the Counter-Reformation. After 1598 this coalition has been dissolved by the Treaty of Vervins. The war is henceforth between Spain, now ruled by Philip III, and England and the Netherlands only. This phase extends beyond the death of Elizabeth.

Only we must bear in mind the very exceptional character of Henry IV. If the character of Elizabeth has been to many a stumbling-block, so that they can scarcely believe that the modern greatness of England was really founded by a sovereign capable of so much fraud and meanness, much more bewildering must we find the character of Henry IV. He is the founder of Bourbon France. He established the Bourbon family, which for a century rivalled the House of Austria and for another century took the lead of it. Yet we must recognise that scarcely any obligations of any kind were able to restrain him. In particular he respected the faith of treaties as little as he regarded religion or private morality. Accordingly as he broke his engagements to Elizabeth and the States by making the Treaty of Vervins, so he disregarded just as cynically the Treaty of Vervins

itself. And therefore in the last of the three phases I have just distinguished it is not really true that France no longer aids the opponents of Spain. Henry continues to send help to the Dutch. He does so for his own sake, and simply because he is convinced that the interests of France require the weakening of Spain. Practically therefore the third phase is not very different from the first.

Such is the general character of the war between Philip and the Three Powers. It is to be remarked that France, which in no long time was to become so great, is in this period quite on the defensive. Until his recantation Henry controls but a small part of the country. His position is like that of Charles VII in the days of Jeanne d'Arc. When he begins to be recognised as the national sovereign and when he has entered Paris, he has still much of his own kingdom to reconquer. Then comes the phase of the formal war with Philip and the formal league with England and the Netherlands. In this phase too he still wages war within the limits of his own kingdom. While England takes the offensive by sea, and the Netherlands are beginning to do so too, France remains on the defensive. Thus in 1595 her campaign is in Picardy and in Burgundy. Dourlens is captured by the Spanish Fuentes; so is Cambrai. On the other hand Henry retakes Dijon. In 1596 the Spaniards take Calais, while Marseilles, still in possession of the League and about to be seized by Spain, is recovered for France. Early in 1597 again Amiens is surprised by Spanish and Walloon soldiers, and Henry is reduced to despair at the news of the disaster.

Meanwhile in 1596 a great naval expedition consisting of English and Dutch ships sailed for Spain. Howard,

Essex, Raleigh, and Lewis Gunther of Nassau presented themselves before Cadiz. The Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships with twelve hundred guns, was burnt, and the town itself was taken and set on fire. This achievement is described by Professor Laughton as the Trafalgar of the Elizabethan war. It is also the first appearance of that concert of the Sea Powers, as they were to be called in the seventeenth century, which dominated the politics of Europe in the days of William III.

In 1597 England undertook what is called the Island Voyage, pursuing still the same aggressive policy. The results however were in this case disappointing.

Henry however was able to retrieve some of his ill successes by the recapture of Amiens, in spite of an advance of the Archduke Albert from the Low Countries to relieve it, in September 1597. He was therefore in a favourable position to negotiate for peace, and he made it at Vervins with great honour to himself, so far as Philip was concerned, though with great dishonour in respect of his allies. In truth, if not Philip personally, yet the Counter-Reformation in general had now no further quarrel with Henry. In particular the Pope, whose subsidies were all-important to Philip, was now not only willing but actually eager to make peace with a king who was independent of Philip and able in some degree to control him. For we must always remember that the Popes were never led by their antagonism to heresy to forget the older feud which had so long raged between them and the emperors.

Philip, emperor in fact if not in name, was an object of secret animosity to the Papal See for which he professed to sacrifice so much. The Popes felt strangled by a Power which threatened them at once from Milan and from

Naples. In the old time they had been in the habit of looking to France for aid against the overwhelming power of the Emperor. Now that Henry had become a Catholic it became possible to return to this policy. Clement VIII (Aldobrandini) helped materially to make the Treaty of Vervins. It may be said of him, in the words which old Rome applied to C. Gracchus, that he made the Catholic Republic double-headed. For the Papal See his policy may have been prudent. But when we seek a solution of the great problem which the seventeenth century suggests, how it was that the Counter-Reformation, at the outset so overwhelmingly superior, nevertheless failed, so that in the eighteenth century Protestantism appears to have the upper hand, we seem to find the solution in that incurable discord which was introduced into the bosom of Catholicism by the steady rivalry of the two great Catholic Houses, that of Austria and that of Bourbon.

CHAPTER VIII.

CLOSE OF THE ELIZABETHAN AGE.

THE year 1598 is a very considerable epoch both in European and in English history. It is the year in France of the Treaty of Vervins and of the signing of the Edict of Nantes. In the Spanish Monarchy it is the year of the Treaty of Vervins, of the transference of the Low Countries by Philip II to the Archduke Albert and his wife, Isabella, daughter of Philip, and of the death of Philip II. In England it is the year of the same treaty, by which England was betrayed, and also of the death of Lord Burleigh.

Elizabeth reigned for five years deprived of the help of her old minister, who had stood by her side ever since her accession, and relieved of that old enemy whom she had dreaded and watched ever since her accession. During these years her enemy was not Philip II but Philip III, and her minister was not William Cecil but Robert Cecil.

These five years offer no international event of great importance if we set aside the personal union of England and Scotland, of which they witnessed the silent approach. But the war dragged on, and the question for us is to

consider what was the obstacle to peace. For at the time when Henry made the Treaty of Vervins, everything tends to show that Elizabeth desired peace as she had done all along; while the utter exhaustion of Spain, which Philip II had acknowledged with singular frankness in the Treaty of Vervins and the transference of the Low Countries, leads us to wonder why Philip III should wish to continue a war for which he was not responsible.

Since 1596 Ireland had been in rebellion, and the task of pacifying the island was imposed upon Elizabeth. A military operation of such magnitude was almost beyond the resources of our state, such as it then was. It opened the redoubtable financial problem which involved, as the sequel showed, a constitutional revolution. In any case it demanded rest from foreign war. It admonished Elizabeth to make her way back at all hazards to the happy time when she had been able to secure her people from foreign complications. We learn that Burleigh, who in his earlier days had sometimes found Elizabeth too pacific, strongly opposed in his old age the party of irreconcilables. He denounced upon the Anti-Spanish faction the curse of the Psalmist which says that bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.

And yet Elizabeth found as long as she lived that she could not make peace, though as soon as she was gone peace, as it were, made itself.

It is easy to understand that Philip III may not at the moment of his accession have admitted the necessity of bringing the war with England to an end. His father had bequeathed to him a new policy, which considerably diminished the burden of war, and it was only reasonable to allow this policy a fair trial. Philip II had made

peace handsomely with France, not only abandoning for his daughter the pretension he had made in her behalf to the French crown, but also ceding all the acquisitions he had lately made within the French frontier. It was not unlikely that this peace might be followed by alliance and intermarriage between the Spanish House and that of Bourbon, now that the Bourbon prince was a Catholic. Further Philip II had actually ceded his Flemish dominions to his daughter and her husband, the Archduke Albert. He had indeed made rigid conditions, nevertheless he had ceded that dominion, as his father had abdicated crown after crown to himself forty years before. Had the archduke had a son, he would have succeeded before Philip III or Philip IV to the Burgundian inheritance, though indeed it was pretty well understood that a son they would never have. But a considerable modification was thus made in the aspect of the Dutch War. It began again to appear probable that on some terms or other the rebellious provinces, which had not yielded to Philip II, would submit to Albert and Isabella, whose power seemed less crushing, and also less likely to excite the jealousy of France, than that of a king of half the world. And as for Elizabeth, was she not now embarrassed by an Irish rebellion? This rebellion opened for Spain quite new prospects, or at least revived the prospects that had been extinguished by the death of Mary of Scotland. It had begun to be clear that Ireland was won in the main to the Counter-Reformation. Here then was a basis of operations. Elizabeth had shown herself strong by sea, but she had acquired little reputation by land, and it was held that the British islands for want of fortified places could, if once invaded, make little resistance. Moreover Elizabeth had always acted as if she were in want of

money. There was therefore reason to think that the Irish rebellion would in any case paralyse her, and that if Spanish troops could make their way to the assistance of the rebels Ireland might be made a stepping-stone to England. It was true that Philip II had failed not only with his Armada of 1588, but also in later attempts to effect a landing in the British islands. But was Spain to resign without a struggle the empire of the sea? Philip II's old minister, Antonio Perez, who had himself spent some years in England, handed in a paper to Philip III on his accession, in which he argued that this was by no means necessary. He proposed in the first place that the maritime possessions of Spain should be guarded by six fleets, one of which should be stationed off Gibraltar. In the second place the arts of England should be turned against herself. She had acquired a certain ephemeral greatness by privateering. Let the king of Spain encourage his subjects in like manner to prey upon the English shipping. In Catalonia and in the Biscayan provinces were many who had long been eager to do this. By such a policy the piratical state would soon be brought upon its knees. And the same policy would be still more effective if applied to the Dutch provinces. For if England had some internal wealth, the Dutch subsisted almost entirely upon their foreign trade, which to the wonder of the world they had maintained throughout the war even with the Spaniards themselves. Without the help of armies, without any military operations on the part of the archdukes, the Dutch provinces might be starved out if only their foreign trade were destroyed by privateers from Corunna or Barcelona.

Surely a formidable scheme! But here we see that something depends on forms of government. The des-

potism which the Habsburgs had introduced into Spain could not tolerate such freedom of action on the part of its subjects. And the same despotism had by this time paralysed and stupefied the Government itself. Philip III was as much inferior in intelligence to Philip II as Philip II had been to Charles V. In the hands of Lerma, the Vizir of Philip III, the Spanish Government was for a while almost as inefficient as later under Charles II it was permanently. In the meantime, however, it appeared to this Government worth while to continue the war with England. And this being so, it was still as necessary for England as it had been in the days of Alva to see that the Dutch provinces were not conquered. Elizabeth threatened the States a great deal and drove a hard bargain with them, but she continued to lend them aid.

The last phase of her reign is in an international point of view not very different from that earlier phase when the Dutch rebellion was commencing. That she is now avowedly at war with Spain, whereas then she was not, is a less substantial difference than it might seem. For at that time she made covert war with Spain, by lending aid to the Dutch, and even now her war consists principally in lending such aid. Indeed throughout the whole period the reality of international relations is very different from the form. In spite of all treaties it remains true through the whole period that England, France, and the Dutch are in concert against Spain. As to Henry, whether he is in coalition with England and the Dutch, or whether he deserts that coalition at Vervins, in either case his forces help the Dutch. And in like manner England, whether she is not yet at war with Spain, or is at war with Spain, or after the death of Elizabeth makes peace with Spain,

under all circumstances alike, as we shall find, sends aid to the Dutch.

Almost the only occurrence of the war between Elizabeth and Philip III, which needs to be mentioned in a sketch like this, is the invasion of Ireland under Don Juan de Aguilar. He landed at Kinsale with 6000 men in January, 1602. But he was met by the able Deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, who had already half accomplished the pacification of Ireland. He was forced to a capitulation by which his army was carried back to Spain in English transports.

Elizabeth lived but one year after this, and in her last days she showed herself more hostile to Spain than at any earlier period. In 1600 she had actually commenced negotiations for peace at Boulogne, but now we find her actively striving to revive the coalition of 1596. In January, 1602, just at the moment of Don Juan de Aguilar's invasion, she proposes to Henry an offensive alliance against Spain. This is declined, but Elizabeth repeats it in July. In the interval the conspiracy of Biron had broken out, and Henry had been alarmed by a kind of revival of the combination which had caused the ruin of Henry III. As Guise had conspired with Philip II in 1588, so now Biron with Philip III, for the complicity of Spain was manifest. It was a combination not quite so dangerous as that of 1588, for the religious question had been settled in the interval, but there was danger enough in the feudal feeling of the great nobles and in that total want of patriotism or national feeling which was the old disease of France, which the religious wars had increased, and which was not to be healed till the time of Louis XIV. For a moment France and Spain seemed on the verge of another war, and Elizabeth seized

her opportunity. At first her offer was favourably received. But on reflexion Henry decided to wait a little longer before embarking on the new war with the House of Austria which was the dream of his later years. Elizabeth encountered a second refusal.

The more interesting occurrences of her last days do not concern us here. The deplorable story of Essex has no international bearing except so far as Essex had dealings with James of Scotland, and it is convenient here to hold Scotch affairs distinct from the affairs of the Continent.

Elizabeth died early on the morning of March 24th, 1603.

When we inquire how much had been accomplished for England during the time and by the means of her government we are astonished at the magnitude, as well as at the thoroughness and permanence, of the work.

At the date of her accession the country seemed to sway in a helpless manner between the two religions. There was in England no overwhelming drift towards Protestantism, as at that time there was in Germany, and no decided adhesion to the Counter-Reformation, as in France. The oscillations of the country in the last three reigns had been violent and always terrible. How could England ever come to know her own mind, and in the meantime how could she, being neither Catholic nor Protestant, face the religious storm which was about to sweep over Europe?

At the end of Elizabeth's reign the religious question was practically settled. England had taken up her religious position, and with such deliberation and confidence that she has never since substantially altered it. And this she had done calmly, without any religious war.

At the date of Elizabeth's accession the country laboured under another evil, scarcely less terrible, and of older standing. The succession was uncertain. In the fifteenth century this intestine disease had covered the country with blood for thirty years, had darkened the national character and stained the national history. In the sixteenth century, when it broke out again in the difficulty of fixing the succession to Henry VIII, in the wild rebellions that accompanied the accession of Mary, then in the dangerous abeyance of the question in the reign of Elizabeth, it showed itself as a deep-seated, almost incurable evil. In the daughter of Anne Boleyn it seemed visibly embodied. How was it possible that she of all persons should cure this chronic disease?

Yet at the end of her reign it was cured. Her successor took his seat on the throne with almost universal acclamation, and if in the seventeenth century and later England again knew Pretenders, the disease was now of a milder type and threatened no second War of the Roses.

As a result of these two great evils, at her accession the English temperament was troubled and gloomy. People had grown accustomed to the sight of bishops at the stake and queens at the block. Later they had to accustom themselves to the danger of foreign wars and Spanish Armadas.

During Elizabeth's reign this national melancholy went on healing itself. It gave place to a sanguine self-confidence, a robust and boisterous national pride, which first led to a loving study of English history and antiquities, and then broke out in a national poetry, which in Shakspeare overflows with jubilant patriotism. The Scotsman Drummond a little later finds that the English

school of literature errs principally by its extravagantly national character, and Sully passes the same judgment upon English statesmanship.

At her accession England was threatened by another great evil. Almost all countries of Europe were passing one after another by royal marriage into the Habsburg estate. It was desirable not only to escape this calamity, but also to reap the benefit which might accidentally flow from royal marriage. On the one hand England must not become a province of Spain; on the other hand England and Scotland ought to be united.

But it seemed almost impossible for Elizabeth either to avoid the evil or to secure the good. For Elizabeth was a woman, and must marry. If she married, it would be beneath her dignity to accept any husband that was not either a Habsburg or a Valois, and in either case England would run the risk of becoming a province in some continental Monarchy. But if by remaining a Virgin Queen she should avert this result, there still remained a difficulty in the way of the union of England and Scotland. For the Scotch queen was a Catholic and a Guise, and was almost certain to marry some leading Catholic prince. Thus if England and Scotland were at last united they would be united in the Counter-Reformation.

Nevertheless at the end of her reign England remained in the first place free from all foreign entanglements. No Habsburg or Bourbon prince had any dangerous claim upon the succession. Secondly, England and Scotland were prepared to unite themselves under one sceptre, and that sceptre was in the hand of a Protestant.

It was the work of Elizabeth to have created such a Monarchy of Britain. She laid the foundation of it in the Treaty of Edinburgh. It has been since developed much

further, but the solid foundation, which lies in the Reformation itself, remains where it was.

By abstaining from all foreign connexions and by strengthening the connexion with Scotland Elizabeth made our state for the first time truly insular. She gave us that frontier which has hitherto proved impassable. She thus raised us to a position of self-sufficing security which few other states enjoy, so that since her time Englishmen have seldom felt their country to be really in danger.

Insularity has its intellectual and moral disadvantages. And soon after Elizabeth's time we remark that English people begin to be careless and ignorant of the affairs, the interests and thoughts of the Continent. They become too much wrapped up in themselves. But Elizabeth's reign introduced another innovation which did much to counterbalance this evil. For as she withdrew us from the Continent she introduced us to the Ocean and to the New World. We by no means ceased to have interests outside our own island. Rather, we became for the first time explorers, colonisers. And whereas the Spaniards, while possessing half the globe, had contrived to keep their minds intensely narrow and to learn as little as possible from the new things they saw, we grasped the New World in a more curious and sympathetic way, acting as individuals and traders rather than as mere officials. In the first generation of our truly insular life we seem to have rather gained than lost in breadth of intelligence by the transition.

Such are the vast results of Elizabeth's reign. When we inquire how they were attained we certainly do not find either that they were accidental or that they grew up by natural development, so that no credit should be due

for them to the Government. They were due in the main to Elizabeth's policy, and would have been lost if she had acted otherwise; for example, if she had married Philip II or Leicester or Alençon, if she had stood out in the fashion of Edward VI as an aggressive champion of Protestantism, if she had squandered vast sums upon a policy of adventure, or if in other ways she had acted unwisely. But if we inquire further in what precisely the wisdom of Elizabeth consisted, we are struck by one most remarkable feature of her reign.

Never in the more recent centuries of English history, has a ruler held the reins of government nearly so long as Elizabeth. We have had since two great sovereigns and several great ministers, but Oliver ruled but five years and had a ruling influence not more than eleven, and William ruled not fully fourteen. Of the great ministers, Pitt held office in all less than twenty years. But Elizabeth reigned with full vigour for more than forty-four years.

As a matter of course a long reign offers more opportunities for strokes of statesmanship, more room for the execution of large and complicated plans, than a short one. But the peculiar feature of Elizabeth's rule is that in dealing with foreign states she has no plans and no strokes of statesmanship. The time which was allowed to her in such ample measure is, as it were, not the room in which, but the material itself with which she achieves her results. We know how much time itself by its mere lapse, even though nothing is done, may accomplish of good. And so we call time the healer or the consoler. We know too that other statesmen have been aware of this important fact. 'Time and I against the world,' said Mazarin. Among all great rulers it is the distinction of Elizabeth to have shown how much may be achieved by simply allowing full play to the influence of time.

Such statesmanship is not possible in a state where no ruler can reasonably expect to retain power for more than a year or two. Elizabeth herself, though she reached the throne in youth, must before long have learnt the probability that her reign would be cut short by assassination. But with that defiance of probability which belongs to high courage she behaved as if she were to grow old on the throne. And her faith was rewarded. She did grow old on the throne. And if we ask what did she give to England during this long reign, the answer is, the reign itself. 'Now, Mr Speaker,' said Elizabeth once, 'what has passed in the Lower House?' Mr Speaker answered, 'May it please your Majesty, seven weeks.' In like manner what passed in Elizabeth's reign was chiefly forty-four years.

But when we speak thus of time we include in it the idea of rest. It was the business of Elizabeth during those forty-four years to give England rest. This was her one problem, difficult enough in one of the wildest half-centuries that have passed over Europe. We have seen how she preserved peace for twenty-six years, the very years when Alva raged in the Netherlands and the Guises in France. It is true that this long peace was followed by eighteen years of war. And yet it may be said that, except in Ireland, the war of Elizabeth was to her people almost like a peace. For the enemy could not reach us. Within the country there were few signs of a state of war. Nor were the pursuits of peace suspended. Her parsimony reduced the pressure of taxation. And the naval war, so far from checking the development of the nation was the very ferment which promoted it. The naval war with Spain was but a name for the exploration, discovery and colonisation in which England was feeling her way to greatness.

How Elizabeth came to have such a 'large faith in time,' or whether she actually had it, has been discussed above. Perhaps the extreme danger of her position, making all action unsafe, first threw her back upon delay. But for such deep-seated diseases as then racked England there is no remedy but time. From those sick religious doubts (*perpetua formidine*), those frenzies of religious discord, or again from those obstinate clannish feuds that arise out of a disputed title, there is but one escape. The generation that is tormented by them must die out, and a new generation spring up. But in the meantime what shall be done? The one thing is rest. Fresh action on the old lines, which would aggravate all the diseases, must be avoided. Civil war must not be allowed to break out, nor religious war. Hence those devices of Elizabeth. 'Are we Catholics? are we Protestants?' said the people. Elizabeth gave them a new variety of the Reformation which we now call Anglicanism from the country itself. She founded what may be called a nation-church. It was a solution that served the turn. 'Who is our rightful sovereign?' asked the people. 'You have me for the present,' was the answer, 'but I shall have no children; after me will come Mary or, it may be, a Grey, or James.' This too was an answer which served the turn. And as the years passed by, a new generation sprang up whose minds were agitated by other thoughts. It was a more cheerful generation. Some of them 'discovered islands far away';¹ some of them devised systems of philo-

¹ *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act I, Sc. III, where a list is given of the ways by which young men sought preferment:

Some to the wars to seek their fortune there,
Some to discover islands far away,
Some to the studious universities.

sophy; some of them wrote sonnets; some of them wrote plays.

This could not but happen, because among the various courses which Elizabeth could not safely take was the course of cramping the impulses of her people by harsh government. Some of the best sovereigns England has had have been those whose title was weak. Such was William III, such was Oliver, and, let us observe, such was Elizabeth, being to all her Catholic subjects both illegitimate and excommunicate. In this respect she differed from her father, whom for the most part she made her model. She was Henry VIII with a weaker title. Thus it is that in some respects she resembles Henry VII. Hence in spite of her haughty bearing towards Parliament, and of her studied mannishness, she is fully aware how much she depends on public opinion. Though she will not act herself, she will let her people act. As she said herself, she was married to her people.

All the modern life and greatness of England can be traced to those forty-four years in which so many old thoughts were forgotten and so many new thoughts were conceived. This is Elizabeth's work. We do not ask here what was her character. That too is a most interesting question. But when we consider her, not in herself but in relation to English history, we ask, what was her work? And we answer that the greatness of it can scarcely be exaggerated, so that if, in her own language, she was married to that generation of Englishmen we may add that she is the mother of all generations that have succeeded.

PART II.

REACTION.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINES.

AT the end of Elizabeth's reign begins one of the greater transitions of international history. Peace was speedily made between England and Spain, and five years later a truce suspended the war of Spain with the Netherlands. But though a new war did not begin immediately afterwards, it was visible enough that no happy period of peace was in store for Europe. The old differences were indeed dead. Both France and England had fairly escaped the Habsburg net. The House of Bourbon was firmly established, and had restored unity and greatness to France. The piratical state which had shaken the maritime dominion of Spain, maintained its position, and had been raised to a higher level of greatness and security by the personal union with Scotland and by the utter extinction of all disputes about the succession. Perhaps

too the truce with the Netherlands to which Philip III consented in 1609 appeared at the time, though it was not so really, but a disguise of a definitive peace, adopted to salve the pride of Spain. But it was soon visible to all, it was already clearly visible to Henry IV, that a new arrangement of the European Powers was taking place, out of which would arise new wars not less serious than those in which he had passed his youth and middle age.

We have marked two causes which had operated almost equally to produce those wars. First, royal marriage, so handled by the House of Austria as to become an instrument of conquest, had produced immense political aggregates in which already more than half of Europe had been, and the rest seemed likely to be, absorbed. Secondly, the Counter-Reformation, arising out of the Council of Trent and pressing with the most unscrupulous urgency the religious reunion of Europe, had played into the hands of the Habsburg family.

The Habsburg policy had been favoured by several fortunate coincidences, by that 'regiment of women' which had so unseasonably commenced in England and Scotland, and by the dying out of the House of Avis in Portugal and of the House of Valois in France. On these coincidences and on the Counter-Reformation the greatness of Philip II had been founded. Now after an obstinate struggle his aggressions had been checked. To the end however he had maintained a sort of military superiority at least on land, and when the truce was concluded in 1609, what the Spaniards felt most bitterly was that it would break up their army of the Low Countries, the finest army in the world. But now that the war was over there was no reason why the Habsburg Power, even if worsted on the whole, should begin forthwith to decline.

It could fall back upon its old methods. It could make new marriages. For what royal family would not be proud to furnish brides to Habsburg princes? And yet every such bride supplied the House with a new pretension. The resources of the House had as yet by no means been brought fully into play. Nor was the impulse of the Counter-Reformation yet on the decline; nay, it was at this time more lively and more victorious than ever.

It was likely enough then that Europe would witness a second aggression, perhaps a second ascendancy, of the House of Habsburg. It was not impossible that such a second aggression might be little more than a repetition of the first. That is, the House of Spain, now at peace, might weave a new web of royal alliances and conquer the world again by marriage. If we but cast a glance upon the period, we actually see this process beginning. There is a double marriage between the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon. The Prince of Asturias marries Elizabeth of France, and Henry IV himself gives a great deal of thought to that marriage of the Dauphin to the Infanta Anne, from which (carried into effect after his death) sprang Louis XIV. Spanish marriages, completed or designed, make a great part of the history of the reign of our James I. There are plans of a Spanish marriage for Henry, Prince of Wales, and for Elizabeth Stuart, and finally there is a plan, which absorbs for a long time the attention of both nations, for marrying Charles, Prince of Wales, to a Spanish Infanta.

Such a second aggression, even such a second ascendancy, actually took place, but not in this way. For another way was open, as Henry IV early perceived. It may have already surprised us in tracing the fortunes of the House of Austria to find that after the great

bifurcation at the retirement of Charles V the Austrian branch, though in the division of spoils it carries off the imperial dignity itself, seems to drop out of sight. How completely does Philip II eclipse during his whole reign the three relatives who, as Emperors, took precedence of him in dignity, his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, his nephew Rudolph! He did not clearly surpass them in ability, but he surpassed them beyond comparison in power. It had been arranged by Charles V, as we remarked above, that Philip should be his true successor, and really, though not nominally, emperor. Even so, however, the obscurity of these emperors is not accounted for. If not equal to Philip, they were lords of a great territory, not merely of Austria proper with Tirol and the provinces of the Eastern Alps, but also of Hither Austria and of Bohemia, with which went Silesia. Austria has been a great Power since, even under weak rulers, and yet in the age of Philip II his Austrian cousins not only do not rival him, but do not much help him. Some members indeed of the Austrian House take part in his wars, as the Archduke Albert, but the Austrian state, as such, is not found lending aid to him.

This might conceivably be altered. If we only suppose some internal change to take place in the dominions of the Austrian Habsburg, so as to make him as powerful for international action as he is powerful in mere extent of territory, or further let us suppose that not only in his hereditary dominions, but in Germany itself the emperor recovers something of his old power—and then let us suppose that he coalesces in close alliance with his cousin the Spanish Habsburg, and we have the conditions of a new Habsburg Ascendency of the most formidable kind.

This then is what Henry IV foresaw, and what he was

already bestirring himself to prevent, when Ravallac so suddenly frustrated all his plans. Within a few years from that time nothing else was thought of in Europe but the concert of the two branches of the House of Habsburg. A new age was begun, a new series of wars was unrolling itself. Again the House of Habsburg was alarming Europe; Spain was again active; the struggle in the Low Countries began again, and the truce did *not* ripen into a peace. But this time Spain is scarcely so much spoken of as the emperor. This time the scene of war is not mainly the Low Countries, but Germany itself, from the Baltic to Bavaria and Hungary; it is the Thirty Years' War.

Before entering upon a narrative of English policy during this period, we may attend to some of the larger features of the period itself, and especially to the altered international position of England.

First let us observe that, though the Thirty Years' War has Germany for its scene, and draws into its vortex most of the states of Europe—England, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden—yet another war of great importance goes on at the same time and in the neighbourhood of it. This is the second war of Spain with the Low Countries, which began in 1621, or three years later than the Thirty Years' War, and was brought to an end in 1648 at the same time as the Thirty Years' War. It is the old war recommencing after the expiration of the Truce. Philip IV of Spain renews the struggle which Philip II had carried on with such obstinacy, and which Philip III had suspended for twelve years.

In the main the new European contest is a repetition of the old. Again the Counter-Reformation threatens to overwhelm the states of the Reformation. This time

indeed its plan is more comprehensive, including Central as well as Western Europe, but within Western Europe the plan is the same as before. We have seen how in the Elizabethan age everything turned on the Dutch rebellion. By this England and France were irresistibly drawn into the struggle with Spain, since Elizabeth in self-defence could not allow the Dutch to be crushed and since the Protestants of the Low Countries were in the closest concert with the Huguenots of France. For twelve years this danger has been suspended, but it returns when the House of Habsburg and the Counter-Reformation open the new age of war by their combined advance. Perhaps then we might be led to conclude that England will be forced in self-defence to revive the policy of Elizabeth, and in like manner that France will return to the system of Henry IV.

And in fact France did feel herself obliged to do this. The great feature of the age before us is the activity of France, which draws her by degrees into a career of conquest. This age in France is the age of Richelieu and Mazarin, but we shall find that the warlike policy of Richelieu was not adopted at the outset from ambition, but in self-defence. He feels the pressure of the same necessity which made the last years of Henry IV restless, the necessity of breaking loose from the imprisonment in which France was held by the House of Habsburg, and we shall find that though he is led to take part in the German war against the Austrian Habsburg, yet the Spanish Habsburg, his neighbour in the Low Countries and Franche Comté, is the enemy he has principally in view.

But with England it is otherwise. For her the Elizabethan age is past, never to return; she not only

does not revive, but has no need to revive, the Elizabethan policy. Even in the Elizabethan age England, when she was most hard pressed, was in less extreme danger than France. The Armada could effect no landing in England, but France was twice invaded by the army of Parma, and Paris held out for Spain against Henry IV. There was still in Richelieu's time but a land-frontier between France and the seat of war in the Netherlands, and the religious division, which had been the weakness of France, still subsisted. Richelieu had still to remember that there was a Huguenot party in France, and that by aiding the Dutch against Spain he might provoke the frenzy of a second League. But Elizabeth's reign had raised England into a security she had never known before and has never lost since. We have had moments of anxiety since, as in the early years of William III, but the chronic anxiety which had weighed upon us for some thirty years together in Elizabeth's time—this was an incubus which had been removed once for all. Throughout the period of the Thirty Years' War the interest which England takes in Continental politics is of a different kind from what it had been in Elizabeth's time. The devastation of Germany, the danger of destruction under which the Protestantism of North Germany laboured, might affect the generous or the religious feelings of Englishmen, but they were evils comparatively remote. Holland indeed was near at hand, and Holland was now once more attacked by Spain; but the circumstances were wholly different from those which had made it so imperative for England to interfere in Elizabeth's time. Much is said of the littleness and half-heartedness of the Stuarts, who could not rise to the idea of protecting the interests of Protestantism abroad. In this respect, however, they did not differ from Elizabeth,

who had always steadfastly refused the part of a champion of Protestantism, and who had aided the Dutch grudgingly, reluctantly, and always barely as much as was needed, not for their deliverance, but for the safety of England. Only what seemed enough when it was still doubtful whether the English were a Catholic or a Protestant nation dissatisfied a later generation which was ardently Protestant. But in 1620 both England and Holland were incomparably stronger than they had been in 1580. Holland was now at the height of prosperity, the richest country in the world, possessing a great trade and important trading relations, and skilled from long practice in the art of growing richer and more prosperous by war with Spain. There was no fear then this time that Holland would be overwhelmed, and that England's turn would come next. But England too in 1620 was not the same state that she had been under the queen. England and Scotland were united in the person of the king and united in the Reformation. All those dangerous and terrible discords which in the queen's time had laid the island open to foreign invasion were extinguished. There were no longer two sovereigns in the island and two evenly balanced religions; no longer two systems of alliance and of royal affinity. The state ruled by James was as much greater than the state ruled by Elizabeth as James himself was less great than Elizabeth.

Hence a broad difference which for us is of capital importance between the age of the first Stuarts and that of Elizabeth. Elizabeth's reign is devoted to foreign affairs. In reviewing it we have been constrained to take notice of every great change that took place on the Continent, because every such change was of importance to England. The causes which determined English policy

lay in that reign outside England. How the rebellion might fare in the Low Countries, or the Huguenot movement in France, who might be elected Pope, who might be sent by Philip as governor to Brussels, these were the all-important questions upon which English policy depended. But after the accession of the Stuart and the peace with Spain the tension is in some sense relaxed in foreign affairs. It is true that in no long time another kind of tension begins to be perceptible. The country has become ardently Protestant, and is inclined to force a Protestant policy upon its Government.

This appears most evidently from the commencement early in the reign of James of the great constitutional debate. Powers which Elizabeth had been allowed to exercise are refused to James, and the parliamentary leaders who enter on this new path take some pains, and have some difficulty, in explaining their inconsistency. The true explanation is evident when we compare the two periods. Constitutional questions came into the foreground because the greatest foreign questions had been settled. Just as after the Napoleonic wars a period of reform set in, and the kind of stagnation into which legislation had fallen was broken up, so at the end of the long Spanish war Parliament was relieved from a pressure which had paralysed it.

We are not concerned here with the constitutional question, but our narrative cannot but be affected by the cause which led to the opening of it at this time. We can proceed henceforth more rapidly, we have henceforth less to tell, at least so far as English relations with the Continent are concerned. In the religious war of the seventeenth century England plays a less prominent part than in that of the sixteenth. While Germany was laid

waste and turned into a desert, England did not watch every campaign with feverish interest as she had watched the resistance of the Low Countries to Philip, but turned her eyes away and undertook radical changes in her domestic constitution.

It is however to be observed that in another direction England looks abroad far more than formerly, that she has acquired a new foreign interest which takes the place of that which she has lost. She has now become a maritime state. In Elizabeth's time the Ocean and the New World lay there as a vast, almost unknown region, controlled by the Catholic king. The task of her reign had been to throw it open to Englishmen. But this commencement once made, we became more and more familiar with it, and the New World became gradually an arena for policy, a scene of wars, a subject for treaties.

Under Elizabeth colonisation had been scarcely more than an idea, working in the brain of Gilbert and Raleigh. In the age now before us it takes the shape of a solid reality, and one of the most pregnant changes in English history takes place, when Englishmen, just after they have begun to feel themselves islanders, enter upon a new phase, and begin to be a double community, divided by the Atlantic Ocean, and inhabiting islands on the one side of it and a continent on the other. But since the latter years of Elizabeth's reign another new feature has appeared in the New World. The Dutch too have forced their way into it, and, outstripping England, have founded colonies and created a great trading power at the expense of Spain. The result is that where the Catholic Empire formerly reigned alone, and with a leaden sceptre, two active Protestant Powers have now made themselves a place, and these are not only hostile to Spain, but, as

rivals in trade, begin also to be, occasionally at least, hostile to each other. On the whole a complex maritime system has come into existence. By the side of the European group of States held together by royal marriages and royal successions and by a common religion, and torn at times by wars of succession and by religious schisms, we begin to see a maritime group of states, united and divided by quite other influences, and mainly by trade. England, in proportion as she is less urgently drawn towards the European group, attaches herself to the maritime group. And this new relation and the new field thrown open to her industry increase her security by rapidly increasing her wealth.

Nevertheless, though it is no longer needful for us to follow the course of Continental affairs so attentively as when we studied the reign of Elizabeth, it is equally necessary to have before us a clear outline of them. Once or twice at long intervals in the seventeenth century England came again into a close contact with the great Continental Powers, and in order to understand these collisions, all-important though now rare, we must inform ourselves of the history of those Powers. In order that we may understand Oliver's war with Spain, and still more the wars of William and Marlborough first with France and then with France and Spain in alliance, we must follow the phases of Spanish history under Philip III, Philip IV, Charles II and Philip V, and the phases of French history in the age of the Cardinals, and in the age of Louis XIV. Nor will it be possible for us to do this without also obtaining a satisfactory outline of the affairs of other states, particularly the Empire and the United Netherlands.

We have passed from the sixteenth to the seventeenth

century, from an age when England was deeply involved in the struggles of the Continent and barely at the starting-point of her maritime career to an age when she had begun to enjoy insular security, and also to found colonies and to grow rich by means of foreign trade. But in some large features the seventeenth century also resembles the sixteenth. As in the latter so in the former England has mainly to do with the House of Austria. Her rivalry with France does not begin till the seventeenth century is drawing to an end, and belongs mainly to the eighteenth. But further we are to observe that, as in Elizabeth's time, so in the seventeenth century England has comparatively little contact with the German branch of the House of Habsburg. It is still the Spanish Habsburg, the master of the Ocean and of the New World, upon whose decline her own rise depends. The great development of English maritime power which marks the age of Oliver corresponds, as we shall see, to a series of disasters befalling Spain, which taken together may fairly be called the Fall of the Monarchy of Philip II, and the next great development, which carried England to the height of greatness in the reign of Anne, was caused by the extinction of the Spanish Branch of the House of Habsburg.

England at the present time looks back upon a long period during which she had frequent and for the most part friendly relations with the Austrian House or, as we commonly say, with Austria. But this period coincides on the whole with that of our rivalry with France; it covers the eighteenth century, and only the closing years of the seventeenth. In the present part of this book we shall not reach it, and even in later parts we shall but deal with the commencement of it.

Such is the outline which we now proceed to fill up.

CHAPTER II.

EPOCHS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

THE reign of James I answers to no distinct period of international history. His accession does indeed mark a new international departure, for it gave us peace with Spain. But Europe changes its aspect again in his later years, and his death is almost unnoticed and marks no epoch.

In his first years a work of pacification goes on. The attack has confessedly failed which the Spanish House of Habsburg, carrying the banner of the Counter-Reformation, had directed against the Low Countries, France and England at once. One peace has been made already in 1598, but in making this Spain might profess to have sacrificed no principle, since France had openly abandoned heresy. Now however Spain brings herself to make peace with heretical Powers, first with England, then with the Low Countries. The pacification is completed in 1609 by the conclusion of the Truce of Antwerp.

Age succeeds age in history after the manner of a dissolving view. An interval of confusion often occurs in which the new picture which is growing more distinct is blended with the old picture which is fading away. Such

a period of confusion is the middle period of the reign of James. No sooner is the pacification complete than the outlines of the coming war, the Thirty Years' War, become visible for a moment. In 1610 Henry IV is about to take the field against the House of Habsburg, not now, as before, in the Low Countries or in Artois or in Italy, but in Germany. Most significant is this change in the scene of war! But again the picture grows confused, Henry disappears, and a dim period, without form and void, sets in. In 1618 however Germany and Central Europe again become prominent, while Spain again begins to be active. The foresight of Henry is justified. A concert between the two branches of the House of Habsburg is visibly arranging itself. In 1620 all confusion is cleared away, and the new international age with distinct lineaments is recognisable. In the summer of that year the Spanish House openly aids the Austrian House. Spanish troops from the Low Countries invade a province of Germany, the Palatinate, in aid of the Austrian Habsburg, and in the autumn the Habsburg Emperor, thus reinforced, deals a blow at the Reformation such as it has hardly sustained before, by the battle of the White Mountain, which is followed by the overthrow of Protestantism in Bohemia and in the Palatinate.

Accordingly James during the remaining five years of his reign contemplates a new age, a new condition of Europe. But the forces now unchained will rage long after he has left the scene and will scarcely in his son's time submit to restraint or suffer peace to be restored.

We take up the story where we left it at Elizabeth's death, and consider first the pacification which James gave us, and on the strength of which he laid claim to the blessing promised to peace-makers. Elizabeth, as we saw,

had aimed at peace almost throughout her reign, nay at the very moment when the Armada was sailing out of Lisbon. Not till the very last years of her reign does she, as if in despair, seek offensive alliances. She was as great a peace-maker as James, and while she gave us peace she accompanied the gift with economical government, which James never knew how to do. If she was at last drawn into a war from which she could never disentangle herself, the fault lay not with her but with Spain. Accordingly when we inquire why her successor was able to make peace, it is natural again to look to Spain, and to ask why at last Spain consented to lay down her arms, first against a heretical Power, and then, five years later, against her own rebels, heretics too.

We observe that both the treaty with England and the truce with the Dutch were made by the same Spanish Government, that of Philip III, and by the same Minister, Lerma. We observe too that before the end of his reign Philip III parted with this Minister, to whom he had allowed a sort of omnipotence, that he did so mainly because he was convinced of the sinfulness of that policy of peace with heretics which Lerma had introduced, and that at the expiration of the truce Spain recommenced hostilities against the Dutch. And if we look at the history of the Spanish Habsburgs since the accession of Philip II as a whole, we see that Lerma's truce of twelve years is quite exceptional and unique. From 1567 to 1648, that is under Philip II, under Philip III for eleven years and again in his last year, and under Philip IV for twenty-seven years this war continued, and that it came to a final end only when the Spanish empire was threatened with utter dissolution.

So immoveably fixed was the Spanish mind under the

influence of that stiff orthodoxy which is peculiar to it. It is impossible to judge the Spanish statesmanship of the seventeenth century by ordinary standards, as we see by the simple fact that though Philip II himself had been reduced to a repudiation of the public debt, yet after this repudiation a ruinous war was waged by Spain for half a century, with only the intermission of those twelve years, and was terminated even then only because a war more ruinous still had commenced. No amount of impoverishment or depopulation, nothing short of the dissolution of the Monarchy, could induce the Spaniard to admit the idea of peace with heretics. When we consider all this, and find that by a rare exception Spain had in the days of Philip III a Minister who could admit this idea into his mind, we are led to think that the Peace-maker was more probably Lerma than James I, since certainly it was not James I who afterwards brought about the truce, however he may have assisted in bringing it about. What Lerma's motive may have been, whether purely selfish, as has often been maintained, whether he thought the money required for the war would be better spent upon himself and his family, or, as Ranke holds, revived the peace policy advocated in Philip II's time by the Eboli family, it is perhaps not necessary here to discuss. But even Lerma introduces the new policy under a sort of disguise. Peace with England might be regarded as a necessary step towards the subjugation of the Dutch, as indeed in Elizabeth's time it had been recognised that they could never be subdued so long as they had the support of England. In that age indeed it had been perceived that this support would always be given them either openly or secretly, and in consequence Spain had made open war with England rather than be exposed to her secret attacks. But

this view was naturally reconsidered on the accession of James. His throne was so much more secure than that of Elizabeth that he might seem not to need the Dutch. It was not necessary to him, as it had been to Elizabeth, that the Dutch rebellion should succeed. He represented strict legitimism, and therefore might be induced, it was hoped, actually to take the side of Spain against her rebels. He could probably well afford to do this, and if he did it, his intervention, as he still had Brill and Flushing in his hands, might well be decisive. But after all, was he not a heretic? Even this was not quite clear. At least he was not a heretic by fatal necessity, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn had been. He for his part was the son of Mary Stuart, a martyr of Catholicism. He was known to hate Puritanism; he was a learned student of Church history, and in the days of Baronius and Bellarmine such students were commonly caught in the current of the Counter-Reformation. Moreover in paving the way to his accession to the throne of England he had been lavish of hints and assurances intended to avert the opposition of the Catholic Powers. His queen too inclined to Catholicism. All these facts taken together formed a foundation upon which Lerma and Philip III might build a hope that James I intended to imitate the stroke of policy of which the fame was still recent, that he would establish the Stuart dynasty, as Henry IV had established the House of Bourbon, upon a recantation. How impossible this was in the state of English and Scotch public opinion, could not be realised in Spain.

As far as the Dutch rebellion was concerned, these calculations might have proved correct but for one circumstance. The Dutch had all along had another string to their bow. England indeed had often been of great use

to their cause, when France was unable or unwilling to help them. But they could commonly dispense with English aid, because they could commonly obtain sufficient aid from France. This was the case after 1604. Henry IV at this time was revolving great schemes of resistance to the House of Habsburg. Having restored internal tranquillity to France, he was now restoring her European precedence. His diplomacy was everywhere, in Italy, in Savoy, in the Grisons, defeating that of Spain. Even in England he made a great attempt by that mission of Sully, upon which Sully himself has built such a romance, to prevent the conclusion of the Treaty of 1604. Naturally at such a time the Dutch rebels were most necessary to him, and he supplied the place which Elizabeth had left vacant and which James had declined to occupy.

In 1609 too as well as in 1604 some disguise is used. Lerma does not even then actually make peace with heretics. It is true that he covered Spain with humiliation. 'The Spaniards,' wrote Pope Paul V in September of that year, 'have lost their old knack. They are universally despised, and what has utterly ruined their reputation is the Truce in Flanders, by which they have themselves admitted their helplessness.' Still it was a truce, it was not a peace. No principle was actually abandoned. The Dutch were not declared to be independent, but were to be treated for twelve years *as if* they were independent, and for the same time they were not to be disturbed in their trade with the Indies. The distinction might appear at the time purely illusory, but it proved after all to be substantial. For when the twelve years were expired that did not happen which might perhaps have been expected. It was not found impossible

to renew the war. On the contrary the war was renewed and was waged for twenty-seven years.

This pacification, which occupies the earlier years of James I, and which is the principal achievement of the second Cecil, is mainly memorable as having established England and the Netherlands in the possession of their Oceanic trade. From this time they begin to be the Sea Powers. Spain is forced tacitly to countenance the infringement of her maritime monopoly. The two Protestant Powers have torn up the Bull of Alexander VI, and take open possession of their share in the New World. The treaties indeed establish no new principle; only by omissions and ambiguous phrases does Spain acknowledge and acquiesce in a new state of things. And this is the place to note a new maritime developement, which was of capital importance to England in all later times. We have traced the maritime progress of England. A little later, at the close of the sixteenth and in the first years of the seventeenth century, the Dutch enter with still greater energy upon the same course.

Now that we see the two Sea Powers set out almost simultaneously upon their career our attention is caught by the striking difference between them. In the war with Spain their position is quite different. England at that time (otherwise now!) is unassailable except by direct invasion. She is to Philip what Russia was to Napoleon, a distant Power difficult to reach and protected by Nature. She has as yet no colonies, no trade on every sea exposed to attack. She is self-supporting. Her people live on the produce of her soil. In the naval war she takes for the most part the offensive. Spain by a great effort essays two or three times to strike her, and every time fails. She on the contrary preys without intermission on the

wealth of Spain, which is at her mercy either in silver fleets near the Azores or in unprotected towns in the Gulf of Mexico. The conflict thus is unequal, as the Spaniards themselves felt, and expressed in their rhyme

Con todos guerra

Y paz con Inglaterra.

'Let us have war with all the world but peace with England.' It is when we have noted this that we become aware of the strangeness of the conditions under which the Dutch conquered their independence from Spain. It is easy to admire the obstinacy of their resistance, the victories of Maurice, the patriotism which enabled so small a population to resist the great Power of the age. But the most notable feature of the struggle is that the rebel population were not in the least self-supporting, that they were throughout entirely dependent on foreign trade. When we remember that, being such, they had to resist the Power which professed to control the sea, we begin to form a conception of the novel and memorable character of this successful resistance, and also of the hollowness of the pretension which Spain made to maritime supremacy. This population, which resisted a series of great commanders attacking it by land, from Alva and Don John to Spinola, must have succumbed almost at once to a commercial blockade, had Spain possessed the intelligence or the power to form it. Only by maintaining its foreign trade could it live, only by increasing and extending its trade could it support the expense of a long war. Under this pressure the Dutch far outstripped the English in the energy of their attacks upon the Spanish monopoly in the New World. Thus when England made peace with Spain in 1604 she had as yet made no settlement, acquired no footing, in the New

World, except indeed some share in the Newfoundland or Newland fisheries. We understand the name Newfoundland when we perceive how for a series of years the only practical interest our nation had in the world discovered by Columbus was confined to that spot of territory. For England was under no pressure of necessity. It was not till the very year of the Truce, 1609, that the foundation of Virginia, our first great colony, was successfully laid, and it was laid in a territory remote from all Spanish settlements. But even before 1604 the Dutch had boldly attacked the Spanish settlements themselves, that is, those Portuguese settlements in the Eastern Archipelago which by the revolution of 1580 had become part of the Spanish Monarchy. Here they founded their trade-empire, avowedly at the expense of Spain, and in this actual loss of territory and of trade the Spanish government acquiesced by the Truce of Antwerp.

Having once founded their trade-empire the Dutch proceeded, under the same pressure of necessity, to devise the institutions necessary for maintaining it. A whole system of policy and finance was invented, and the world saw a wholly new political phenomenon. There had been little real prosperity or vitality in the colonial institutions of Spain. But the trade-empire now founded by Protestantism had quite another sort of success. More slowly the English now entered upon the work of colonisation, and one of the great features of the seventeenth century is the rivalry of these two maritime Powers, and the gradual adoption by England of the principles of trade and colonisation first devised in Holland.

The first period of James is filled with the Pacification, in other words, with the harvest of the seed sown by Elizabeth. It is the time of Salisbury's Ministry; the

present is prosperous for England, and Henry, Prince of Wales, with his sister Elizabeth, offer a good prospect for the future. While England withdraws from continental affairs to plant her first colony, Henry IV of France, now indisputably the first man in the world, keeps vigilant watch over the House of Habsburg, and prevents the loss of the great Queen from being felt. These persons make their exit soon after the Pacification has been accomplished, Henry IV in 1610, Salisbury and Prince Henry in 1612. In 1613 Elizabeth Stuart leaves England to make her home at Heidelberg, and to become the stock from which the Brunswick dynasty should spring. An age is over, a long struggle has been brought to an end. What shall come next?

There was no reason why the great causes which had brought into existence the Habsburg Power should not continue to operate as in the sixteenth century. It had been founded on marriages with the help of the Counter-Reformation. There was no reason why new marriages should not be made, and the Counter-Reformation was by no means dead; on the contrary it was in greater vigour than ever.

But in fact it was found that the Spanish House of Habsburg had lost the trick of those marriages by which kingdoms were absorbed. The family furnishes brides, but no longer such conquering bridegrooms as Philip the Handsome or Charles V or Philip II. One reason for this may be discerned. It was out of the question for the Catholic King to marry a heretic, and Philip II himself had ceased to crave the hand of Elizabeth as soon as he saw her dallying with heresy. In the time of the great marriages royal houses were scarcely yet infected with heresy, so that this difficulty did not yet arise. But in

the seventeenth century a king of Spain could no longer marry an English princess, as appeared in 1612 when Philip III conceived for a moment the idea of marrying Elizabeth Stuart. A French princess he might and did marry, but the Salic law barred the way to the French succession against foreign claimants whether of the Habsburg or of another house. Accordingly the old Habsburg method ceased to be practised outside the family itself. Intermarriage between the two branches of the Habsburg House is henceforth usual, and we even find the Spanish branch hoping by this means to tear territory away from the Austrian branch. And thus while the Spanish Government occupies itself as much as ever with pushing hereditary claims, yet it scarcely succeeds in establishing new ones. Meanwhile other Houses learn the trick which the Habsburgs have forgotten, and in the end the Bourbons avenge themselves on the descendants of Philip II by swallowing up the greater part of his inheritance.

But if not by bridegrooms the Spanish House can still push its interests by means of brides. England is no longer ruled by a Virgin Queen, who not only does not herself marry, but has no royal relatives to give in marriage. The long period is over when this question of marriage, in those days the most momentous of all international questions, was in abeyance for England, first because all negotiations about it ended in disappointment, and afterwards because for some twenty years they entirely ceased to be carried on. We had now a king and queen who had sons and daughters. And marriage negotiations soon begin which are not intended to lead, and do not lead, to nothing.

In recent times royal Houses seem on the whole to

have avoided such intermarriages as might establish great territorial pretensions. Louis Philippe's imitation of the famous masterpiece of Mazarin provoked disgust rather than admiration. The Brunswick dynasty has usually by preference sought brides in the lesser sovereign houses. The Stuart dynasty was more ambitious. It is a capital point in its history, especially in the earlier period, that it desires to ally itself either with the Spanish or with the French House. And indeed Elizabeth herself writes as if a marriage with any prince of secondary rank would be a degradation to her. To James, who was always in want of money, it was also a leading object to secure a handsome marriage-portion, since in proportion to his annual revenue the sum he might expect was more important than can easily be realised in the present age. James, whose boast it was to have made peace with Spain, early set his mind upon cementing this peace by a marriage-alliance. And by allowing this to appear he gave the Spanish Government a hold upon his policy.

[[The devotion to Roman Catholicism was an absolutely fixed feature in the Spanish House. It would be difficult to conceive a greater bigot than Philip II, but Philip III was at least more exclusively, if not more strongly, influenced by his religion than Philip II. There was therefore from the beginning no real likelihood that a Spanish princess could be obtained either for Prince Henry or, later, for Prince Charles, unless the bridegroom would consent to become a Roman Catholic. The Spanish Government in its ignorance of English affairs might hope to impose this condition, but at least the negotiations, even if they led to no marriage, might be used so as greatly to affect English policy. And thus Spain begins to exert a new sort of influence over England, and con-

ceives the hope of obtaining in peace results which hitherto she had vainly sought by war.

We saw Philip II, as the Habsburg bridegroom, almost conquering England in the time of Mary Tudor. We now see a Habsburg bride, who however remains in the background, swaying the mind of James Stuart.

Through the greater part of Elizabeth's reign it had remained doubtful whether the English people was at heart Catholic or Protestant. And those were the days of the Counter-Reformation. The tendency all over Europe was more and more towards it. When Elizabeth first came to the throne it had seemed possible that France would declare for the Reformation. All was changed now. France had chosen the Counter-Reformation and had actually converted the leader of the Huguenot party. In the Low Countries the larger number of provinces had returned to orthodoxy. It was not unreasonable therefore to suppose that the same tendency was secretly at work in England, and that if only English opinion could find free utterance it would pronounce in favour of Catholicism. But it was silenced by law. Legally there was no such toleration in England as the Religious Peace had given to Germany and the Edict of Nantes to France. Thus there was in England a feeling dangerously suppressed, of which the intensity could not be measured, a bitter grievance, a party hostile to the reigning system, of unknown numerical force, but the very party which forty years before had made a great rebellion and fifty years before, in the reign of Mary, had ruled the country. All through the period of war Spain had counted on this party, and now that war had given place to marriage negotiations she did so still. Did James desire the honour of a Habsburg daughter-in-law? The grandiose Spanish pride, which vastly exaggerated the

greatness, real as it still was, of Philip III and his family, and was impenetrably blind to the decay of the Spanish state, made James keenly feel how great the honour was. Was he tempted by the substantial advantages of the match? These too were of indefinite magnitude. They included not only a great sum of money, but also an immense possibility. The prince who married a Spanish Infanta, whether Henry or Charles, might prove a new Philip the Handsome. He might prove, as indeed Louis XIV, by marrying an Infanta, did prove, the founder of a House which should rule the Spanish Empire and his own kingdom too.

This possibility, as Ranke shows, was openly discussed in Spain with reference to Prince Henry, and Spanish public opinion looked forward with perfect complacency to the rule of a Stuart dynasty. But if James hoped to obtain all this, what was he disposed to give for it? It would be only reasonable that the bridegroom should become a Roman Catholic, but if this could not be asked, it was at least essential that the bride should not find her religion persecuted, her worship forbidden by law, and prepare herself to see her children taken from her by a heretical church, in the country of her adoption. This demand seemed the more moderate as there was by this time nothing new in the idea of toleration. Two religions were already legal, under certain conditions, in France and in the Empire. Why not then in England too?

Thus the pressure of Spain upon England does not cease with the peace of 1604. It has now been felt continuously in one form or another since the reign of Mary. This is its latest shape, and the agent who applies it with most success is the ambassador sent by Spain in 1613, Sarmiento, afterwards Conde de Gondomar.

The grand diplomatic scheme, as we know, led to nothing. While it was under discussion great changes were taking place in central Europe, and a new prospect of a wholly different kind opened for Spain. But the discussion occupied and gave a character to the whole middle period of James I. The scheme was characteristic of the age, quite in accordance not only with Spanish notions, but with the notions of international policy that prevailed almost everywhere. Everything in the intercourse of states turned on marriage, and the greatest affairs, war and peace, union or separation of kingdoms, rise and fall of religions, waited on the convenience of a bridegroom and a bride. In England too this system seemed more natural under James than it had seemed under Elizabeth. The queen's time had been a kind of interregnum in which a person without hereditary title, and kinless, had ruled the country with regard to its interest. James occupied no such strange lonely position, but belonged more undeniably to the royal caste. It was natural for him to fall back into the ordinary groove of monarchical policy, and to occupy himself with marrying his sons and daughters. Gondomar met him on this ground, and used arguments founded entirely on the interest of the royal family. The Recusancy Laws are to be abolished, the children of the Prince of Wales are to be brought up as Catholics, in other words, England is in future to be ruled by a Catholic, not because the interest of England requires or even permits this, but because these are the terms upon which Philip III is prepared to give his daughter.

Had Gondomar been successful it is worth while to consider what results would have followed. It was not indeed to be imagined that in the face of Parliament it

would be possible for Spain to dictate in a marriage treaty, and thus to guarantee, a sort of Edict of Nantes for the benefit of the English Catholics. Had this been done the Spanish Princess and the Spanish Ambassador would have become leaders of a great political party in England, who would have leaned on foreign aid, as the French League had leaned on Philip II. But short of this, if we suppose Gondomar only half successful, that is, if we suppose only that the Catholics had found their condition considerably improved, and that the royal House of England had taken a tinge of Spanish ideas and in the next generation an infusion of Spanish blood, the consequences would probably have been very serious. We can measure them roughly by considering what actually happened. In fact, as we know, Charles took his wife not from the House of Habsburg but from the House of Bourbon. And what was the result? It appeared most strikingly in the next generation. The sons of Charles I are half Frenchmen. Charles II and James II look up to Louis XIV as to the head of their House. They take subsidies from him; they attach themselves to his policy; in the end the Stuart king, driven from England, takes refuge in France while French fleets and armies aid him against his rebels. In like manner had the sons of Charles I been Spaniards, we can imagine that they would have been alienated from the nation over which they reigned, and as much more completely as the Spanish character was haughtier, more inflexible and more bigoted than the French.

Gondomar was persuaded that the party upon which he counted, that is the Catholics and those who were open to conversion to Catholicism, was immensely numerous. But, strong as was the tide of the Counter-Reformation everywhere else, it seems evident that he underrated the

force of the religious movement which in England ran in the opposite direction. Both Puritanism and Anglicanism had a vitality of which he had no conception. And the Gunpowder Plot had recently exhibited English Catholicism as a cause which derived its energy rather from despair than from hope, and also as a cause which the nation would not easily be tempted to adopt.

But this middle period offers only barren tentatives until the new movement in Germany begins to sweep across the expiring movements of the Elizabethan age and the feeble impulses that proceed from the court of James. Before proceeding to consider the German movement it is only necessary to mark how meanwhile the marriage question, which had arisen between the courts of Spain and England, was regarded outside the court by the English people.

For thirty years Spain had been the enemy. The country was still full of people who could remember the Armada, and almost the whole nation felt as a nation feels which has lately passed through a mortal struggle. James could have no share in this feeling and no comprehension of it. The student of Shakspeare feels that the epic period of England came to an end with Elizabeth, and that the happy union of the kingdoms had the drawback that it placed England under the rule of princes who had had no part in its recent probation and its recent glory. It was 'a lame and impotent conclusion' of the national drama, this humiliating bargain for a Spanish princess who should come dictating terms. And clear-sighted men could see, as Henry IV saw, that the struggle was by no means over, and that the House of Habsburg would give more trouble yet. There was a strong Anti-Spanish party, which consisted in part of those who looked mainly forward

and apprehended new encroachments of the Counter-Reformation, in part of those who retained the feelings of the Elizabethan age. There were such men as the diplomatist Winwood, who had long watched international politics from the Hague, or Abbot, the Archbishop, inclined to Puritanism, and there was Raleigh, the prisoner of Elizabethanism.

And the middle period of the reign of James shows a policy which is a series of oscillations between this anti-Spanish tendency and the contrary tendency set in motion by the scheme of a Spanish marriage. That scheme begins to be discussed almost as soon as the pacification is complete; in its first phase the object of it is Prince Henry, and it is considered by Salisbury. On the other hand in its final phase it loses itself in the first tremendous events of the Thirty Years' War. But there is an intermediate period, which may be said to commence in 1613, after Prince Henry and Salisbury are gone, with the arrival of Gondomar in England, and to close in 1618 with the Revolution in Bohemia. This is what has been called above the middle period of the reign of James. The characteristic of it is that it is dominated by the one question of the relations of England and Spain, as determined mainly by the marriage scheme. It is the period of Gondomar.

In this period English policy is extremely indistinct, not having even the distinctness which arises in the last period of James from deplorable failure. We become aware that it is guided by a ruler who wants the fixed purpose which we were able to trace in the policy of Elizabeth, even when the detail of it exhibited most vacillation. The views of James are rather speculative than practical, and he is not schooled, as Elizabeth was, by the

pressure of a peremptory necessity, of a mortal danger. The facts before us, out of which we have to infer his system of foreign policy, are principally these—the marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to the Elector Palatine, the negotiation for a marriage of Prince Charles to a Spanish Infanta, the expedition of Raleigh and the execution of Raleigh.

There is a certain apparent resemblance between the position which James assumes towards the Catholic and Protestant Powers and that of Elizabeth. Elizabeth had laboured persistently for peace with Spain and had aided the Protestant cause without identifying herself with it. James takes up a similar middle position. But Elizabeth had been able to hold both parties at arm's length because she enjoyed the singular advantage of having no marriages to make. As a modern statesman has said, it is easy to govern with a state of siege, so might it be said in those times that foreign policy was a simple matter so long as there were no marriages to make. It was the ambition of James not merely to stand as a blessed peace-maker between the two confessions but also to make marriages indifferently with Catholic and Protestant Houses. This was in itself a difficult problem, but it might perhaps have been solved by a careful selection of such Houses as were moderate in their religious views or such Houses as he might be able to dictate terms to. Perhaps when he gave his daughter to the Elector Palatine he but half understood what he did, for Frederick had not yet revealed his character to the world. And yet he knew that Frederick was a grandson of William the Silent and a leader of the Calvinist party in Germany. The great peace-maker, the elderly monarch who desired above all things a quiet life, had deliberately planned, at a moment when, as any intelligent man could have told him, a universal religious

war was about to commence, to ally himself at the same time with the greatest bigot in the Catholic world, Philip III of Spain, and the greatest bigot in the Protestant world, the Elector Palatine. It is indeed difficult to picture the wild confusion that would have arisen had the Infanta been already established in England as Princess of Wales at the time when Frederick's troubles began in Germany. On the one side a powerful Catholic party depending on Spain would have come into existence by that time in England; on the other side the Protestant feeling of the country would have been, as it was, stirred to its depths, and both parties would have had their leader in the royal family. Nothing less than a civil war, in which the poor old king would have disappeared like a second Henry VI, must have been the result!

It is easy to form a judgment of policy when it leads either to great success or to signal failure, but when, owing to accidental circumstances, it leads to nothing, but is effaced by some change in the whole aspect of affairs, then we have a blurred illegible page of history. Such is this middle period of James. The marriage scheme led to no great disaster in foreign affairs. Spain was, as we can now see, in decline; no Spanish statesman after Gondomar was ever in a condition to treat an English Government with haughty superiority. Accordingly we may be tempted, judging by the result, to imagine that the inclination of James to a Spanish alliance was not unreasonable, and that the animosity of Parliament and of men like Winwood and Raleigh towards Spain was a prejudice, a survival of the feelings of a past age. Even while the war lasted Spain had been unable for ten years before 1604 to inflict any serious blow on England. Why then should we fear her in time of peace?

But it was not unlikely that she might prove much more dangerous in peace than in war. In peace the arts by which the House had originally thriven, marriage and the Counter-Reformation, would operate far more effectively than in war. A Princess might land where the Armada had failed to land, and she would bring with her priests, Jesuits, and the new literature and learning of the Counter-Reformation. There were also other arts, which had been used repeatedly in the days of Philip II, and now began to be applied again.

Let us consider the state of Europe at the time when Gondomar arrived. About 1609, it is true, the credit of Spain had sunk to a low point. The pacification had been made on terms certainly unfavourable to her. Her concessions to the Dutch had surprised the world. Everywhere she was held in check by the diplomacy of Henry IV, who put himself eagerly forward as the leader of European resistance to the House of Austria. Spain was beginning to be eclipsed by France. Such was the aspect of Europe in 1609. But it was far different in 1613. For Henry had fallen in the moment when he exalted himself against the House of Austria. The question whether Ravaillac had accomplices, has recently been much discussed. Undoubtedly Henry was not murdered, as we may say William the Silent was murdered, by the Spanish Government, but if, as appears, Ravaillac was only a fanatic, his act was perhaps only the more impressive as a proof of the power of the House. Ravaillac had listened to sermons, he understood that Henry 'intended to wage war against the Pope, that is, against God himself.' In other words, the influences of the Counter-Reformation propagated the belief that resistance to the ascendancy of the House was impiety. If we enter into the ideas of

that time we may easily understand the triumphant commentary on the murder which was made in the Spanish Council by the Cardinal of Toledo: If God be for us who can be against us?

Providence seemed to have said to the enemies of Spain: Thus far and no further! They had lost their leader; and who should supply his place? It is a capital fact in the age about to open that the Protestant party is without a head.

When the critical moment came in 1618 France was in confusion, the South-German Protestants were led by the Elector Palatine Frederick, England was directed by James I. Under such leaders what resistance could be made to the House? This was the work of Ravalliac. But the more immediate result of his deed was that France from being the chief antagonist of Spain became her dependent ally. A period began similar to that which had followed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. It was announced that Europe was henceforth to be guided by a brotherly alliance of the Kings of Spain and France. Accordingly a double marriage was arranged, and the treaty was concluded in 1612. The eldest Infanta, Anne, was to marry Louis XIII, Elizabeth of France was to marry the Prince of Spain, Don Philip. It was under the fresh impression of this marriage-treaty, which seemed to make a revolution in the system of Europe and to restore the ascendancy of Spain, that the middle period of James begins and Gondomar arrives in England.

In such circumstances the English people, which for so long a time had regarded Spain as the enemy, was not likely to forget its hostility and its fear. It would not easily learn to regard the peace of 1604 as the final end of a long national struggle; rather it would look forward to

a speedy renewal of the war. And this view of the public would be shared by such as knew most of foreign affairs, for these would have their eyes fixed on the cloud that was gathering in Germany and round the Low Countries, these would be already aware of the approach of the Thirty Years' War. Such was the temper of English public opinion at the moment when James set his heart upon the Spanish match and showed himself ready almost to restore Roman Catholicism in England in order to obtain it.

The story of Raleigh's last adventure and death is principally instructive from our point of view as illustrating the wildness, the incredible confusion of English foreign policy at this time. We need not perhaps feel any great difficulty in understanding the conduct of Raleigh himself. He had never been famous for moderation; he had lain in prison for twelve years; he was of the temper to prefer a desperate adventure to inaction. His reckless audacity seems indeed out of keeping with the age of James, but we explain it by reflecting that it is quite in keeping with the age to which Raleigh belonged, the age of the War of Elizabeth. We have seen how a sort of covert war with Spain had prevailed more or less through the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, how from 1585 onward it had ceased to be covert, and after the failure of the Armada had been waged by England with national enthusiasm. Raleigh, we know, had been the representative of the extreme war-party, who had not been content with Elizabeth's policy even when it was most energetic, and had urged the feasibility and the advisableness of actually overthrowing the Spanish maritime empire. Such a man was quite accustomed to the idea of war without formalities, and would not perhaps regard the treaty of 1604 as barring his right to seize the silver fleet if fortune should

throw it in his way. So much we can understand, but there is much more than this in his adventure of 1617. We are to consider first that it was not the free enterprise of a private man such as Drake had been in his first expeditions, or Raleigh himself more than once in his earlier days. Raleigh now sailed under a commission from Government. Secondly it was undertaken not at a time when we were only technically but not really at peace with Spain, but in the very years when the English and Spanish royal houses were meditating intermarriage.

We may say that at this time the policy of James towards Spain varied through all gradations from intimate obsequious alliance, through manly independence and firm resistance, to deadly and treacherous hostility. In his first acceptance of Raleigh's proposal he shows himself independent of Spain. Raleigh will discover a gold-mine in Guiana, from which the king shall draw treasure enough to pay his debts. Guiana is territory to which the King of Spain lays claim under the Bull of Alexander VI. But James firmly refuses to recognise this claim, as he has done already in 1609 when he granted a charter to Virginia. The reasonable claims of Spain, however, he is anxious to respect, and therefore requires from Raleigh a distinct assurance that the territory in question is far removed from all Spanish settlements and that he has no intention of injuring any Spanish interest. So far the position of James seems honourable. Only we are tempted to ask whether it was consistent with a real regard for Spanish interests to send the great enemy of Spain, a desperate man too with a sentence of death hanging over him, into the very heart of the Spanish world, and to depend simply on his word for the assurance that Spain should suffer no injury. That he would pay with his head

for any breach of his engagement was a very insufficient guarantee. Was it certain that the daring adventurer would ever return at all? But it was credible that he would hold it a good deed if in any way he could succeed in reviving the war with Spain. It would appear then that James at least sets no great store by the friendship of Spain. But there is much more. Raleigh before he set out talked openly of seizing the Mexico fleet. In other words after twelve years of peace, during which time, or at least since the Truce of 1609, all hostilities not only between the Governments but between the peoples had ceased, Raleigh proposes to plunge them headlong into a new war by an act which even in those times must have been felt to be monstrous. But perhaps this was but a reckless conversational flight. Nay, he spoke of it to Sir Francis Bacon, who was Attorney-General at the time, and he professed himself sure that such an act would be forgiven if only he could bring home two or three millions worth of treasure, that is, a sum several times as great as the marriage-portion which James could expect to obtain with the Infanta. This at least is the story, which however even those who take the severer view of this passage in Raleigh's life find it difficult to believe, while his latest biographer, Mr Stebbing, dismisses it summarily as apocryphal. Thus he was not afraid of allowing the Attorney-General to know what he had in his mind. But, more than this, the Venetian reports actually tell us that Winwood himself, the Secretary, that is the representative of the Government in foreign affairs, not only knew of, but strongly favoured, the monstrous scheme. So far it would appear that while James himself regarded Spain with friendly eyes, for it was at this very time that he laid the marriage scheme before his Council, his Ministers, or some

of them, regarded her as an enemy. But even if we suppose that he was betrayed by these Ministers and had no knowledge of their secret wishes, we detect in James himself passing fits of hostility to Spain, which seem to alternate with his desire for a Spanish alliance. The impulse which Henry IV in his last years had given to the European opposition to the great House was still stirring both in Germany and Italy, and in Italy there was actual war between the Duke of Savoy and Spain. This war ceased for a moment in 1615 but broke out again in the autumn of 1616. James does not hold it inconsistent with his Spanish policy to send a subsidy in 1615 to this enemy of Spain. And now that Raleigh is let loose, what do we see? Instead of fixing his attention, as might be expected, on the Orinoco, Raleigh allows his mind to wander in the most suspicious manner over the whole field of European policy. What is stranger, he does not care to conceal his dangerous combinations from James himself. It would seem as if at this very moment James were ambitious of taking the place that Henry IV had left vacant. A grand scheme of an attack on Genoa, a city which, though independent, was at that time a most useful ally and, as it were, a financial agent, of the King of Spain, is actually taken into consideration by James himself, and is not dropped till it has reached an advanced stage. Then Raleigh enters into relations with the French Huguenots. In short before he sets sail for the West it must have become as clear to James as to the rest of the world that there was scarcely any wild adventure for which he was not prepared, and that his favourite idea was to kindle a war with Spain, buying his pardon in the old fashion of Drake with the treasures he expected to bring home.

These plans were not properly Elizabethan, for if Eliza-

beth had connived at the spoiling of Spain it was in self-defence and at a time when she was in extreme danger from Spain. They were in fact the plans which Elizabeth had always rejected. But what is most observable is not that James occasionally dallied with them, but that he did so at a time when he meditated a marriage alliance with the Spanish House, for which he was not unwilling to pay in religious concessions of the most dangerous kind. Just as he saw nothing incongruous in giving his daughter to the Elector Palatine while he obtained an Infanta for his son, so it seems to him not inadmissible to seize the Mexico fleet at the same time that out of obsequiousness to Spain he relaxes the Recusancy Laws and engages that the children of the Prince of Wales shall be left in Catholic hands till the age of twelve.

English foreign policy has in later times often been rendered vacillating by the opposition of Parliament to the plans of the Government. The plan of Charles II in 1672, the policy of Marlborough's Government in 1710, that of the elder Pitt in 1762, were frustrated by a sudden revulsion of popular feeling. The wild vacillations of the middle period of James are of another kind. No Parliament sat between 1614 and 1621, and at the latter date this middle period was over and Europe was already convulsed by the German question. The conflicting impulses came from the King and the members of his Council, and if the result is confusion this apparently is because the King is incapable of pursuing any uniform plan. He displayed the same incapacity still more signally later in dealing with the German question. But in both cases we have to remark the new position of insular security into which England has drifted. Under Elizabeth such aberrations would have been fatal, but in the reign of James

they cause no particular disaster to the country. We remark indeed that they sowed the seed which came up in the Great Rebellion. By his trifling with Spain and his concessions to Popery James forfeited for his House the confidence of the people; he seems to rehearse the policy of Charles II and James II when in despair of getting money from his Parliament he looks for aid, in the shape of a marriage portion, to a foreign Power. But the mismanagement of foreign affairs by James led to no disaster in the foreign department. No Armadas, no attacks from France through Scotland, are any longer to be feared. For we are more completely insular than we had been in earlier times, more so even than we found ourselves in the eighteenth century, when our connexion with Hannover had been formed.

The end of Raleigh's adventure furnishes an additional illustration of the confusion of English policy. It is impossible to argue that Raleigh would not in a time when international affairs were conducted in an orderly manner have deserved his fate. His whole behaviour betrayed that he was ready to disregard his instructions and to violate his own solemn engagements for the sake of obtaining success at all hazards, and this at the cost of hurrying his master into a war with Spain. What may be said in his excuse is that it was doubtful whether the peace between the two countries had been solid, or whether Raleigh had had reason to believe that the English Government seriously wished to maintain it. But what James' Government wished no one could say. The Secretary wished for war with Spain, and James himself seemed at times to agree with him, though at other times he favoured a close alliance with Spain. At any rate with the enemies of Spain all over Europe James was at this very moment

in close concert, and Raleigh's whole scheme and his bearing indicated hostility to Spain so clearly that he might fairly infer that had not the Government itself been hostile to Spain they would never have favoured him or granted him his commission. This very view was presented to James himself with trenchant severity by Gondomar.

Raleigh's fate, if it illustrates the mismanagement of English policy at this period, marks also the direction which English enterprise was taking. He had always been a great Path-finder, and he died in his vocation. He must also have had the satisfaction of observing that his ideas had taken root. The Virginia which had been his vision, and which for so long a time had refused to take a solid shape, was now fairly realised; it had received the royal charter in 1609; and, as we may say, continental, as distinguished from insular, England had begun to exist. In the reign of James, as in that of Elizabeth, the nation showed a vigorous vitality, and achieved great things, even while the Government either remained inactive or acted unwisely. In the growth of the Empire the reign of James is a capital epoch, when the seed sown in the Elizabethan age yielded its harvest.

In the matter of colonisation Elizabeth's reign had witnessed chiefly failures. One body of settlers on the American Continent had been brought back by Drake, another had disappeared without leaving a trace. Nevertheless the necessary foundation had been laid. The way had been paved to a colonial empire, though no actual settlements had been founded. The only durable creation had been the East India Company. In that last period of Elizabeth when, as we have seen, her persistent effort to live at peace with Spain appeared to have finally failed, and she seemed at last to have become really warlike, she

had granted a charter to this Company. Quite recently the Dutch had shown the way to render war with Spain profitable by annexing Spanish colonies. They had presented themselves to the native populations of the Spice Islands as deliverers from the tyranny exercised by the Portuguese, who were merged since 1580 in the Spanish Monarchy, and by the help of the natives they had supplanted the Portuguese. About the same time Raleigh had appealed for the first time to the native population of Guiana against the Spaniards themselves. Elizabeth's Government profited by the hints thus given, and in 1600 adopted the method of making war which Raleigh had tried and the Dutch had practised with so much success. Before that time England had seemed to avoid the territory already occupied by Spain, and had directed her enterprise first towards the extreme north, then towards Russia and the Caspian, later towards the unoccupied coast of North America. In founding the East India Company the English Government for the first time made a direct attack upon the colonial empire of Spain.

What mighty results followed at a much later date from this step does not concern us here. The immediate result was not so much to damage Spain as to involve England in disputes with the Dutch, and so to create a maritime rivalry between the two Protestant Powers.

England did not ultimately adhere to the plan then adopted of annexing Spanish colonies and tearing to pieces, as Raleigh proposed, the Spanish colonial empire. Cromwell does indeed seize Jamaica; in the eighteenth century Florida is annexed, and the colony of Georgia founded in the immediate neighbourhood of the Spaniards. But this is all. The bulk of her colonies was left to Spain, though probably there were many moments when Central

and Southern America might have been torn from her. We preferred on the whole the other course of establishing settlements in the more northerly territory unoccupied by Spain.

The settlement of Virginia in 1609 is perhaps chiefly memorable as first showing the peculiar character which English colonisation was henceforth to maintain. The early Spanish colonisation had been directed to mines of gold and silver, and had therefore been controlled with the most imperious jealousy by Government, which saw in them an all-important source of revenue. The Dutch enterprises had been mainly commercial, a means of procuring wealth for a country which was in no degree self-supporting. They were not much controlled by Government, but fell into the hands of private companies. These companies however did not want territory, but only trade. They prospered best when they were able to establish simple factories in the neighbourhood of organised native states. In such circumstances they were able to devote themselves to their trade, obtaining their subsistence and the necessaries of life from the natives. And such was the course we ourselves took in the East where we followed most closely the example set by the Dutch. But in Virginia the conditions were different.

Perhaps at the outset the object of the settlers there had been gold and silver, and their disappointment may account for the return of that first colony which was brought home by Drake. A settlement of the Spanish kind, it soon appeared, was not to be thought of. But the settlement of 1606—1609 was also unlike the Dutch model. For there were in the territory upon which the settlers landed, no organised states but only Indian tribes, nomad, rude, and hostile. Accordingly the great and

difficult question for the settlers was to escape starvation. They could not live as guests in the territory, but were forced to make for themselves a home there. They were forced to lay for themselves the solid foundations of a new state, and the natives, far from being their hosts, soon became enemies against whom they had to organise defence. Trade was secondary, nay, until the cultivation of tobacco was introduced, almost wanting. Colonisation pure and simple, that is the occupation by private persons of a new part of the earth's surface for the purpose of establishing new homes, new cities and states, was now witnessed almost for the first time. The territory was on the one hand not appropriated for a merely temporary purpose, on the other hand it was appropriated completely, for there was no mixture of races, the natives being pushed back into the interior of the Continent. The result was neither a Government preserve, maintained for the purpose of revenue, like the Spanish colonies, nor a factory where a few traders enriched themselves, but a new home for Englishmen, hallowed by birth and death, and into which English institutions could be transplanted; in short the settlement was, as the northern part of it began soon after to be named, a New England.

It has seldom happened in the history of the world that human beings have been able entirely to fling aside tradition and, as it were, to make a new beginning. No such effect was produced merely by crossing the Atlantic and settling in America, for it was observable that in the vast Spanish colonisation the peculiar institutions of the mother country instead of being cast off in the New World became there doubly oppressive. In Old Spain the King, the noblesse and the clergy had great power, but they acquired much greater power in New Spain. Such effect

however *was* produced in the English colonies, partly because Government, seeing no prospect of obtaining revenue from them, regarded them on the whole with indifference. A new circumstance was now added, which helped to produce the same effect. We have remarked that at this time England was somewhat behind the leading continental countries in respect of religious toleration. In France there was an Edict of Nantes, in Germany there was a Religious Peace. In Holland the interest of the country made toleration imperative. In England there was no legal toleration, but at the utmost a certain degree of connivance. And at the beginning of the reign of James I, though hopes of indulgence were held out to the Catholics, they were refused at the Hampton Court Conference to the Puritans. Meanwhile Protestant thought, fed by the picture of primitive Christianity in the New Testament, was dreaming over a kind of Church which, just because it was so old, would be startlingly new. It would be a congregation separate from the world, separate above all from the state, a congregation which would regard the Powers of the world, Christian though they proclaimed themselves, precisely as the first Christians had regarded the Pagan Empire. Accordingly at the very time when James frowned on Puritanism, Puritanism was passing in many instances into actual separatism. A certain number of Englishmen began to feel themselves as strangers and pilgrims in the midst of the English world. In this condition, impelled by conscience actually to separate from the national Church, they could not be let alone, they could not escape the law of the land. Naturally therefore they began to look abroad, and to inquire for some new home where they might live as they desired to live, separate. The same impulse was

upon them which drove the children of Israel into the wilderness and thence into the promised land. They 'sought a country.'

It was a great coincidence which furnished at the same time on the West of the Atlantic Ocean territory which could only be used by settlers prepared to break with their old ties and to found a community radically new, and on the East of the Atlantic a 'little flock' ready and eager to do this very thing.

The charter had been granted to Virginia in 1609, eight years before Raleigh's last adventure. In 1620 the Mayflower set sail.

These are the events of the reign of James I which are really great, though to contemporaries no doubt they seemed insignificant in comparison with the Spanish match or the question of the Palatinate. In a very few years it came to light how radically the English state had been modified when English citizens made their home and English Assemblies met on the other side of the Atlantic, and when Puritanism at the same time received, as it were, an endowment in land. And not the English state only. For in the eighteenth century this fundamental new beginning, which the human race seemed to have made on the other side of the Atlantic, had an incalculable effect upon the thoughts and speculations of Europe. When the incubus of ancient institutions, feudal monarchies, hereditary privileges, a persecuting Church, seemed intolerable, it was perhaps mainly the spectacle of America that encouraged the Europeans to make a fundamental change. Equality, toleration, and republican liberty, were brought out of the sphere of speculation into that of practical politics by the example of the English colonies in America.

But we must leave watching the current of events which, though all-important, were little noticed at the time. We must leave behind us the middle period of the reign of James, and study that final phase which had already commenced when the Mayflower set sail. James, the peace-maker, lived to see Europe once more plunged in a universal war. He himself and England with him played a very important, though by no means a successful, part in the affairs which led to this catastrophe. And the Thirty Years' War arose out of a transformation of the European system, so that England, though not much involved in the war directly, was profoundly affected by the causes and consequences of it.

CHAPTER III.

JAMES I AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

WE might perhaps afford to treat very briefly the Continental occurrences of the age now before us, the German War of Thirty Years and the second war between Spain and the Netherlands, if we considered only the direct share taken in them by England. But in these occurrences lie the roots of two great developments which in a later age were of infinite importance to England. These developments are the modern Great Power which we call Austria, and the prominence which this new Great Power begins almost immediately to assume in international politics.

There is something strangely featureless and obscure in the history of the German branch of the House of Habsburg in the period after the abdication of Charles V. Ferdinand, Maximilian II, Rudolph and Matthias are Emperors of whom mankind has been able to preserve but a very faint memory. And if the same may be said not less truly of several of their successors, yet at least since the accession of Ferdinand II in 1619 the Austrian state itself has never ceased to be one of the most influential Powers in Europe, whereas under his predecessors even this is scarcely the case.

We are to remember that their dominion was a mere

miscellaneous aggregate. They were kings of Bohemia, with which went Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, and also of Hungary; but Hungary at that time, it has been said, was rather a battlefield than a kingdom, the greater part of it being in the hands of the Turk. They also ruled under various titles much scattered German territory. And along with all this they bore the imperial title. It was for a long time doubtful whether this loose aggregate could be welded into anything like a whole. And if we fancy that the imperial dignity would produce this effect, let us remember that if the utter nullity of the imperial institutions began somewhat later than this period (being an effect of the Thirty Years' War) the imperial function itself had fallen into pretty complete abeyance as early as the fourteenth century. None of the four insignificant emperors above-named was at all more insignificant than Frederick III had been long before.

The truth then is that after the abdication of Charles V the Empire returned to the insignificance from which it had been raised by him. A Rudolph, insignificant as he may be, is not unlike Frederick III, or perhaps, as he resides at Prag and puts Vienna under the government of an Archduke, we may rather compare him to one of the Luxemburg Emperors, a Wenzel or a Charles IV. And it appears that for a considerable time these princes did not think it possible to form a great Power out of the scattered dominions to which they succeeded by inheritance. They had indeed the materials out of which the Great Power called Austria has been composed, but the Great Power itself was not called into existence till the time of Ferdinand II.

How little the first Ferdinand thought of establishing a great Power appears from the fact that he divided his

dominions by testament among his three sons. Accordingly Maximilian II and after him Rudolf II did not even possess the whole Austrian inheritance. There were two other independent Austrian courts, one in Tirol, the other in Styria¹. Hence in Rudolf's time the aggregate called Austria had its centre of gravity rather in the Slavonic than in the German world, and this Emperor, like some of the old Luxemburg Emperors, resides at Prag.

It may be thought that the close connexion of the Austrian state with that of Philip II, the dominant state of Europe, could not but give it prominence and raise it to power. And in the time of Ferdinand II Austria did owe much to the kindred Power of Spain. But we are to remember that the division of the imperial family which first created two distinct Powers was of the nature of a quarrel. Maximilian II had the feelings of a personal rival towards Philip II, feelings so bitter that, we are told, nothing but opportunity was wanting to produce a war between them (*odio grandissimo ch' egli portava a' spagnuoli ed al re, in modo tale che pareva che non gli mancasse altro a moversi contra di lui che occasione e facoltà di farlo*)². Moreover Maximilian at the opening of his reign appeared rather a Protestant than a Catholic, and the immense prevalence of Protestantism in his dominions made it at least impossible for him to enter actively into the policy of Philip.

Thus it is that in sketching the history of the wars of Philip II we have scarcely had occasion even to mention Austria or the Emperor.

But the alienation between the two Houses did not

¹ Gindely, *Rudolf II und seine Zeit*, Vol. i. p. 26.

² Tiepolo, year 1563, quoted by Gindely, *Rudolf II und seine Zeit*, Vol. i. p. 25.

last very long, and another change took place which enabled the Emperor Ferdinand II, after a violent and for a time almost desperate struggle, to give a sort of moral unity to his scattered dominions, and so by the help of Spain to establish, as we have before expressed it, the modern great Power of Austria.

Even before the death of Maximilian II the tendency towards reunion between the two branches of the House becomes perceptible. At the time when Philip II had no son but Don Carlos, who did not seem destined to a long life, Maximilian might hope that the succession in Spain would fall to his family. His sons, Rudolf and Ernst, were sent to live in Spain, where any bias towards the Reformation which they might have received from their father would be effectually corrected. Maximilian himself too shared the change of disposition which was passing over the world. His leaning towards Protestantism diminished rather than increased in his later years. Whereas about the time when he succeeded his father (1565) the Reformation reigned in South Germany almost as irresistibly as in the North and seemed like a national or German religion, he lived to see a turn of the tide and to turn with it. As in France, as in Poland, as even in the Low Countries, so in Germany, the impression began to gain ground soon after 1570 that the Reformation after all was a failure and was doomed to disappearance. Among the many momentous results of this change in the tendency of public opinion was the removal of the deepest cause which had produced alienation between the two branches of the dominant House. No later Emperor or Archduke ever regarded a King of Spain, while the Habsburg family ruled there, as Maximilian in his earlier days had regarded Philip II.

There followed several intermarriages between the two families. Of these the most important was that which was arranged by Philip II on the eve of his departure from the world. His daughter Clara Isabella was married to the Archduke Albert, and the pair were placed together on the throne of the Low Countries, which was actually made independent of Spain. That this anticipation of the modern kingdom of Belgium, which lasted from 1598 to 1621, passed away again, and that the Catholic Low Countries were reannexed to the Spanish Monarchy, was caused simply by the fact that the Archdukes (so they were called) remained childless. But during this period the reunion of the two families was embodied in the most visible manner by this independent state ruled by a German Habsburg and a Spanish Habsburg united in marriage. For some years at the beginning of the seventeenth century the plan was discussed of causing the Archduke Albert to succeed Rudolf in the imperial dignity. It was for a time favoured by Spain, and was only abandoned when it was perceived to involve practically a surrender of the Low Countries to Austria.

But this reunion of the House, accompanied and caused by the decided adhesion of the Austrian royal House to the Counter-Reformation, evidently paved the way to a religious war in Germany similar to those which had devastated France and the Low Countries in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the surface of the history of Europe it appears an anomaly that the great religious war of Germany does not begin till the other great religious wars have come to an end and till, as we might think, the age of religious war was over. The explanation of this is that, as the Reformation was originally a German movement and dominated Germany

with Scandinavia far more completely than it dominated any other country until later it acquired in the very teeth of the Counter-Reformation the two kingdoms of Britain and the Seven Provinces of the Netherlands, the Counter-Reformation necessarily began later and had a far greater work to achieve in Germany than elsewhere. For a long time it seemed a settled thing that the greater part of Germany would for ever belong to the Reformation. Such was the aspect of affairs between 1555 and 1570, that is, in the years when England oscillated doubtfully between Romanism and Anglicanism, and France after a moment's hesitation decided with fanatical vehemence for Catholicism. And when in the seventies the Counter-Reformation began effectively to take hold of Germany it had actually to reconquer the southern part of the country from Protestantism and not merely, as in France, to defend Romanism from its attacks.

In one word the Counter-Reformation in France arrived in time to save Romanism from defeat; in Germany it had to attack a dominant Protestantism and to reconquer a large part of the country for Romanism.

The two countries offer an instructive parallel, which it is desirable to keep constantly in view, in respect of the manner in which they dealt with the religious question. In neither country was it found possible, as in England, to maintain a single national religion or establish, as was said above, a nation-church. In both countries two religions stood side by side, and the question at issue was the terms of the arrangement which might be concluded between them. In Germany this arrangement was the Religious Peace, concluded in 1555; in France after thirty-five terrible years of war a settlement was made by the Edict of Nantes.

The main difference between these two settlements was that the Religious Peace was practically a victory for Protestantism, and the Edict of Nantes a victory for Romanism. Both alike were but temporary halting-places; but Germany after the Religious Peace grew for some time more and more Protestant, France after the Edict of Nantes more and more Catholic.

In France however the tendency met with no interruption and ended in the fall of Protestantism; in Germany the tendency was suddenly arrested by the advance of the Counter-Reformation. Accordingly in Germany all early anticipations were disappointed, and about 1625 Romanism seemed likely to obtain a final victory. This was averted, but the South of Germany was definitively lost to the Reformation, and on the whole when the struggle was over victory remained in Germany as in France with Rome. It was by taking the principal part in this victory of the Counter-Reformation in Central Europe that Austria raised itself to the position of a great Power.

In an earlier chapter we examined the Counter-Reformation sufficiently to discern the causes of its success in Western Europe. These causes operated also in Germany, but if we would fully understand the surprising reaction it caused there we must take note of a circumstance which hitherto we have disregarded. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Reformation had taken possession of Germany like a mighty national religion, and it might well seem that the Council of Trent, whatever influence it might have elsewhere, came too late for Germany. And yet in twenty years from the conclusion of the Council by some means or other the Counter-Reformation had invaded Germany too and there too it eventually took the upper hand.

We noted it as a characteristic of that period, which

corresponds to the Elizabethan age, that it is not so much busy with religion itself as with the problem of the relation of religion to civil government. Thus the decided rejection of the Reformation by France was evidently caused in a great degree by the sense that it would lead in France to anarchy and disintegration. Now the danger of disintegration was much greater in Germany than even in France. Before the Reformation began France had established for herself a strong government, and all she had now to do was to hold fast what she had enjoyed for the best part of a century. But in Germany disintegration was an evil of long standing. At the very moment when some faint prospect of overcoming it was offered under Maximilian and Charles V, the Reformation introduced a new cause of disunion.

But the Lutheran Reformation, we have remarked, had politically a strong dash of conservatism, and was even, in a certain sense, carried into effect mainly by the agency of government. If it led in the last years of Charles V to a civil war in Germany we may perhaps say that the Revolutionist was rather the Emperor than the Schmalkaldic League. The settlement in which Ferdinand I took the lead and which actually gave a long peace to Germany was made by mutual agreement, and was maintained by an understanding between the head of the Catholic party, Ferdinand himself, and the leader of the Protestants, August, Elector of Saxony. Hence when the Lutheran Reformation was, as it were, concluded by the Religious Peace, it left Germany tolerably free from disunion, and modern German historians regret that the state of things introduced by the Religious Peace, when Germany seemed for a time to enjoy national and religious harmony, could not last.

It was no doubt a precarious equilibrium. The machinery of national government was extremely delicate. The Emperor had little power, but the Electoral College had a certain authority, and so long as the Confessions were evenly balanced there, Germany had as much organisation as it was accustomed to.

But the religious change had an aspect which was painfully secular. In all countries alike the Reformation, so far as it was successful, involved a vast confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Such a confiscation, accomplished regularly by a strong Government, might be harmless, but where government was weak and the change was made in a lawless revolutionary manner it was of the worst possible example. The Lutheran Reformation in one aspect was the purification of religion and the opening of the Bible to the people; but in another aspect it was the appropriation of a vast amount of property by a number of German princes. It raised these princes to a higher level of power and independence, and so far it enfeebled still further the central German Government, atoning perhaps for this by increasing the efficiency of provincial Government. At the same time it created a ruinous precedent. It gave all secular princes or landowners, great and small, an unappeasable appetite for church property, and a hankering after the anarchical independence which they might acquire by favouring the Reformation.

There was a kind of family likeness between the institutions of the Holy Roman Empire and the institutions of the Slavonic countries adjacent to it, such as Poland and the kingdoms of the Bohemian Crown. Both alike had a turbulent aristocracy and a feeble monarchy. The Austrian Habsburg was at this time the feeble

monarch in Bohemia as also in Hungary, and in these kingdoms he had to contend against much such a turbulent aristocracy leaning on the Reformation, as he had to withstand in Germany in his capacity of Emperor.

It was thus that in the latter part of the sixteenth century the Reformation began to be regarded in many parts of Germany, and with some considerable excuse, as a mere cloak for aristocratic anarchy. The religious side of it in many parts disappeared and nothing was left of it but that painfully secular side. The anarchy appeared in many different degrees. In a Hungarian or Bohemian landowner it might appear as mere lawlessness and robbery. In a great German prince it might take the form of political ambition and issue in a scheme for breaking up Germany into a group of independent principalities.

And now grew up German Calvinism. The Reformation guided by Calvin was politically much more radical than the Lutheran Reformation. It issued commonly in rebellion. If such rebellion proved successful, it might in the end work well, as in Scotland or in Holland. But if not, it necessarily alienated the governing class; it commonly led to civil war.

In Germany Calvinism soon gained one of the seven Electors, the Elector Palatine. This new ingredient thrown into the caldron could not but embitter the religious politics of the country. This prince's position was necessarily revolutionary. As a Calvinist, he was not protected by the Religious Peace. He was hemmed in by Catholic principalities, the ecclesiastical electorates, the kindred House of Bavaria, the Spanish Low Countries. Meanwhile he had France within call.

And thus as the influence of Romanism revived in

the world, Protestantism in Germany, while it felt the influence of the Reaction, was at once secularised by the prospect of spoliation and embittered by the admixture of Calvinism. This occurred at a time when the German branch of the House of Austria was weak, and imperial institutions were almost paralysed.

At the opening of the seventeenth century it was safe to predict that a revolution was at hand in Germany. But the revolution which took place proved quite different from that which then seemed probable. No one would have predicted that the House of Habsburg was about to strengthen and consolidate itself and to take in some respects a firmer hold of Germany, or that the decrepit Holy Roman Empire would linger on for two more centuries. What seemed certainly at hand was something widely different. The Empire seemed about to be dissolved into a number of independent states, and the German branch of the House of Austria seemed about to be dethroned.

The person who would take the leading share in this transformation seemed also designated. The King of France, Henry IV, would step forward, as his predecessor Henry II had done in the days of Charles V, as, long after, one of his successors, Napoleon, did in the nineteenth century.

Between 1606 and 1610, that is, in the first years of the Great Truce, this movement was secretly advancing in Germany. The Union was organised under the leadership of the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV, but by the agency principally of Christian of Anhalt. These and other leaders put themselves in close communication with Henry. They formed a plan for breaking up the Diet and destroying what remained of effective machinery

in the Empire. Their conduct at the Diet held at Ratisbon in 1608, where they frankly denied the right of the majority to bind the minority, and where the members of the Union seceded in a body, was plainly calculated and intended to bring on a Revolution.

The death of Henry IV for the moment frustrated these schemes, but when we compare the events which began in 1618 and the share taken in them by the Elector Palatine Frederick V with these earlier events in which his father Frederick IV took the lead, we cannot but recognise the continuity of the policy of the Palatine party.

What has now been said of the new greatness and prominence of the Austrian Power, which may be held to begin with the succession in 1619 of the Emperor Ferdinand II to the Emperor Matthias, enables us to describe in outline English policy as it shaped itself in the later years of James I. The principal features of the Elizabethan period had disappeared earlier, but that change was chiefly negative; new Powers now appear and the Counter-Reformation carries on its struggle with the Reformation by new agencies.

The system which had disappeared was that which turned exclusively on the resistance of the Low Countries to Spain. This resistance had been supported by aid fitfully rendered to the rebels by England and France. But in the earlier years of James not only had Spain herself been led to take up a less aggressive attitude, for she had made peace with England, but in 1609 she had consented to suspend the original war itself, the war with heresy, the war with the Low Countries, for twelve years. This occurrence of 1609 was like the true conclusion of the Elizabethan age. After taking note of it we ask

ourselves whether James having disentangled himself from the Continental politics of his predecessor, will form new Continental relations for himself, and whether some new question will take the place of that insoluble Dutch question which seemed now to have been at least shelved for some years. And at least we find that he is influenced by considerations which had not troubled the counsellors of Queen Elizabeth. He has sons and daughters to marry, and they must be married preferably into a branch of the House of Austria or into the House of Bourbon. He seeks a Spanish match for the Prince of Wales, but at the same time he finds a husband for his daughter Elizabeth, and by this latter marriage he calls into existence a new international system for Western Europe and creates almost a new Dutch question. What the Dutch had been to Elizabeth, that in a great degree was the Palatinate for this generation, and the chief concern or interest that the English people had in the Palatinate lay in the fact that the ruler of it, the Elector Palatine, was the husband whom James had secured for his daughter Elizabeth.

But the reason why this particular marriage had such serious and such various consequences was that the Elector Palatine by his position in Europe was closely connected with those occurrences which gave so much greatness and prominence to the Austrian House, and which now appear in history as the occurrences in which the Thirty Years' War took its rise.

The Thirty Years' War is held to begin in 1618 by the marvellous 'defenestration,' at Prag, of Martinitz, Slavata and the Secretary Fabricius. But the next year to this, 1619, is almost more important in the revival of the Austrian branch of the House of Austria, for in this

year Matthias was succeeded by the Emperor Ferdinand II, one of the most energetic and characteristic representatives of the Counter-Reformation which that age produced. But other occurrences followed by which the prominence of Austria was still further enhanced. A revolution in the institutions of the Empire was suggested when it was proposed to declare the Bohemian crown elective, and this revolution was pointed directly at England when it was proposed that the Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James, should become a candidate for it. When this revolution was actually accomplished in August 1619 by the election of Frederick by the Bohemian Estates and by Frederick's acceptance of the election, England seemed to stand on the threshold of a new foreign policy wholly unlike that of the Elizabethan age, for it was one in which neither the Spanish Monarchy nor the Low Countries had any concern, and it was founded entirely on the condition of Germany. Nevertheless we can scarcely understand the change that had occurred without looking forward a little beyond 1619. At the end of October 1620 the new Austrian Power crushed the new Bohemian Power, the elective Bohemian Monarchy, at the battle of the White Mountain outside Prag. A blow was struck at the Reformation which might well seem serious wherever, as in England, a strong national feeling in favour of the Reformation existed.

So far the active offensive Power which James finds always in his path is Austria. Austria has become reunited and vigorous, Austria is an efficient representative of the Counter-Reformation, Austria has crushed her Protestant enemy and won the great victory of the age. But in the new form which the great struggle of the Confessions is now assuming will the Spanish Monarchy

find no place at all? The Truce has removed her from the list of belligerents for twelve years. But now it is to be observed that the twelve years were fast running out. In fact they expired in 1621, so that in that year the old interminable struggle of the Spanish Monarchy with the Dutch began again. Henceforth there was not merely a Thirty Years' War, but two wars were waged side by side, one for thirty years in Germany, the other, only three years shorter, between the Spanish Monarchy and the United Provinces, and by the Treaties of Westphalia not one of these wars but both of them alike were brought to an end in 1648.

Thus both branches of the House of Austria take some part together in the international drama which began in the latter years of James I. It is indeed the characteristic feature of the age that the two branches of the House act in concert. It was now to be tried whether thirty years after the Spanish Monarchy had threatened to overwhelm all Western Europe in Philip II's time, Spain and Austria might not be equally menacing in concert about the time when Philip III was succeeded by Philip IV, and Matthias by the Emperor Ferdinand II. In the year 1620, a little earlier than the battle of the White Mountain at Prag, this new alarming concert of the Spanish and Austrian branches of the House of Austria was placed in an imposing manner upon the European stage. A question of the Palatinate was growing up behind the Bohemian question. It was contemplated, after the Elector Palatine should be driven from his revolutionary throne at Prag, to attack him in his hereditary dominions of the Palatinate, and already the scheme was in the air of depriving him of these territories and transferring them to his cousin the Duke of Bavaria. Such uncereemonious manipulation of the Electoral College

might alter the religious balance of the Empire and constitute a political and a religious Revolution that would convulse Europe. Nevertheless in 1620 Spinola, a general of Spain, invaded the Palatinate, that is, a German Electorate. The catastrophe of Prag followed in the same year. But 1621 brought occurrences of the same kind and almost more momentous as affecting the position of the two branches of the House of Austria. First, king Philip III was succeeded by Philip IV, in whose long reign the Spanish Monarchy underwent the great losses which may be considered as equivalent to the fall of Spain—the Spain, that is, of Philip II. Secondly, the Twelve Years' Truce expired, and the war, which for thirty years in the sixteenth century had been a kind of pivot for international affairs, began again. In other words, the great religious war which before had been waged between one great Counter-Reformation Power, Spain, and one great Reformation Power, the Low Countries, was now to be revived as one of two religious wars, for besides the revival of the old war there was now a second religious war in Germany, the Emperor himself representing the Austrian branch of the House of Austria and appearing for the Counter-Reformation while the Elector Palatine appeared as the champion of the Reformation.

In what way was England concerned with these threatening relations of Europe thus transformed? Under Elizabeth she had feared in the unsettled state of her succession and of her religion to be invaded by the Spanish Monarchy. She was now less timid, having defeated the Armada and settled the succession question and having lived through several years of peace. She could not however regard with simple indifference the double religious war which was now about to break out.

In the first place the leader of the Reformation party in the Germanic war was a son-in-law of our Stuart king, and so long as he should remain the most prominent figure on the Protestant side of that struggle we could not but feel interested in it. But, moreover, popular feeling in England was other than it had been in Elizabeth's time. Then it had been perhaps doubtful whether the English were at heart a Romanist or a Protestant people, and even now Gondomar could persuade himself that almost all persons of cultivation or property in England were at least secretly Catholic. But he seems to have been mistaken. At least there was much religion in England which was both Protestant and fervent. Protestant religion both in England and Scotland was a thing alive and capable of self-sacrifice. The Reformation, it appeared, had taken strong root in the two insular kingdoms. And now that on the Continent two religious wars were breaking out at once, England was likely to show herself less indifferent than in Elizabeth's reign. Public opinion was likely to clamour to be led somewhat in advance of political prudence in defence of Protestantism assailed whether in the Low Countries or the Palatinate or even Bohemia by the united House of Austria.

For, having taken note of the altered features of Europe which exhibit the portentous approach of a new or rather of two new religious wars, we are now to remark that the problem is not to be dealt with by Elizabeth and a people long accustomed to their virgin queen, but by the first Stuart now at the end of his work of pacification and declining in years. It must be decided somehow between him and his Parliament, and it is to be seen whether new Drakes will arise or the English soldier penetrate into the heart of Germany, or on the other

hand whether diplomacy shall achieve a peace; and further, if a land army is required, whether the Stuart monarchy and the Parliament between them will know how to find the money. Long before the diplomatic and the foreign question were fully discussed the domestic question superseded both of them. After all, little war took place, but there took place a good deal of revolution. We took no prominent part in the Thirty Years' War nor in the second war of the Low Countries, but about the same time that the Continent was elaborating its treaties of Westphalia we made the experiment of abolishing monarchy in England.

Thus a short formula for this period is, rise of Austria and approach of a great double religious war on the Continent; this regarded by the Stuart House from the dynastic point of view, but chiefly from the religious point of view by public opinion; and the whole foreign question gradually overwhelmed and superseded by the growth of a domestic revolution.

In short, our policy arrives just here at a parting of the roads. A vista opens on the Continent, where two religious wars are beginning at the same time, wars to which the Stuart kings are called by their dynastic connexions and their people by religious feeling. But at the same time another vista equally extensive opens at home, where the divisions, the topics and the personages that afterwards furnished out the Great Rebellion are about to appear. More and more the national vigour was drawn off to this domestic movement, and England assuming an active decisive policy in the Thirty Years' War was lost in the great Might Have Been. Yet we can mark pretty exactly the point at which the ways parted. Look at that year 1621. On the Continent it was the year when

in Spain Philip III was succeeded by Philip IV, and also the year when the war of the Spanish Monarchy with the Low Countries began again. In England in the same year Parliament was summoned, the Parliament which among other things made the famous protest in favour of liberty of speech. In the four years which still remained to James I, Parliament was summoned once again (in 1624), and both questions, the question of religious war abroad and the parliamentary question at home, moved forward. But another question, to James himself more fundamental than either, the Spanish match, was prosecuted eagerly during this closing period of the reign, and we are able to perceive what after all lies at the bottom of the policy of James I. His reign is sharply contrasted with that of Elizabeth because it is given up to royal marriage. The marriage of Elizabeth Stuart has involved England in those questions of Bohemia and the Palatinate which threaten the whole Continent with confusion, and forces James to press on another royal marriage, more important still, the Spanish match which he prepares for the Prince of Wales.

If 1621 marks one of the greatest international turning-points for England, and for both branches of the House of Austria, the short period extending from 1621 to the death of James I includes a turning-point equally memorable in the history of the House of Bourbon. For 1624 may be taken as the commencement of the period of Richelieu. Fourteen years after the death of the founder Henry IV, appeared the most original and powerful minister that ever served the House of Bourbon, a minister who gave a character to the Bourbon Monarchy which decided the position it was to hold in Europe and ultimately also the relation it was to bear to England.

Of the Thirty Years' War itself we need here only to remark the transition from the Bohemian phase to the phase of the Palatinate. The Protestant invasion of Bohemia having failed was followed by an invasion of Frederick's electoral dominion of the Palatinate by the House of Habsburg. In other words, the war was transferred from the Slavonic world into the heart of the German Empire, and questions were raised which touched the very constitution of the Empire and therefore interested almost every leading state. The Bohemian question was soon forgotten; the question of the Palatinate took its place, and this could not so soon be forgotten.

What may be called the Balance of Germany depended mainly on the equal number of Catholic and Protestant Electorates. On the Catholic side were the three ecclesiastical Electorates (Köln, Trier, and Mainz); on the Protestant side the Palatinate, Saxony and Brandenburg. The seventh Electorate, Bohemia, belonged to the House of Austria itself. Here was indeed a nice balance! When it was now proposed to take the electoral rank from Frederick and to transfer it to his Catholic cousin of Bavaria, it was proposed to make a revolution in Germany in favour of Catholicism.

But all this was but dimly conceived in England, which hitherto had had but little concern in the intricate politics of the Empire. What came home at once to the English and to the French mind was that the Palatinate was invaded not by the Austrian troops of the Emperor but by Spanish troops marching from the Low Countries. The Power whose movements ever since the sixteenth century England, France, and the Netherlands had been in the habit of watching with anxious vigilance was Spain. The King of Spain and the Austrian sovereign were kinsmen,

but they had not hitherto been seen acting in concert. About 1588, when the Spanish Power by itself had overshadowed the world, the Austrian Power had not been seen aiding it. It was therefore an alarming innovation that on the outbreak of a civil war in Germany, Spain promptly interfered and moved her troops into a German province to render aid to the kindred Power. It was the more alarming because at this very time that kindred Power began to display such unwonted vigour.

But these continental movements did not directly threaten England. We may safely say that Elizabeth would have troubled herself very little about them. She who had kept England at peace in a much more threatening condition of Europe would scarcely have gone to war for the Palatinate. But Elizabeth had neither sons, nor daughters, nor sons-in-law. It was otherwise with James, who had the ordinary interests and feelings of a member of the royal caste. He had indeed resisted the appeals of his children when they urged him to support their Bohemian claim. But when they were threatened in their own Palatinate James held it a family duty to interfere.

Both James and Charles regard the Thirty Years' War in a manner in which Elizabeth had never regarded the continental movements of her time. For Elizabeth had been married to her people, but James was only married to Anne of Denmark and Charles to Henrietta Maria. The Stuart kings see little more than the danger of a relative; for them the appalling convulsion in which the German nation and the German Reformation seemed likely to perish together is summed up in the question of the Palatinate, which is like a lawsuit in which their

family is interested. In taking this view, in proposing to involve England in war for a mere family interest, they but followed the usual practice of European Monarchies in their time; it was Elizabeth who, owing to special circumstances, had been able to rise to a higher point of view.

And English public opinion was disposed on the whole, though vaguely and uncertainly, to go with them. To it too the rights of the royal family were something, but besides these rights the nation was alive to the interest of the Protestant religion. James and Charles might not be quite insensible to this too, had not the Catholic match, first with Spain, afterwards with France, clouded their views. But what the English people saw in Germany was an alarming series of disasters befalling their religion. They understood indeed little in detail. The merits of the Bohemian question or of the electoral question were beyond their knowledge, but they could see the cause of the Reformation sinking as low as it had ever fallen in the darkest years of the sixteenth century. Bohemia hopelessly lost, all South Germany overflowed by the Counter-Reformation, the Palatinate lost at least temporarily, and an alliance formed between the two branches of the House of Austria which might revive the ascendancy which Spain alone had had in the reign of Elizabeth—all this they could see. And thus the Stuart kings, though sympathising but little with their people, yet were in a kind of vague general agreement with their people on the policy demanded by the time.

But the public mind was embarrassed, as we have frequently seen it embarrassed since, but as it had not been embarrassed in the Elizabethan age. In that age the danger which threatened England, and therefore

the close interest of England in continental affairs, was indisputable; for a long time it seemed barely possible that England could escape. For this reason we aided the Huguenots and the insurgents of the Low Countries, and on this direct and undeniable interest our whole foreign policy was founded. The German disturbance of 1618 did not concern us at all in the same unquestionable manner. It was most serious for Germany, most serious for Continental Protestantism, but in the most unfavourable contingency it could scarcely be shown to endanger England. The Protestantism of England did not depend on that of Germany, as it had really seemed to depend, in Elizabeth's time, on that of the Low Countries.

Perhaps if we had been able to consider this German question, as we should consider it now, purely from the point of view of the national interest and duty, we should have held that England was not called to put herself prominently forward.

It was right indeed that we should exert ourselves to prevent the fall of Protestantism in Germany, but we were not so situated that the principal responsibility should fall on us. Those who were most bound to act were the Lutheran princes of Germany, after these the Dutch, and then the kings of Denmark and Sweden. All these had the same interest as ourselves in the cause of the Reformation, and they were nearer than ourselves to the scene of action. And when the concert of Spain with the Emperor was revealed to the world by Spinola's invasion of the Palatinate, another Power, not Protestant, might be thought to have a closer interest than England, if not in saving German Protestantism, at least in resisting Habsburg ascendancy. We are to remember

that already in Henry IV's time France had felt herself most dangerously hemmed in by Habsburg power. The Catholic Low Countries, Franche Comté and Alsace, were in Habsburg hands. And now the Palatinate passed into the same hands at the same time that Austria, a neighbour of France in Alsace and Suabia, became much more powerful than formerly. France then might be expected to bestir herself.

In these circumstances a Grand Alliance for the purpose of watching over the interests of the Reformation in Germany was needed. England would be a member of it, and would supply aid in money, perhaps at need in ships and men. But England would not be expected to take any leading part.

This simple view of the matter was obscured by the family relation between James and Charles and the Elector Palatine. To assert his rights, to recover for him his hereditary possessions, was regarded as a family duty by the King of England. The English people were on the one hand not prepared to say bluntly that these family interests did not concern them; on the other hand they too wished to see the Elector righted, because the cause of the Reformation was involved in his. Accordingly England found herself taking a more prominent part in the question than was reasonable. Frederick himself and the whole Protestant world looked to the King of England for the solution of a question in which England was not primarily concerned. Nor was England able to meet this unreasonable expectation by announcing a firm and consistent policy.

This phase of our Policy may be taken to end in 1629, in which year the domestic dispute in England begins to paralyse her action abroad. We must however distinguish

between the phase of it which belongs to James and that which belongs to Charles. Only it is to be observed that the division does not fall at the moment of the death of James but a year earlier, at the return of Prince Charles from Spain. At this time the reins fall out of the hands of James, and pass into those, not so much of Charles as of Buckingham. And with the peace with France and Spain in 1629-30 we may say that the second phase ends.

We have found the policy of James I tolerably confused in every part of his reign. It had however one redeeming feature which saved him from disaster, namely, that it was always peaceful. England had reached that secure position that if she chose to hold aloof from foreign complications, or even to trifle with them and then dishonourably to withdraw, she could do so without suffering much for it. It marks therefore the first of the two phases that England undertakes a great deal and accomplishes nothing. Had James been left alone he would probably have put up with his failure and sunk into inactivity. But by this time the national feeling has been aroused, and the question is taken out of his hands by those who by no means share his passion for peace. Now begins the second phase, not less confused than the first but infinitely more dangerous. England in her bewilderment finds herself dragged into wars which she neither understands nor approves, but to which she sees no end. For England herself means one thing by the war, but the English Monarchy means another. Hence in the end a breach between the nation and the Monarchy, a revolution.

But one strange characteristic belongs to both phases alike. The real enemy who threatens Protestantism is the Emperor wielding the power of Austria. He is indeed assisted by Spain, but Spain is by this time much enfeebled,

far advanced in an incurable decline. We remark, however, that the English mind, whether we look at James, Charles and Buckingham, or at the popular party so suspicious of their policy, seems unable to see any enemy but Spain. The Palatinate is to be saved, so the King judges at one time, by a marriage alliance with Spain, at another time by war with Spain. And yet throughout the decision really lay with the Emperor. On the other hand the popular party when they are in their most warlike mood pay little regard to the Palatinate, but meditate a grand maritime war with Spain. It is evident that the impressions left behind by the Elizabethan war still hold their minds. They remember Drake, Essex and Raleigh, and are unable to grasp the new development which is really all-important, or to understand that Germany, not the Sea and the New World, is the scene of the new struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.

The episode of Raleigh, standing midway near the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, explains this universal misconception, for it shows how much alive the animosity towards Spain and the wish for war with Spain continued to be more than twelve years after the conclusion of peace and almost at the moment when the new danger from Austria was beginning. The misconception was favoured by the action of Spain in occupying the Palatinate. This step, taken really with reluctance and in mere self-defence by the Spanish Government, was interpreted as if Philip II had been still on the throne. It was taken as an act of tyrannous ascendancy. Spain still appeared alarmingly great and Austria comparatively weak after the relative position had been reversed, after Spain had fallen into languor and Austria had become the tyrant of Germany.

Accordingly throughout this period English policy makes the mistake of trying to settle the German question at Madrid instead of at Vienna. It adopts first a peaceful, then a warlike method. At first the Elector is to be rescued, and his territory restored to him, by an article in a marriage-treaty, afterwards by military operations. But both the marriage-treaty and the military operations are directed to Spain, with whom the settlement of the question did not really lie, and not to the Emperor, with whom it did.

We have seen the Spanish marriage already under negotiation before the German question broke out. At the outset the plan had been favoured by James, partly because it promised him a sum of money, partly because of the splendour of the match. Spain had favoured, if not the plan itself, yet the discussion of it, as furnishing a lever by which she could at least strongly influence English policy and might hope to undermine English Protestantism by procuring a toleration for the Catholics. Now came the German question, and modified the character and object of the negotiation. Henceforward, while the King of Spain regarded it much as before, James and Charles came to regard it chiefly as a means of procuring relief for their relative in Germany. The Infanta was to give in return for the position of Queen of England and for large concessions to her Church in England, no longer merely a sum of money, but also the Palatinate to the son-in-law and daughter of James.

This is the grand scheme upon which James staked his reputation, and he had at the outset the advantage that if his conciliatory advances failed he could at any time fall back upon war, in which he would be supported with enthusiasm by his Parliament and people. But besides

the misconception that lurked in the plan itself he was thwarted by his inability to maintain a popular course and by the good-natured indolence which made the thought of war intolerable to him. In 1621 he stumbled into a quarrel with his Parliament, which, as he depended for money either upon Parliament or upon the Spanish match, threw him against his will into dependence upon Spain. Hence between 1621 and 1623 the marriage-negotiation enters upon its intense phase, and in the latter year occurs the wild visit of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid.

The course of this long negotiation presents many small points, which for the moment seemed of intense interest. It filled months and years with fussy excitement, and gave occasion to infinite diplomatic fencing, to misunderstandings and explanations, to ambiguous promises now given, now revoked. This kind of thing is precisely what an essay like this avoids. For the question at issue was after all simple, and when the whispering was over the time necessarily arrived for deciding this simple question, whether Spain would, or indeed whether she could, restore the Palatinate to the Elector.

Had the Elector conducted himself in the meanwhile honourably and discreetly, he might have obtained restitution, not so much from Spain as from the Emperor himself. But he had behaved with such perverseness, and had created such confusion in Germany by letting loose military adventurers such as Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick upon the country, that he had made it impossible for the Emperor to treat him with indulgence. Accordingly the demand of England practically came to this, that Spain should put force upon the Emperor, should go to war with him in the cause of the Elector

Palatine. And this on the ground that the royal House of Spain was henceforth to be connected by marriage with that of England.

But the royal House of Spain was connected much more closely, not only by many marriages, but by a common origin, with the Emperor himself. Accordingly the time came when it was necessary to explain to James and Charles that by a fundamental maxim of the Spanish House war between it and the Emperor was inadmissible.

In the course of his stay at Madrid, Charles after making incredible concessions came at last to perceive that no concessions could purchase that which he had most at heart. Hitherto he had been the agent of his father's policy, but after his return in 1624 the policy of James stood condemned. The only alternative, since it occurred to no one that not Spain but the Emperor really held the fate of the Elector in his hands, was war with Spain. The reign of the Peace-maker in foreign policy is at an end. Charles and Buckingham put themselves at the head of the popular movement which presses for war.

The period which follows stands alone in the history of the early Stuarts as exhibiting a Stuart prince acting in unison with public opinion. The agreement did not indeed last long; as a leader of public opinion Charles failed almost as disastrously as he failed later when he put himself in opposition to it. If he did not fail quite at once, and if he failed partly through ill-luck and not entirely through perversity, this was due to the influence of Buckingham, who has a right to give his name to this phase of our policy.

Buckingham in these years resembles not so much his immediate predecessor Carr as those favourites of Queen

Elizabeth, Leicester and Essex, who like him had dealt with foreign affairs in a time of war. Between 1624 and 1628 the Elizabethan age might seem in some respects to be revived. What Raleigh had clamoured for was now at last seen. The peace with Spain came to an end, and the nation might look forward to a renewal of those lucrative triumphs which in the last years of Elizabeth had been found so easy to win. The Netherlands since 1621 were again at war with Spain, and now that England joined them, as she had done in the former war, the interval of peace might seem a mere pause, and the old struggle to have recommenced by a sort of necessity. England sees again, for the first time under the Stuarts, a spirited, nay momentarily a popular foreign policy, and for this she is indebted to Buckingham. The favourite is no doubt a favourite, that is a spoiled and demoralised politician, but he is less helpless than either of his two masters, and seems by no means devoid either of the instinct of statesmanship or of energy or of patriotism.

But the new policy is in reality as far as possible from being Elizabethan, and in a few years it involves the country in greater difficulties than had ever resulted from the feebleness of James. Elizabethan policy, as we have seen, had never been in the slightest degree adventurous. When it was most warlike it had been justified by absolute necessity, and it had been economical in the extreme. The marked peculiarity of it had been that it had always lagged somewhat in the rear of public opinion. What triumphs it had won had been forced upon it, and there had never been the slightest uncertainty about the object or the justification of its warlike proceedings. It had never lost sight of peace; it had steadily resisted the urgency of the war-party represented by Raleigh. The

program of Buckingham is wholly unlike this. His war with Spain is for a moment popular, but it could not for a moment be represented as undertaken in pure self-defence. England was not now threatened by Spain; no Armada was now preparing in the harbours of Cadiz or Lisbon. Nor could the object of it be distinctly stated or justified. It was not clear that Spain could, if she would, restore the Palatinate and the Electorate to Frederick, or that there was any reason why England should take the burden of the Elector's cause so prominently upon herself.

At the outset the policy seemed not only popular, but even parliamentary. Parliament was summoned more frequently in this Buckingham period than it had been in the peaceful years of James or in the warlike period of Elizabeth. For Parliament committed itself in 1624 to a warlike policy, and accordingly when Charles succeeded to the throne a prospect appeared of a grand war to be conducted by King and Parliament in close union. And yet this very Buckingham period created a more fatal and irreparable division between King and Parliament than had ever been witnessed before.

We see the powerful reaction of foreign policy upon domestic government. It has been too common to explain our civil troubles solely by internal insular causes. The long peace and security had no doubt allowed the constitutional question to come under discussion, and even now the somewhat unnecessary character of the war enhanced the discontent. But a foreign war, with all its exigencies and excitements, was needful to create our civil troubles, which probably would not have taken place but for the war with Spain which began in 1625 and the war with France which speedily followed it.

These wars belong to the reign of Charles not to that of

James. James witnessed but the commencement of the active policy. He lived to see his peace maxims pass out of date and his own son and the favourite whom he had raised from insignificance unite with the Parliament in destroying the work which was his pride, the settlement of 1604.

At his arrival in England he had brought in his hand peace with Spain. He had had a considerable share in extending the pacification to the Low Countries. He had been able in spite of his feebleness and indolence to hold in check the wild impulse, half heroic, half lawless, which still impelled the nation against Spain. He had put to death Raleigh, the prophet and leader of that crusade.

So far as his reign has unity it is in this peace policy. But it seemed as if the tide was against him, and through his last year he drifted helplessly into war. The grand marriage which was to crown the edifice could not be arranged. Spain had again threatened the Reformation by occupying the Palatinate. The spirit of Raleigh, 'ranging for revenge,' took possession of the Parliament, of Buckingham and of Prince Charles. The strongest conviction of James was not strong enough to resist such opposition in his own family. He seemed to see the country fall back into Elizabethan times, and he acquiesced.

He had always wanted the vigour to stamp his own mind upon events. But when he was allowed to close his eyes before war actually began, a sort of unity, a faint distinctness of character, was given to his reign.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLICY OF CHARLES I.

THE new time, which promised to be Elizabethan, proved, we have seen why, less Elizabethan than even the reign of James. Between the reigns of James and Elizabeth there were large resemblances in the midst of great difference. Both Elizabeth and James loved peace, both gave prosperity to their country and maintained for a long time her influence abroad. Charles, opening his reign with unnecessary war, alienated his people, ruined his credit in Europe, and came at last to be regarded with contemptuous indifference by the great statesmen of the Continent, by Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus, and Frederick Henry.

The part of his reign which preceded the Great Rebellion, that is, the thirteen years between his accession in 1625, and the rising in Scotland in 1638, falls into two well-marked divisions. There is first the age of Buckingham, in which the Minister impresses his energy upon the proceedings of Government, an age of wars, in the midst of which falls a kind of rehearsal of the Great Rebellion, the age of the Petition of Right. Secondly

there is the period which is marked in constitutional history by the abeyance of Parliaments. In the history of Policy its characteristic feature is that Charles is his own foreign Minister, but at the same time is debarred by want of supplies from doing anything decisive. In the former period our policy is certainly ill-advised and disastrous, but energetic, and at least not contemptible. In the latter, which is the stormy period of the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, of the murder of Wallenstein, of the battle of Nördlingen, and of the intervention of France in the German war, our policy is painfully confused and ineffective.

Buckingham's was the only strong influence which was brought to bear on the foreign policy of the Stuarts at this period, partly because, their policy being mainly occupied with marriage questions or family questions, it could only be influenced by a Minister who stood in a most intimate confidential relation to the royal family. It may strike us as strange that Buckingham should have been in an equal degree a favourite to two kings in succession, but he had been in Spain with Charles, and Charles needed a minister who might stand in a peculiarly intimate personal relation to him. So two generations of Hydes served the later Stuarts, being personally connected with James II by marriage.

The events of this age were in themselves great, and might, but for accidental circumstances, have had a profound effect upon our policy. They were in one word the breaking of the Spanish match, and the marriage of Charles a few months after his accession to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France. Once more a royal marriage! But when the Spanish match was broken war with Spain followed. This is the second in the series

of our wars with Spain, and, since in war with Spain our empire has mainly grown up, it might have led to vast changes in the colonial world. In like manner the marriage alliance with France, formed at the very time when the reunion of the House of Austria alarmed both France and England, might have led to a concerted intervention of the two states in the Thirty Years' War. But Buckingham's policy, if it had energy, had no clearness. Instead of concert the marriage was followed by war. We found ourselves at war with Spain and France at the same time. Again such energetic intervention in the affairs of the Continent, favoured as it was at the outset by Parliament, might have restored that internal union which had been seen under Elizabeth and which James had in a great degree trifled away. Constitutional bickerings spring up in peace, but in the midst of a great national peril they may be expected to subside again.

All these possibilities withered away. The great enterprises failed and were abandoned. Peace was made with France at Susa in the year 1629; peace was made with Spain at Madrid early in the year 1630. Nothing was gained for England in either war. Instead of national union the energetic foreign policy produced a discord more alarming than the country had witnessed since the accession of Henry VII. On the one side Parliament presented to the King a solemn Petition of Right; on the other side the King, offended by the violent conduct of Parliament, dissolved it, and began a serious and persistent attempt to make the Monarchy independent of parliamentary support.

What was the cause of so much failure?

We have traced the gradual unexpected rise of English maritime power in conflict with Spain. We saw Spain in

the days of Lepanto taking the lead of all maritime States and scarcely thinking of England as even a possible rival. Twenty years later we saw the relation almost reversed, Spanish ships not safe in their own harbours against English attack, while Spanish Armadas are wholly unable to inflict any damage upon England. Thus ended in 1604 the first war of England and Spain. England has conquered her place upon the Ocean, Spain meanwhile has recovered nothing of her lost reputation. Twenty years of peace between the two nations succeeded, but in this period too Spain has no revival in naval or military reputation, whatever successes she may have in the field of diplomacy. Accordingly now that the war broke out again the nation may naturally have expected to see Buckingham take up the work of Drake, Essex and Raleigh where it was left, inflict more defeats upon Spain, bring home more spoils. But somehow the spell has been snapped, the talisman lost. The expedition of Sir Edward Cecil against Cadiz in October 1625 does not remind us by any feature of those expeditions of the Elizabethan age. The history of it tells of little but mismanagement, disorder, indiscipline, cowardice and failure. The naval glory of England would seem to have passed away again like a dream.

But let us call to mind how it had grown up. The open war of England and Spain had been preceded in Elizabeth's time by a long unavowed war. For twenty years before the Armada, Hawkins and Drake had been plundering Spanish ships and Spanish towns; in short, the nations had been at war, while the Governments were nominally at peace. This had been a period of apprenticeship to maritime affairs for England. Without this Elizabeth and her Government would have found themselves

powerless, when the crisis arrived, to resist the naval power of Spain.

Buckingham had not the advantage of his predecessor in the office of Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham. He could fall back upon no school of adventurers who, under the mask of peace, had become veterans of naval war. For there had been peace, real peace, not covert war, with Spain now for twenty years. He had therefore only the resources of government, the official machinery, and how rotten this became in time of peace, not only in the reign of James I but even a century later in the ministry of Walpole, it is not difficult to discover. There is little reason to suppose that Buckingham had any great power of organisation, any qualification in fact but a certain energy, but he had to use an instrument which would probably have broken in a much more skilful hand.

This may be said of the expedition to Cadiz, which otherwise was hopeful, being directed against Spain, in that age regarded as the national enemy, and at a time when the war was still popular in England. If two years later Buckingham's policy and Buckingham in person suffered a much more disastrous defeat at the Isle of Rhé, the explanation of this is different. The enemy here was France, and the nation could hardly just then understand a war with France. They felt the recklessness of a policy which had made an enemy of the state which in Elizabeth's time had been our ally against Spain at the very time when we were at war with Spain herself. Buckingham's short-lived popularity was already at an end. He had been impeached by the Commons and thus branded as a public enemy. Accordingly, not to speak of unavoidable misfortunes, such as the contrary wind which deprived him of his reinforcements, he had to deal with a force which was in great part mutinous.

Thus we had no success in these wars, and at Rhé we suffered terrible loss. But this has happened to us again and again at the opening of a war, and it has usually had the effect of rousing and uniting us until we arrive at victory through the discipline of disaster. Why had it no such effect in the case before us?

The answer is that the policy of these wars was essentially unsound, and would not bear the examination to which it was subjected. Unfortunately it had met for a moment with popular support, and thus the war had been allowed to begin. But no sooner had it begun than signs of discontent and misgiving showed themselves. In particular it was not clear who was the enemy nor in what way the war should be conducted. By a kind of accident the Court and the Parliament were both for a moment disposed to war, but they could scarcely agree in any warlike measures.

The popular feeling was simply that Protestantism was in danger and ought to receive aid from England. The enemy, it seemed evident, must be Spain, and the way to attack him had been pointed out by the naval heroes of the last war.

But what was the view of Charles? It was this, that he was bound by family duty to recover the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. To him Spain was only the enemy so far as Spanish troops had occupied the Palatinate, and so far as he felt himself aggrieved by the treatment he had received in Spain. His Government would be prepared to meet the wishes of the people, to send ships to Cadiz and lie in wait, as in old times, for the silver fleet. But what in the popular view would be the whole war seemed to the Government of Charles the lesser half of it. Naval victories over Spain would be unprofitable if they did

not procure the cession of the Palatinate. And this they could only do, if at all, by an indirect process. It was necessary to bring pressure to bear not only upon Spain but upon the Emperor. What after all was most urgent was either to send troops to Germany or at least to assist by subsidies the Protestant princes who commanded troops in Germany.

Accordingly when Charles at his accession tried to represent the war as one which Parliament had already sanctioned in the last year of James and which therefore Parliament was bound to support by subsidies, it soon appeared that he had in view a war far more extensive than Parliament had contemplated. They were prepared to support a naval war against Spain, but he asked them also to support a war in Germany. His family politics led him not only to stand by his brother-in-law the Elector, but also to cooperate with his uncle the King of Denmark, who in this phase of the German war took the lead of the Protestant party. Thus Parliament found itself in danger of being tempted to make immense and unheard-of grants for a war which it only approved in part. Leading members, for example Sir Francis Seymour, protested that in the debates of 1624 no such war was contemplated as the Government was now undertaking.

And as the plan so the spirit of the Government was wholly different from that of Parliament. For a while there seemed to be sympathy between them in hatred to Spain, the Parliament hating Spain as the great Catholic Power, Charles as the Power that had insulted him. But the difference of feeling appeared almost immediately; it appeared before the first Parliament of Charles met. The nation had always eagerly prayed that Charles might take a Protestant wife. But no sooner were they relieved from

the prospect of seeing a Spanish Queen than Charles married the Catholic Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France. No sooner was he liberated from all those humiliating engagements to allow Catholic worship, and to relax the Laws of Recusancy, which he had taken at Madrid, than he entered into the same engagements with France. Like most royal marriages in that age the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria was intended to have a political meaning. It was to involve an alliance between England and France for the purpose of waging war against Spain and recovering the Palatinate. But again this French alliance had not been contemplated by the Parliament of 1624 when the foundation of the war-policy had been laid.

Thus it may be said that Charles and his Parliament found themselves at cross purposes. A certain general agreement in anti-Spanish feeling was being misconstrued and misrepresented so as to involve the Parliament in a policy of boundless adventure and expense. A dangerous ambiguity weighed on English politics and seemed embodied in the person of Buckingham. The discontent of the nation fixed on him. The mention of his name broke the first Parliament. His impeachment disturbed and finally broke the second. And when in the third the struggle came to a height, and a decision was reached which for a long time appeared to close the constitutional question, though now it is seen to have only opened it, Buckingham still seemed, more than Charles, to be the enemy with whom the Pym and the Eliots had to contend. Then came his assassination.

If we regard foreign policy, neither party can be thought to have taken a rational view. There was no ground for reviving the maritime war with Spain, still

less for combining such a maritime war with a lavish support, by means of the King of Denmark or otherwise, of the Elector Palatine in Germany. If we take Elizabethan policy as our standard, we shall say that England ought at this time to have remained at peace, though she might fairly have supported the Protestant cause with diplomacy and with money.

Much has been written about the apostasy of Wentworth, who in the third Parliament is found playing a prominent part among the patriots, whereas later he contends and dies for the King. But if we regard Wentworth simply as an Elizabethan statesman, such conduct requires no explanation, least of all the explanation of apostasy. A politician might very fairly oppose Buckingham, and yet not oppose Charles after Buckingham's disappearance. Foreign policy was the question of Buckingham's time, but after his fall there followed a period of peace with foreign Powers. Miserable as was the diplomacy of Charles between 1629 and 1638, it was at least peaceful, and being at the time little known to the public, might wear a superficial resemblance to the delaying, 'peddling,' negative policy, which had served Elizabeth so well. Buckingham's policy of adventure had something portentous and ruinous about it, which a statesman fed on Elizabethan ideas filtered through the mind of Bacon might well think it a patriotic duty to resist to the utmost. But the course taken by Charles after the death of Buckingham stood, as we shall see, on quite a different footing.

Instead of a certain modest assistance steadily rendered to the Protestant cause in Germany, a grand war with Spain had been planned, which was probably quite unnecessary and at least required to be supplemented by

operations or expenses in Germany. This was the first blunder, committed by King and Parliament alike. By itself it opened a serious prospect. But the aberration became portentous when a quarrel with France also grew up, so that in 1627 we were at war with Spain and France at once, and Spain and France enter into an alliance against us. Wentworth, who, like Bacon before him, took the comprehensive view of a statesman rather than the partial view of an ordinary politician, may well have asked himself whether the Government was going mad.

Taken by itself, the war with France was not without rational, nay, what is rare in Stuart policy, popular, grounds. In the last year of James, the Huguenots rose in rebellion against Louis XIII. It was traditional in English policy to render help to the Huguenot cause, but in the first months of Charles, at a moment when the royal marriage and the grand schemes connected with it brought the English and French Governments into very close alliance, Charles was induced to promise naval help against the rebel Huguenots. This put him in a false position, not only because he himself was sincerely Protestant, but because at this time he depended very much upon the Protestant feeling of the country. He adopted many expedients to avoid actually rendering the help he had promised, but in the end a ship of war and six merchantmen were handed over to the French, though without their crews. It was believed when this was done that peace was already assured between the Huguenots and the French Government, but the war broke out again, so that Charles found himself aiding a Catholic king against his Protestant subjects. In these circumstances it appeared to him a point of honour to see at

least that the Huguenots suffered no injustice at the hands of Louis.

There was little real reason to be anxious on this point, for the government of Louis was directed by a great statesman, Richelieu, who thoroughly entered into the system which Henry IV had founded when he issued the Edict of Nantes, and had no intention whatever of reopening the era of religious wars. Charles however persuaded himself that the Huguenots were threatened with destruction. Meanwhile there was another ground of quarrel between Charles and Louis. Henrietta Maria, it had been promised, would bring with her considerable relief to the English Catholics, but in this very peculiar phase of Stuart policy the promise could not be kept. Charles at this moment was a staunch champion of Protestantism. Accordingly a pretext was invented for breaking the engagement. It was represented as having been a mere formality arranged between the two Governments for the purpose of obtaining the Pope's dispensation for the marriage.

Thus Charles interfered between Louis and his Protestant subjects, while Louis on his side interfered between Charles and his Catholic subjects. The relation of the two countries was evidently unsatisfactory, but it was one which might easily be mended, as appeared in the sequel. An exchange might be made which would cost nothing to either religion and remove the grievance of either Government. Let Charles leave the Huguenots to their Government, which was pledged to toleration. Let Louis leave his sister to her husband. In this way after the Buckingham age was past the difference was actually arranged by the treaty of Susa in 1629, and no arrangement was ever more satisfactory. France gained the free

hand in European affairs, by which she achieved her greatness. On the other hand, Charles, who in his whole reign scarcely succeeded in any undertaking, did really in this one matter of his Queen's position achieve a solid success. Ever since the beginning of the negotiation of the Spanish match the Counter-Reformation had reckoned upon undermining English Protestantism by means of a Catholic Queen. It seemed impossible that the English Recusancy Laws could resist the influence of a Catholic Queen backed by the condition of a marriage-treaty concluded with a great Catholic Government.

By the treaty of Susa Charles succeeded once for all in averting this danger. Henrietta Maria herself declared herself satisfied with her position, France resigned the position of patron to the English Catholics, and a considerable step was taken in securing England against the machinations of the Counter-Reformation. It is however not to be forgotten that, after all, the sons of this marriage, who afterwards became Charles II and James II of England, both became Catholics.

But this happy arrangement was made after a disastrous war with France, though perhaps it might have been made without any war. When we look not at the termination, but at the commencement and the course, of the controversy, we see one of the wildest aberrations to be found in the whole history of English policy.

War with France had passed by this time almost out of the traditions of English policy. Since the rise of the Spanish Power under Philip II, England and France had passed, as it were, into the same system and felt themselves in the presence of this enemy natural allies. At no time was an alliance between them more necessary than in 1627, when England was already at war with Spain,

and France was looking with dismay upon the Habsburg Alliance and upon the victorious progress it was making in Germany. It seemed indeed that England was aware of this, and had on that account planned with France one of these more solid unions which were cemented by marriage. Thus at the opening of the reign of Charles there reappeared for a moment against the House of Austria that formidable combination which had held it in check before. What Elizabeth, Henry IV and Prince Maurice had done for Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, seemed about to be done again now by Richelieu, Frederick Henry and Buckingham. Here, in spite of all the errors which the English Government had already made, might be seen the outline of a statesmanlike system which would prove sufficient for the needs of the day.

Just at this moment to commence a war with France after so many years of friendship, and to drive France into the arms of Spain, was monstrous and preposterous policy. It was the more dangerous because it had a certain popular tinge so far as it professed to have in view the interest of Protestantism. But while the Huguenots of France, who in reality needed no protection, were protected by England, the Protestants of Germany were neglected, and the King of Denmark, who had come forward in reliance upon English subsidies, bitterly cursed the faithlessness of Charles and made peace at Lübeck with the Emperor. The one good feature of Buckingham's excessively active foreign policy had been the chance it gave of saving Protestantism in Germany, but now if Protestantism was more endangered than ever, if the Imperial army of Wallenstein appeared on the Baltic and actually threatened not only North Germany but the Scandinavian

kingdoms, this was due in a great degree to the wild confusion introduced by the war of England with France.

This chapter of our policy ends with the Petition of Right, the stormy scenes which accompanied the dissolution of the third Parliament of Charles, and the assassination of Buckingham.

A period followed which was sharply contrasted with the age of Buckingham, a period of peace. This second division of the reign of Charles perhaps gave to contemporaries an impression very different from that which it gives to us. To us it seems a mere interval between two tremendous struggles, and we imagine it overshadowed by the coming revolution. It hardly seemed so to contemporaries, who saw England enjoying peace in the thirties, while Germany was ruined and Holland and France were disturbed by war. It was no doubt unsatisfactory that Charles had conceived a dislike to Parliaments; nevertheless the special dangers which his third Parliament had struggled to avert, namely, the wild foreign policy of Buckingham, had really passed away with Buckingham himself. The stormy time of the Petition of Right receded into the past, Sir John Eliot and Sir Edward Coke followed Buckingham into the grave, England had peace and prosperity. Court-poets at least proclaimed a golden age, and perhaps few foresaw a revolution which, though it came so soon, was produced by causes materially different from those which had operated in the time of Buckingham.

In the singular character of Charles no one can fail to remark a certain blind obstinacy. It is not however true that he absolutely refused to be taught by experience. Once or twice in his reign we may perceive him changing his mode of action in such a manner as to show that he recognises himself to have erred. His

foreign policy after the death of Buckingham undergoes a complete change. The wild energy that has characterised it not only since his accession but since his return from Spain disappears at this time. Hitherto he has caused uneasiness to his subjects by large indefinite warlike plans which he carries into effect with reckless vigour. Hitherto his parliamentary difficulties have mainly arisen from this recklessness. Eliot refers in dismay to the confusion reigning in foreign affairs, the failure at Cadiz, the failure at the Isle of Rhé, the infinite expense incurred, the ruin of Protestantism in Germany. What Eliot thinks Wentworth thinks also. If we studied only this particular phase of Charles, we might be led to think that if he could only adopt a different system of foreign affairs, if he could only reconcile himself to non-intervention, he might escape all his difficulties.

Now Charles actually does this. In the second period of his reign his foreign policy is indeed open to criticism but to criticism of the very opposite kind. Henceforth he involves himself in no foreign wars. He does indeed negotiate ceaselessly, he involves himself in a labyrinth of negotiation, but his mistake is now not that into which Buckingham had led him but that of his father, the mistake which in 1624 he had so impatiently opposed. Henceforth he will negotiate, but he will not act, and gradually he becomes an object of contempt to foreign statesmen, who have discovered that his schemes and proposals have no force to support them. His policy is now that of his father, whereas before it had been suggested by a strong reaction against the policy of his father. Henceforth no Elizabethan expeditions against Spain, no championship of the Huguenots! All such large ideas are now discarded, and the foreign policy of Charles is reduced

to pertinacious indefatigable negociation in behalf of his brother-in-law the Elector Frederick and, after Frederick's death, of the Elector Charles Louis, but negociation which is necessarily fruitless, because not backed by action.

The Treaty of Susa closed the French war in 1629 and the Treaty of Madrid closed the Spanish war early in 1630. Now begins the Peace of Charles I, which is not again broken. Like the Peace of Elizabeth it covers a period which for the Continent was most stormy. When England woke up again to the affairs of Europe she found a new world which had formed itself during her trance of insularity.

What we call the Thirty Years' War is a series of wars which, though distinct, are not clearly divided by any intervals of peace. To call it a great final struggle of the rival confessions is to give to the whole series a name which is appropriate only to one of these wars. The war in Bohemia (1618—1620) was but a partial disturbance, from which all Lutheran Germany stood aloof, and which the English Government regarded without sympathy. It led to the war of the Palatinate, which indeed created alarm in the Protestant world by threatening to destroy the balance of the Electoral College, yet again did not bring into the field the united forces of Protestantism. This was followed by a straggling war in North Germany, in which Catholicism pursued its advantage in an alarming manner, but the war which may absolutely be called religious, was brought on by the Edict of Restitution issued in 1629. This revolutionary Edict, striking at the whole settlement of property, especially in North Germany, drove Saxony and Brandenburg, the chief Lutheran States, into union with the Calvinistic Powers. The period which followed is the most intense and decisive passage of the

Thirty Years' War, but it is short. The Treaty of Prague, signed in 1635, brought it to an end by withdrawing these Powers again, so that out of thirty years of war scarcely seven saw the rival Confessions openly arrayed against each other. This intense struggle commenced about the time when Charles I resigned himself to an insular policy. It would scarcely have taken place had he acted more wisely in those earlier years when he had shown himself warlike. If instead of undertaking a maritime war against Spain, and following this up with a war against France, he had helped to organise, and had steadily supported, an alliance of the Protestant Powers against the Emperor, perhaps the Edict of Restitution would never have been issued. The obvious course was to put Gustavus Adolphus, whose great qualities had long been known to the world, at the head of the Protestant forces and to support him with subsidies, leaving it to the English and Scotch nations to support him with volunteers. But the strong family feeling of the Stuarts seems from the outset to have alienated them from Gustavus, who had been the enemy of their relative, the King of Denmark. For this reason, many years earlier, James had refused to Gustavus the hand of his daughter Elizabeth, and now Charles prefers to lean not on him but on the King of Denmark. And great results might have followed had Charles but steadily and effectively supported this leader of his choice. But he could not do this and wage war against Spain and France at the same time. The King of Denmark was deserted, the subsidies promised to him were not paid. He was defeated at Lutter and in the end withdrew from the war by making the Treaty of Lübeck with the Emperor.

Charles now retires from the European contest, in

which henceforth he sees only the Palatinate and his brother-in-law's claim; and this he asserts only by negotiation. Hitherto England had been regarded as the natural leader of the Protestant cause, for it is to be remarked that at the opening of the Thirty Years' War France, under the influence of Marie de Medicis, had quite lost the position which had been given her by Henry IV.

It is a great event in general history that England now retired from this leadership. For the natural result of it was the age of Richelieu and the foundation of French ascendancy in Europe. Already in the age of Buckingham Richelieu is Minister, but he is still embarrassed by the Huguenot opposition and the intrigues of the Queen Mother. His great period begins in 1630 and extends to his death in 1643. During this time he transforms the whole aspect of Europe. And it is precisely the time when Charles I has renounced foreign policy, at first from conviction, afterwards from the embarrassment of the civil troubles.

We may go further and lay it down as a striking characteristic of the whole period which includes the reign of Charles I and the Interregnum, that the English and French Monarchies, though drawn together in an unusual manner by the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria, are yet prevented by circumstances from acting in concert or rendering aid to each other. First comes the war between them, then the retirement of Charles from foreign affairs, which causes France to act alone and leads to cool relations between the two Powers, then the civil troubles in England, in which France might have been expected to interpose in behalf of the Queen, but has her hands too full of German affairs. The same fatality operates even later than this. The English Monarchy falls, Henrietta

Maria, the aunt of Louis XIV, becomes an exile, Prince Charles, his cousin, is debarred from his succession to the English throne. Yet France does not interfere, though we know with what haughty decision forty years later Louis XIV took up the cause of his younger cousin, James II. The reason is that at the very moment of the catastrophe of Charles I the disturbances of the Fronde began to embarrass the French Government. Just when Revolution triumphs in England it begins to threaten France. Accordingly the English Commonwealth is safe from French intervention; Mazarin is forced even to seek its alliance; and at last men saw with astonishment Louis XIV forming a close alliance with the Regicide Government, and actually crushing with its help at the Battle of the Dunes his own cousins the English princes.

We return to the second period of Charles, which, when looked at from the English point of view, need not detain us long.

Under the pressure of the Edict of Restitution German Protestantism adopts the system which from the outset had appeared the best. Gustavus Adolphus takes the lead and receives the support of Saxony and Brandenburg, but France takes the position which has been left vacant by England. At Bärnwalde Richelieu and Gustavus arrange the concert which forms the foundation of a new international system. Hitherto in the struggle against the House of Austria we have always seen a union more or less avowed between England, France and the Netherlands, but England now drops out of the Coalition and her place is taken by Sweden. This change is not altogether unnatural, since the danger now comes not from Spain but from Austria, and is less felt by maritime England than by Sweden threatened on the Baltic.

Accordingly the Alliance of France and Sweden dominates the middle period of the seventeenth century, dictates the Treaties of Westphalia and outlasts the age of Oliver.

The violent changes produced by this new combination, the meteoric career of Gustavus, the anarchy which followed in the Empire, the revolutionary designs and sudden catastrophe of Wallenstein, the restoration of Austrian power in South Germany by the battle of Nördlingen, finally the arrangement of a new Balance of Germany by the Treaty of Prag; all this can only be noted, and must not be examined or estimated in a review of the reign of Charles I, since he took no interest and no share in it. We must find a later opportunity of considering it. Charles, who has renounced all foreign schemes that are far-reaching, schools himself to see, after the fashion of his father, in all these great affairs simply the interest of his brother-in-law and to pursue this in his father's way by peaceful negociation. Shall he lean on the help of Spain or of Sweden, or of France? His whole policy turns on this question, and consists in endless hesitation. The history of it is a labyrinth, to which we need not here seek a clue.

It was an abrupt transition from a policy of adventurous activity to one of utter inaction. This must have been felt all the more as the age became more stormy and the war more universal. The Elizabethan tradition had not yet died out, and it had been in some degree revived by Buckingham. Once more the English fleet had threatened the coast first of Spain and then of France. Now that Charles had reconciled himself to non-intervention, it became important at least to maintain in some degree the naval reputation of England. And this was the more difficult because the Dutch, since 1621 again at

war with Spain, were daily winning fresh laurels in naval war. They had long since outstripped us in commerce and colonisation, and now the names of Tromp and of Piet Hein, who in 1628 succeeded in taking the silver fleet, filled the trumpet of fame while England rested in peace. And their war was waged, and many of their victories won, in our own seas, on the very waves over which Drake and Howard had pursued the Armada.

Accordingly Charles, while he pursues his pertinacious negociation for the Palatinate, feels himself obliged to have also a maritime policy. He asserts the old pretension of England to naval supremacy in the narrow seas. Selden writes *Mare Clausum*, and Charles devotes himself to maintaining a navy which shall correspond to this high ambition. Hence the writs of ship money.

We can imagine that by his careful abstinence from foreign intervention Charles might have ultimately won the victory over the parliamentary party but for a new difficulty, comparatively unknown to the age of Buckingham, in which he involved himself. In that age it had been proved that a king of England could not influence the affairs of Europe in a commanding manner without the support of Parliament. It was not so clear that he could not reign peacefully and maintain the dignity of his insular throne without much help from Parliament. But he was led during this second period to undertake a wholly different task, of which, as it proved, the Monarchy unsupported by Parliament was just as incapable as of an energetic foreign policy. It was by an attempt to unite, and give a sort of uniformity to, his three kingdoms that he raised an excitement with which he was utterly unable, without popular support, to cope. He might have dealt with England alone; he might have succeeded had he been in

the position of Elizabeth. But Laud stirred up Scotland, and Strafford put Ireland in a position from which it was capable, as never before, of exerting an influence on England. Here was an alarming novelty. It was not indeed in itself undesirable that the three kingdoms should draw closer together. What seemed dangerous was that the consolidation should be effected by a government in which the people had no confidence. In the age of Buckingham perhaps the loyalty of the people towards Charles had not been much impaired, since they threw the blame of misgovernment far more than was just upon Buckingham himself. But the consolidation of the three kingdoms opened fundamental questions, questions of religion. And in the thirties Charles, influenced by Laud, forfeited the confidence of his people in religious matters. He threw the weight of government on the side of a doctrine which ran counter to the prevailing Calvinism, a doctrine which seemed, and to those who saw a Catholic Queen at Whitehall could scarcely but seem, intended to lead the country back to Popery.

We must not linger on the causes of the Great Rebellion. But even in international history it is all-important to remark that in the thirties of the seventeenth century the foundations were shaken upon which our state had hitherto rested. Two or three events of capital importance had happened since the time of Elizabeth, and it now appeared that by these events the stability of government was for a time at least destroyed.

First, England and Scotland had been brought together in personal union. This change had been quietly made, and the permanence of it was guaranteed by the general agreement of the two nations in religion.

But England had held aloof from the Protestantism of

the Continent. Scotland on the other hand had adopted Calvinism with more decision and more national conviction than any Continental State. Calvinism, as the most systematic form of Protestantism, had also become the religion of the most zealous religious party in England. Here was a position of unstable equilibrium. As Scotland and England drew nearer together it seemed likely that Anglicanism, which wore the appearance of a compromise, would give way before the energetic Calvinism of Scotland.

Secondly, Ireland had been pacified, and the grasp of the English Government upon it had been tightened, in the reign of Elizabeth. But the mass of the people remained Catholic. Accordingly the Catholics of England became aware that they had, as it were, a reserve in the Irish population. As England and Ireland drew together the Catholic cause in England was likely to be strengthened, and in the same degree Catholicising tendencies within the English Church would be strengthened.

Thus England was assailed at the same time on opposite sides by her two yoke-fellows, Scotland and Ireland. The great religious struggle of the age, which in England had been so successfully evaded by the government of Elizabeth, now entered England by way of Scotland and Ireland. It is a leading feature of our civil troubles that the parliamentary party has always its reserve in Scotland and the royalist party its reserve in Ireland. Of this feature a visible trace remains to this day in the fact that the word Whig comes to us from Scotland and the word Tory from Ireland.

The third great event which had taken place was the colonisation of North America. This too had taken place quietly and gradually. But from America too there now came a reaction unfavourable to the stability of govern-

ment. Since the voyage of the *Mayflower* the colonisation had had a Puritan character. In 1630 a second swarm went out, numbering not less than fifteen hundred colonists, and in this case too the emigration had a religious motive.

It has often been remarked that these emigrants admitted no principle of religious toleration, and that at least at the outset they were by disposition less tolerant than other Christians. But it was the peculiarity of their religious position that they depended upon toleration in the Home Government. Anglicanism in England was not tolerant any more than Calvinism in Scotland, but in its relation to New England Anglicanism was tolerant. Thus first crept into England the idea of toleration in a form similar to that which had been given to it in France. A sort of unwritten Edict of Nantes protected the settlers of New England, and the imitation of the French model is still more visible in the colonisation of Maryland by Calvert, Lord Baltimore. For here the founder was himself Catholic, and he introduces toleration frankly, and his colony is named after Henrietta Maria, herself a Catholic and the daughter of him by whom the Edict of Nantes was issued.

In the thirties while English Calvinism groaned under the yoke of Laud it looked wistfully towards America as a land of refuge, in which men might worship God according to their conscience. Henry Vane lived for a time in Massachusetts; Cromwell said that had the Grand Remonstrance failed to pass he would have fled to America. Thus in a strange way English Calvinism became associated in many minds with the idea of toleration. And there sprang up gradually that third religious party which complicates the history of the war of King and Parliament,

and which with Oliver came to the head of affairs and played a great part on the stage of Europe.

Thus as the elements which were to compose the British Empire began to combine the State was shaken and for a time suffered revolution. But at the very same time changes equally great were proceeding even more rapidly in some of the continental states. In England the thirties are years of incubation, during which great events are prepared, but do not take place; on the Continent the thirties witness tremendous events and the careers of great men. The greatness and abrupt fall of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein in Germany are contemporaneous with the achievement by which Richelieu in France raised himself from the rank of capable Ministers into that of great creative Statesmen, and in the few years between 1630 and 1636 two states, Austria and France, had assumed a new position, the position on the whole which they have maintained since.

The capital event of this crowded period is the transformation of France. Hitherto in this review we have seen France occupying on the whole a secondary position in Europe. She has been on the defensive against the Spanish Monarchy almost since the accession of Philip II. Her triumphs have been great but transient, momentary, as under Henry II, who humbled Charles V, but soon afterwards had to sign the unfavourable peace of Cateau-Cambresis, or under Henry IV, who in his last years held the whole House of Austria in check but then suddenly perished and left his throne to a Regent who capitulated with Spain. This chapter of French history now comes to an end. France now, under the guidance of Richelieu, moves irresistibly forward and becomes in a very few years the first Power in the world. And her developement

is so strong and vital that, when Richelieu himself disappears and all the circumstances are changed, it continues through the whole period of Mazarin until under Louis XIV's personal government the commanding greatness of France becomes a fixed feature of the European system. If in the eighteenth century this greatness was not always maintained at the same level, this was evidently due to temporary causes, and later on it rose to a higher level still.

The transformation of France, so rapidly effected in the thirties, while it raises her to the first place, leads almost immediately to the disastrous decline of the Spanish Monarchy. Hitherto from its foundation in 1555 we have seen that Monarchy, whether in good or evil fortune, always the greatest of Christian Powers. It now declines so rapidly that Richelieu himself lives to see it on the verge of total dissolution; and this decline, though afterwards retarded, is never suspended, much less repaired.

Thus France, Spain, Austria and England are all alike on the eve of a great transformation. But the transformation of England is of such a nature that while it takes place the foreign policy of England is, as it were, in abeyance. Charles in his second period has no foreign policy worthy of the name. In his third period, that of our civil troubles, he is indeed closely watched by Richelieu and then by Mazarin. The internal convulsions of England might well have led to an active foreign policy, whether of intervention in continental affairs or of resistance to foreign intervention in English affairs. And indeed Charles was convinced that he could discern the hand of Richelieu in the Scotch disturbances which began in 1638. We are to remember that there was an old alliance between France and Scotland. And Charles,

though closely connected with the royal family of France through his marriage, regarded Richelieu as an enemy because Richelieu's system had been established, as we shall soon see, in spite of the French royal family and by actual war with the mother of Henrietta Maria and with her brother Gaston. Accordingly in the Short Parliament Charles produces evidence of the complicity of the French Government with the Scotch rebellion.

It does not however appear that Richelieu took any very active part in our domestic troubles. He was at this particular time too busy in continental affairs, for he was meditating the schemes by which shortly afterwards he almost dissolved the Spanish Monarchy and paved the way to the conquest of Alsace. And though at later stages of our civil war, for instance when Charles after his defeat put himself into the hands of the Scots, we find French diplomacy active, yet on the whole, as was said above, the Great Rebellion worked itself out with surprisingly little help or hindrance from France.

If then we would understand the transformation of the Continental States which took place at this time—and we must do so if we would understand the foreign policy of England in the next age—we must leave England for a while and study Continental affairs directly. For England was then in one of her insular phases, when her affairs were so much dissociated from the affairs of the Continent that the latter cannot be understood by studying the former. And therefore, as we introduced our review of the reign of Elizabeth by a chapter on the growth of the House of Habsburg; we must preface our examination of the policy of the Commonwealth and of the later Stuarts by a chapter on Richelieu.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF FRANCE.

THE events which took place in France from 1630 to 1632 ought to be called a revolution, if by revolution we mean a profound alteration in the spirit and machinery of government accompanied by violent disturbance, and yet, perhaps because no king was deposed, the name of revolution is not usually given to them. At least let us understand that no revolution ever produced a change more momentous or more durable in the character of a state than these disturbances.

What makes them specially important to us is that they produced so profound an effect upon international relations. This is recognised in the current conception of them which represents Richelieu as establishing despotism at home in order to enable France to become a conquering state abroad. And yet when we examine the facts we find this description scarcely true, or at least crude. The foreign conquests followed indeed very speedily upon the domestic reforms and may very probably have been foreseen by the reformer, but they were scarcely the object which he had originally in view. Nor can we divide the reforms from the conquests, as though the former distinctly

preceded and caused the latter. On the contrary, they were entangled together, foreign war being used as an instrument to produce domestic reform not less than reform to facilitate foreign aggression.

The condition of France about 1629 continued to be in the main such as we left it in the last period of Henry IV, only that the great king was gone and the disintegrating forces which he had held in check had gained head again. It was not a condition in which the ruler would naturally dream of undertaking foreign conquest. It was a feeble precarious condition in which safety and defence must be the first objects of the Government. Not only was France feeble within, but she was always in danger of falling into dependence upon a foreign Power. The Spanish Monarchy, which we shall soon see made a passive prey to France, was at this time the tyrant which France feared. Let us call to mind the situation of 1590, when Henry IV, the rightful king, had been reduced almost to the condition of an outlaw within his own dominions, and Philip II, supported by the League, had almost conquered the country. There had since been improvement, but the causes of the evil had not been eradicated. The unpatriotic spirit of the League remained among the nobility. Nay, even twenty years later than 1630 Condé, a member of the royal House, fights without scruple under the King of Spain against France. For a moment Henry IV had reduced this chaos to a kind of order; he had even shown how short was the way for France from such miserable dependence to a commanding position in Europe; but this had been a transient phase, and after his death the dependence of France on Spain had been sealed by a double marriage.

Henry IV himself had shown what kind of reform was

needed when he sent Biron to the scaffold. The reform needed was to teach the nobles not to commit high treason. Richelieu now bettered the instruction he had received from Henry IV. But it is certainly not reasonable to suppose that he had foreign conquest directly in view, though foreign conquest so speedily followed. It was quite as necessary for the purpose of self-defence as for the purpose of conquest that France should not lie at the mercy of noble traitors, conspirators with the King of Spain. We are further to remark that the Thirty Years' War had greatly increased her embarrassment and danger. She felt herself far more intolerably hemmed in by the House of Habsburg when Austria, so close a neighbour, suddenly became a great Power, while Spain occupied the Palatinate and resumed hostilities against the Dutch.

The plan which Richelieu formed was no ingenious idea, no happy inspiration which could only occur to an original mind, but a plan forced upon him by the necessity of self-defence. He was threatened by two enemies, at home the turbulent nobility, abroad the House of Habsburg, especially the Spanish branch of it, and these domestic and foreign enemies acted still, as they had acted during the reign of Philip II, in the closest concert. He dealt his blows at each in turn, now crushed some great noble for conspiring with Spain, now attacked Spain for supporting the rebellious nobles. As he met with success, in the end the French Government suddenly found itself absolute at home and superior to its enemies abroad. Accordingly it drifted into foreign conquest, but the cause of this was not precisely that it desired conquest. It desired such an augmentation of strength as might make it equal to its enemies, but it obtained an augmentation which made it vastly superior.

England and France entered about the same time upon opposite courses. In England royal power was reduced, in France it was made absolute. This strong divergency was no doubt rooted in the whole history of the two countries, but if it appeared now so suddenly and decisively this was due mainly to the fact that in insular England, party-conflicts were isolated and so moderated, whereas in continental France the domestic parties were in close and dangerous concert with the foreign enemy. And for the same reason the French movement guided by Richelieu is in international history far more important than the contemporaneous English movement. The latter, though all-important for ourselves, had but a gradual and indirect influence upon Europe; the former, while it transformed France within, transformed just as completely the system of Europe.

Richelieu is the dictator of international history in this period; he dominates the early seventeenth century as Charles V had dominated the first half of the sixteenth. The next great European dictator is Louis XIV.

Richelieu had a surprising immediate success, and yet the developement which took its first impulse from him continued long after his death. It also suffered more than one reaction so serious that his work for the time seemed almost cancelled. It was not fully completed till the time when Louis XIV commenced his personal government. Thus a period of thirty-one years between 1630 and 1661 stands out in French history as the period of transformation. It is the age of the Cardinals. The unity of it consists in this, that throughout its whole course the Government has to contend with an opposition consisting, as in the days of the League, of traitorous nobles and princes of the blood acting in concert with Spain. What

the Guises had been in the time of Philip II, that are Gaston Duke of Orleans and Montmorency at the beginning of this period, Soissons and Cinqmars ten years later. And again, what these were in the lifetime of Richelieu, that were the great Frondeurs headed by Condé in the time of Mazarin. All alike had an understanding with Spain against their own Government. Accordingly through the whole period the French Government is forced into an aggressive policy against Spain and into a despotic policy against the malcontents at home. And through the whole period gleams of success which cause France to stand out as the tyrant of all Europe alternate with gloomy moments of failure when the Spaniard and the rebel threaten Paris itself. But through all these vicissitudes the idea of Richelieu takes root and steadily grows, until France, hitherto the home of disorder, the seat of the most disintegrating feudalism and the wildest civil discord, becomes an example to all states for unity and therefore in its foreign relations the most powerful of all states. And as a consequence Spain, hitherto the tyrant of France through its understanding with French feudalism, passes at once into the contrary position and becomes the prey and victim of French military superiority.

As we cannot treat in any detail a developement which is not English, we must regard the whole transformation together, survey at once thirty years of French history, and content ourselves with noting large outlines. The struggle is between the French Government on the one side and an alliance of the Spanish Monarchy and the noblesse on the other. Accordingly the constitutional struggle at home and the foreign war are inseparable, they proceed simultaneously and come to an end together. But for a considerable part of this time France is also at

war with the Emperor. The Thirty Years' War in its last phase is indeed in the main a contest between France and Sweden on the one side and Austria and Bavaria on the other. This great foreign war of France, in which she acquires Alsace, naturally attracts the attention of history. But her other war, closely connected with this, but of much longer duration, her war with the Spanish Monarchy, taxed her energies much more, left much deeper traces in her organisation, and had much greater historical results even than the great war in Germany. The latter came to an end in 1648, but the former lasted on till 1659. The latter gave Alsace to France and profoundly modified the whole condition of Germany. But the former both established the throne of Louis XIV, raising France once for all to the commanding position she held for two centuries, and also, we may fairly say, dissolved the Spanish Empire. The two wars were no doubt so closely connected that it scarcely occurs to us to distinguish them; nevertheless from our point of view it is natural, and in the general history of Europe it is instructive, to contemplate the struggle of France with the Spanish Monarchy by itself, dismissing for a time her simultaneous struggle with Austria.

For here is the last act of a drama which has been presented in this book. We have followed the complex Spanish Monarchy from its foundation at the retirement of Charles V. We have seen it confronting France from the time of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. We have remarked that in relation to France it represents Burgundy, and that its princes trace themselves back through Charles the Bold to the House of Valois. Accordingly throughout the reign of Philip II we saw that its wars with France had something of the nature of civil wars, that it was able

to rally to its side a strong party of adherents from the French noblesse, and at times to set up the ruler of Spain as rightful King of France. Now it may be said that this peculiar relation of the two states lasted a whole century, and that if it began before the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis it did not absolutely come to an end till the Peace of the Pyrenees. From the time when the House of Guise looked up to the King of Spain to the time when the great Condé fought in his armies and made terms for himself in the treaty of peace between France and Spain, France is involved with Spain so as to be incapable of developing its full power. Henry IV set it free but for a moment. Then came Richelieu with his powerful idea of the state, and a movement began which in thirty years created the modern France. But during those years France almost fell back into the old entanglement. When she was at the height of her new developement, a great reaction set in. The League was, as it were, revived in the Fronde. Spain once more headed a domestic party in the heart of France. The consummation came in 1659 by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, when the relation was not so much destroyed as reversed. Hitherto Spain had had claims on France; now France establishes a claim on Spain, and with such success that at the end of the seventeenth century a Bourbon prince ascends the Spanish throne.

But two unexpected consequences followed. The first was that absolutism was established in France, all institutions that might have been vehicles of liberty being, as it were, tainted by connexion with Spain. Accordingly from the moment of the Treaty of the Pyrenees the turbulence of French parties is seen to subside, and Louis acquires an unbounded authority, which lasts through his long life and is handed down to his successor.

The second consequence was the dissolution of the Spanish Monarchy.

We may venture to use this phrase, since by the Spanish Monarchy is not meant simply the kingdom of Spain. It is the name we give to an immense aggregate, of which the nucleus is not Spain, but united Iberia, or Spain and Portugal together. The greatness of Philip II had been founded on the annexation of Portugal and of the vast Portuguese colonies.

Now in the course of the struggle with France, Portugal with her colonies recovered her independence. And during the same time the United Netherlands, now also a great New World Power, definitively acquired the independence for which they had contended through eighty years. Such mighty changes were caused indirectly by the struggle of France and Spain. Hence at the time when France entered upon her new greatness the rival state was left a wreck. Spain after 1659 was no longer the Great Power of Philip II. There was still a kingdom of Spain, sunk indeed in bankruptcy and decay, but this was no longer the Spanish Monarchy which had overawed the world in the Elizabethan age or even in the days of James I and Marie de Medicis. Thus too in the time of Charles II or William III English policy has to deal with a changed world. The Spanish Monarchy is gone and France has come. The Power that sent the Armada, against which Drake and Raleigh contended, has disappeared. We begin to fear another Power, France, the Power which in later times, under Napoleon, was to assail us yet more formidably.

But there is an intermediate period, the thirty years of the transformation of France. During the greater part of this period English policy is in a sort of abeyance in consequence of our civil troubles. But after the military

revolution and the death of Charles, England acquires again an active policy. This is the age of Oliver. We can see beforehand what question such a policy must take up. Oliver has to consider what side he will take in the decisive and final struggle now taking place between the Spanish Monarchy and the rising French Power. He decides for France, he helps to give the *coup de grace* to Spain and procures for England a certain share in her spoils. The position assumed by Oliver is in the main accepted by Charles II at his restoration. The age of Oliver may therefore be taken for our purpose to include the first part of the reign of Charles II.

Such in largest outline was the international change initiated by Richelieu. But we ask, What was the basis which he found for French power and which proved so solid that France was able to rest securely upon it for centuries? To explain the power of the House of Austria we have found the formula, royal marriage and the Counter-Reformation. In particular we have had frequent occasions of remarking that in Habsburg times the mere marriage of a prince and princess had an almost inconceivable effect in uniting kingdoms, as though in fact kingdoms were neither more nor less than territorial estates. To our generation this seems scarcely conceivable, because we are accustomed to the opposite idea of nationality, which puts the interest of a living organic community infinitely above any family or dynastic interest. But this idea of nationality is of recent growth; it belongs to the age of the French Revolution; it was not an idea of which Richelieu could make use. This is so true, that in that very France regenerated by Richelieu a Louis XIV reigned, who so arrogantly identified the state with his own person and family and who so successfully turned the weapon of royal

marriage against the Habsburgs themselves, when he established his grandson on the throne of Spain.

We do however find that before the idea of nationality was distinctly expressed and began at the end of the eighteenth century actually to inspire the minds of men it had had a perceptible influence in some states even where the dynastic or feudal view of monarchy prevailed. Thus in Elizabethan England we have remarked that the Queen's personal isolation, and her want of royal connexions and affinities, all this concurring with the loss of continental possessions and the gradual fusion of England and Scotland under the influence of religion, had produced a strong sense of national interest and a strong glow of patriotism, even though the word 'nationality' might be unknown to Shakspeare. In like manner we remark that Richelieu now sets himself in a determined spirit against the family view of politics, opposing to it an idea, not precisely of nationality, but of the state or the public good. This is the more striking as the Bourbon family in the person of Henry IV had asserted hereditary right more successfully than it had ever been asserted before. But Richelieu now, aided by the son of Henry IV, just as successfully resists family influence and expels it from French politics.

Spain since the death of Henry IV had turned its old weapon against France. An Infanta was queen of Louis XIII, a French princess was queen of Philip IV. A family policy united the two states, and Marie de Medicis, assisted by her second son Gaston, directed it. It was the extraordinary achievement of Richelieu to thwart and crush this policy. Though himself the servant of an absolute hereditary king, he boldly defied the royal family. He expelled the Queen-Mother from the country, and

when Gaston, who, it is to be remembered, was before 1638, when Louis XIV was born, not merely brother of the king but his presumptive heir, aided by Spain, raised rebellion and drew to his side one of the greatest nobles of France, Montmorency, son of Montmorency Danville, and grandson of Constable Montmorency, he crushed the movement by military force and brought this great rebel to the scaffold. Not only so, but in his foreign policy he seems to take no account whatever of family relationships. Under his guidance Louis XIII wages war at one time with England, at another time with Savoy, and persistently with Spain. Now a sister of Louis XIII, Henrietta Maria, is Queen of England, another, Christina, is Duchess of Savoy, and another, Elizabeth, is Queen of Spain. The King of France, complains one of these princesses, will not be content until he is at war with all his three sisters. How novel this system was may be judged from the fact that, when Prince Charles at Madrid was pressing the claims of his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and urging that in case of need Spain should use military force against the Emperor, he was told that by a fundamental principle of the Spanish Monarchy it could not make war on the Emperor, as he was a kindred prince.

It is extraordinary that Richelieu should have been able to procure acceptance for this system. But perhaps it is more extraordinary that it should take such root as to flourish long after his death. It might be thought that, when both he and the master over whom he had so much influence were no more, reaction must set in irresistibly. And who succeeded to the Government of France when in 1643 Louis XIII followed Richelieu into the grave? The Queen Anne, that is, an Infanta of Spain. And what was the task committed to her? It

was the task of crushing and overwhelming the Spanish Monarchy. This task however the Infanta of Spain resolutely and most effectually performed. We think of Mazarin as the statesman who directed the armies which crushed the military reputation of Spain at Rocroi and elsewhere, who later made the alliance with Cromwell by which the Spanish Monarchy was finally overwhelmed. But Mazarin held his power at the pleasure of another, and this other was a Spaniard and the sister of Philip IV of Spain.

As the Bourbon is henceforth to take precedence of the Habsburg, let us note what new ideas and forces he sets in motion. He does not once for all abjure family politics, nor does he go so far as to assert the principle of nationality. But he takes up a sort of middle position. He is not, like the Habsburg, ruler of a great polyglott aggregate held together only by his person; he is ruler of France, a homogeneous population with strongly marked character and genius. He is able therefore to speak of the state and the public good, and under that great standard he can put down family intrigue. On the other hand he can also appeal to the family and make use, when it suits him, of the weapon of royal marriage. It is the great difference between the age of the Cardinals and the age, properly so called, of Louis XIV, that in the former the family element almost disappears, the personal king being at one time at war with his family and at another time a minor, but in the latter, the monarch being now his own Minister, it reappears, and a certain retrogression takes place. The really great age is that of the Cardinals; the age of Louis XIV is rather triumphant and brilliant than great.

Monarchy of the medieval type required in all coun-

tries a certain amount of correction before it could become consistent with intelligent statesmanship. In England, as we have seen, the good kings had frequently a weak title. In France the periods of good government were, like the *quinquennium Neronis*, periods of minority or quasi-minority. French kings attained their majority on entering their fourteenth year. Not only before reaching this age, but even more for some years, at times for many years after, there was room for a great statesman to govern with almost absolute sway. And such periods were frequent under the House of Bourbon. In the eighteenth century we may say there was practically a minority of almost thirty years (1715—1743), and in this period falls the prosperous time of Fleury. But in the age now before us we may almost say that the Monarchy was in abeyance for fifty years (1610—1661). For Louis XIII, having once found Richelieu, remained in permanent tutelage to him, and thus the whole reign of Louis XIII may be reckoned as a minority. Nor did Louis XIV adopt the questionable resolution of being his own Minister until Mazarin was dead. Mazarin ruled France till his death, although technically the minority was at an end nine years earlier.

The Government of Richelieu or Mazarin was as monarchical, as absolute, as that of Louis XIV himself, but it was Monarchy free from the family element. In foreign affairs, where the family element was apt to have an almost exclusive influence, this correction of Monarchy was most beneficial. To it in the age of the Cardinals France owed almost all her greatness. Liberty indeed was wanting, but the public good was considered with an earnestness and an insight of which the House of Austria had given no example. For half a century, from the Day

of Dupes till the death of Colbert, France witnessed a reign of intelligence in public affairs which was wholly without precedent. After Richelieu had laid deep the foundations of government he began to establish the economic and maritime greatness of France, and this part of his work was taken up in the next age by Colbert. He began also to found a school of diplomacy, which afterwards throve still more under Mazarin. He saw but the commencement of the redoubtable army of modern France, but in Mazarin's time this rapidly took shape, nurtured and tended for many years by Turenne. This great developement proceeded during the time of England's civil troubles, but it struggled for a long time with reaction. In the days of Oliver, though Richelieu had long been in his grave, France was still in an embarrassed, at times in a depressed condition, and it was only in the days of Charles II that England, having leisure to take up again the thread of foreign policy, found the aspect of the Continent definitively altered, the Spanish Monarchy lying there a helpless wreck and France dominating Europe with an immense ascendancy.

So much of the period in general. Let us approach nearer to it, so as to be able to distinguish the phases of which it is composed.

We begin at the death of Henry IV in 1610, when the influence he had held in check, that of the concert between Spain and the noblesse, is suddenly restored. Internationally France, which had acquired an actual ascendancy, now sinks into an insignificance, which lasts about fourteen years. The double marriage seals her dependence upon Spain. But in 1624 the rule of Richelieu commences, and his energetic intervention in the Valtellin opens the long period of French precedence in Europe.

When we have noted the fundamental fact, that the developement of modern France is a reaction against the concert between Spain and the noblesse, a second fact, only less fundamental and more curious, claims our attention. That concert had been arranged in the days of the League as a means of opposing heresy or Huguenotism. It was natural therefore to expect that the French kings in resisting it would seek the help of the Huguenots. Thus we have seen Coligny advising Charles IX to lean on the Huguenots in a great policy of opposition to Spain. Since that time the leader of the Huguenots had founded the Bourbon dynasty. It is true that he had been forced to abjure his creed; but he had procured for the Huguenots toleration. He had in a manner realised the system of Coligny by founding the Bourbon throne upon a recognition of the Huguenots and even a certain amount of resistance to Rome. Such was the model Richelieu had before him. Would not he then, as soon as he undertook to assert the national independence against the concert of Spain and the noblesse, see the necessity of conciliating the Huguenots? Would not the Edict of Nantes become the corner-stone of Bourbon policy? Would not Richelieu be led to declare himself a sort of Liberal in religion? We find indeed that he does so in the most resolute manner in forming foreign alliances.

It was the great religious scandal of the age of Richelieu that the Most Christian King, advised by a Cardinal of the Roman Church, who again was advised by a Capucin monk, puts himself at the head of the Protestant Powers of the Continent and with the help of Protestant Sweden saves the Protestantism of North Germany from the Emperor and the Protestantism of the Netherlands from Spain. In this period Protestantism was saved from de-

struction by the intervention of Catholic France. This is the complication which gives a plot to modern history. But it becomes much more curious when we remark that at home Richelieu is opposed to Protestantism as decidedly as he is favourable to it abroad. It is visible from the very commencement of his rule that he does not mean to seek the support of the Huguenots, and that the Edict of Nantes, so far from being a germ out of which Liberalism will grow, is destined to be, in Napoleon's phrase, a vaccine of Protestantism.

The first phase after the death of Henry IV shows the Huguenot party in rebellion. But its rebellion is rather the effect of despondency than of hope. It is defeated once and again, even though it receives at one time the help of England. And not till Protestantism at home has been effectually tamed does Richelieu enter upon his audacious support of Protestantism abroad. It is startling to find that in this respect there is throughout the seventeenth century a total want of correspondence between the domestic and the foreign policy of France. Huguenot influence counts for nothing in Richelieu's foreign policy, though that is such as Huguenots might approve. On the other hand a foreign policy favourable to Protestantism has no reaction upon Protestantism at home, for the French Government having saved Protestantism in Germany proceeds later to destroy it with the most ruthless violence in France itself.

In truth that decided aversion to Protestantism which the French displayed so early does not waver for a moment after the Edict of Nantes has been given, in spite of the modern commonplace that religious toleration once given is certain to take root and can never be withdrawn again. The catastrophe of Henry IV was a lesson which Richelieu

could not neglect. It showed that the king's abjuration had not sufficed for French public opinion, that a man not free from the suspicion of heresy could not venture to stand out before France as an opponent of the House of Habsburg. It was fortunate for Richelieu that he was a bishop and a cardinal. Even so he could scarcely have succeeded in his resolute attack on the House of Austria had he not first given a pledge of Catholic orthodoxy by the capture of Rochelle from the Huguenots. Only because Huguenotism was perceived to be a lost cause, could France allow a foreign policy which after all was a revival of that of Coligny.

But what positive reason was there for reviving this policy?

When the Thirty Years' War broke out France was powerless in Europe, preoccupied with the domestic troubles which accompanied what we have called a quasi-minority. We have remarked that in England the troubles in Germany were somewhat unreasonably interpreted as indicating a revival of the ascendancy of Spain. The same impression could not but be produced in France, where Spanish influence was much closer and more dangerous than in England. Accordingly in the twenties the pressure of Spain began to be regarded by the Government of Louis XIII as intolerable. Spain had occupied the Palatinate, and she had renewed her war with the Netherlands. Both these acts seemed most dangerous, while a Spanish Queen sat by the side of Louis XIII and half the great provincial governments were in the hands of nobles who had either themselves been members, or were the sons of members, of the League. The rise of Austrian power, and of the Catholic party in Germany, which was indeed startling, struck the French chiefly by the augmen-

tation which it brought to the power of Spain. From Holland all down the French frontier, and along the frontier of their allies to Venice, the French saw the Spanish Monarchy grow suddenly more irresistible than ever. Between the Low Countries and the Palatinate they saw the ecclesiastical electorates, between the Palatinate and Switzerland they saw Alsace, between Switzerland and Milan they saw the Valtellin, and in all these regions the power of Spain seemed to have been increased by the growth of Austria and of German Catholicism.

Here was reason enough why a strong Minister should feel the necessity of taking measures of resistance to Spain. And thus at the outset Richelieu's policy was adopted in self-defence.

With Austria indeed he had at the outset no quarrel. But in this phase Austria was inextricably involved with Spain. The immense growth of Austrian power alarmed him, because Austrian power was available for Spanish purposes. And thus Richelieu is soon led to give assistance to the Protestant party of Germany against the Emperor, and in this way France drifts gradually into the great German war. In the last ten years of the Thirty Years' War France and Sweden are the leading belligerents against the Emperor, and yet it is not very apparent what concern, except as a rapacious conqueror, France has in this German quarrel. In fact here too France has but drifted gradually from a policy of self-defence into one of conquest.

After the phase of confusion and dependence on Spain which extends from 1610 to 1624 comes the first phase of the Richelieu policy. This may be said to last till 1629. It is also somewhat confused, and exhibits the new system in the making.

That system consists, as we have seen, in opposition to the Spanish Monarchy abroad (and in this is included opposition to the Emperor in Germany) and to the noblesse, who are in concert with Spain, at home. But before 1629 the issue is confused. Among the noblesse there is beside the party of Spain, which is the residue of the League, also the Huguenot party who in the main look to England. Richelieu therefore has to oppose both combinations in turn or at times both together. Thus in 1629 we see the Huguenots under Rohan taking subsidies from Spain.

In this phase it was by no means clear what form Richelieu's policy would ultimately take. Instead of siding with the Protestant Powers of Europe against the House of Habsburg it was on the cards about 1628 that he would form an alliance with the Spanish Monarchy against England and the Huguenot party, and that he would revoke the Edict of Nantes. Such a course seemed conformable to the spirit of the time, when the Counter-Reformation was more than ever triumphant; such a course was recommended by the example of the Emperor, who at this very time was purging his hereditary dominions of heresy. About 1628 indeed there were omens everywhere of the final catastrophe of Protestantism.

But at this crisis European Protestantism was saved by blows struck at French Protestantism. The failure of England at Rochelle, the fall of Rochelle, and then the failure of Rohan in the south, introduced a modification of the religious settlement of France, which is a further stage in that process which ended by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Edict itself was maintained, but, as the Huguenots now lost their strongholds, they had henceforth no security but the honour of the Govern-

ment, and honour in the long run can hardly maintain itself against religion. After 1629 Richelieu could feel that he had done enough for orthodoxy. As the conqueror of the Huguenots, who were now disabled materially, and also morally discredited by their concert with Spain, he could proceed to ally himself with Protestant Powers without provoking the dagger of a Ravallac.

Already the war against the House of Austria had begun, for it is characteristic of Richelieu to advance against the foreign enemy without waiting to disarm domestic treason. Let us again remark that the foreign enemy is the Spanish Monarchy, not Austria. Since the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis Italy has been almost at the mercy of Spain. France has been excluded from it, and her Italian policy has been confined to lending occasional relief to some Italian Powers who were stifled in the Spanish atmosphere, especially to Venice and Savoy and occasionally to the Pope. A change now comes in the way in which change was possible in the monarchical seventeenth century. The House of Gonzaga at Mantua dies out, and a French prince, Nevers, succeeds by relationship to Mantua and Montferrat. Spain resists the succession and calls in the help of the Emperor as feudal suzerain. Again the two branches of the House of Austria act in conjunction, but the aggressive Power is Spain, the Emperor appearing, as it were, only in the background. From the Duchy of Milan Spanish troops advance to besiege Casale. The feeling prevails in Italy that the servitude of the country to Spain is about to be established for ever.

It may be regarded as the commencement of the great European career of modern France that Richelieu, fresh from his victory at Rochelle and disregarding the move-

ments of the Huguenot party in the South, leads Louis XIII across the Alps in the winter of 1628 and successfully relieves Casale. Here too practically begins the war with Spain which was only closed thirty-one years later by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Immediately after his return Louis XIII put the last hand to the suppression of the Huguenot rebellion.

And thus we arrive at the second phase of Richelieu, which I have described as a great revolution. His task is now simplified, but it is a task of immense difficulty. He has henceforth but one enemy, viz., the concert between the Spanish Monarchy and the French noblesse. For the thirteen years which remain to him he wages this war and then he bequeaths it to Mazarin. By this war is effected what we call the Transformation of France.

It is effected by purging out the old poison of the League. The nobles in whom feudalism still survives as an anarchical instinct, who covet the sovereign position of German princes and would break up France into a loose federation of independent states, must be overawed by Government. The scaffold must come into play. But the traitorous faction is not isolated. It has an old understanding with the Spanish Monarchy. Over an immense region of French-speaking people the House of Austria exerts a ruling influence, in Franche Comté and Artois, in the Three Bishoprics, which are still reckoned to the Empire, in the Walloon Country. And then there is Lorraine, still independent under its sovereign family; and of this family one branch is called Guise, a name identified with the League. How slight is the difference between the Guise of this time who passes for a French noble and holds the great government of Provence, in which like the other French governors he affects in-

dependence, and his cousin the Duke of Lorraine, who is really independent and whose descendant was to become Roman Emperor! Accordingly the traitorous noblesse must be attacked in their patron and ally, the King of Spain as well as in themselves. War with Spain must go hand in hand with judgment upon traitors. And the secure throne of Louis XIV. is built upon the ruin at once of the aristocratic faction and of the Spanish Monarchy.

But as the Spanish Monarchy supports the noblesse, so Austria supports the Spanish Monarchy. This is the new and peculiar feature of the age of Richelieu. In the early days of Henry IV the enemy was simply Spain, but now Spain cannot be attacked without attacking Austria at the same time. And in this second phase of Richelieu his relation to Austria is so important and leads to results so striking that for the time it draws attention away from his relation to Spain. The sudden growth of Austria and its tyrannous ascendancy in Germany, marked by the Edict of Restitution, were alarming to France not so much in themselves as for the reinforcement they brought to the power of Spain.

Richelieu did not at first interfere directly in the German question, but acted as Charles I had done when he proposed to aid the King of Denmark with a subsidy. He called in the King of Sweden in order, as he says himself, to prevent the Emperor from interfering in Italy or in France itself, that is, from aiding Spain. It was the decisive step, by which France placed herself at the head of the Protestant cause, but in taking it she had in view neither the Protestant interest itself nor her own aggrandisement on the side of Germany. Her struggle was with Spain, and at that particular

moment the scene of it was Italy. If she called in Gustavus it was to detain the force of Austria, and to prevent it from crossing the Alpine passes to the help of Spain.

But Gustavus, when he came, inflicted such a wound on Austria and on the whole Germanic system that a wholly new prospect for France opened on the side of Germany. Gradually France herself was drawn into the Thirty Years' War, she became in time a principal belligerent, and ended by making the conquest of Alsace. Nevertheless her war in Germany, great and memorable as it was, is but an incident in her war with the Spanish Monarchy. This, as it may be said to have begun long before—for it is in fact the old war which had come down from the age of Philip II—so continued twelve years after the German war had been brought to an end by the Treaties of Westphalia.

We must not wander too far away from English policy. We are concerned with these mighty events only so far as they explain to us the new aspect which France, Austria, and the Spanish Monarchy are found to wear when England, resting from her civil troubles, finds again leisure to look at them.

The arrival of Gustavus in Pomerania opens a German Revolution which extends beyond his own short career and beyond the death of Wallenstein, until a new equilibrium is established by the Treaty of Prague and the Battle of Nördlingen. During this time it had seemed probable that the Germanic system would be entirely dissolved, that the House of Habsburg would lose the imperial dignity, and perhaps that Germany would be partitioned among a number of independent princes. What Gustavus himself meant to take for his share no

one knew; Wallenstein dreamed of becoming King of Bohemia; Bernard of Saxe Weimar would be Duke of Franconia. But the Battle of Nördlingen, won by the King of Rome, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand III, caused the disturbance to subside which had been raised by Gustavus' great victory of Breitenfeld. It saved the imperial dignity for the House of Habsburg, saved South Germany for the Catholic Church, and, conjoined with the Treaty of Prague, brought the Germanic system to the shape which it maintained on the whole till the wars of the French Revolution. What this was we may inquire later; meanwhile we are to note what effect these revolutions had upon the policy of France.

Richelieu was probably himself surprised at the result of his policy of calling in Gustavus. Not only was the victory of Breitenfeld far more crushing than he could have expected, but it was followed up by Gustavus in an unexpected manner. It might have seemed natural for the conqueror to advance upon Prague and Vienna, in which case he would perhaps have dissolved and destroyed the Austrian State. Such a result would have been a revolution for Germany, but not necessarily or immediately very important for France. Gustavus however turned westward. In the last months of 1631 he made the conquest of Franconia. At the end of the year he entered Mainz, where he passed a triumphal winter, which may remind us of Alexander at Babylon or Napoleon at Dresden.

Now here he was in the neighbourhood of the Palatinate, and he soon found himself, contrary to his original intention, engaged in hostilities with Spain as well as with Austria. He had in fact by his sudden entrance broken the sort of blockade in which Spain held France from the

North Sea to the Alps¹. And in the first months of 1632 he continued to give trouble to the Spaniards.

There was much in his conduct which might alarm Richelieu, but his appearance on the Rhine proved in the end to have given a decisive advantage to France in her struggle with the Spanish Monarchy. It was at this moment that the noblesse, headed by the Queen-Mother and Gaston of Orleans the presumptive heir, made their great rising in concert with Spain. They were put down with a high hand. Guise was driven into exile, the duchy of Lorraine was occupied, Montmorency was brought to the scaffold. But all this was possible to Richelieu because Spain was now paralysed by the Swedish power on the Rhine.

Such relief from the incubus on the eastern frontier, joined to his success in Italy, might have contented Richelieu but for a new danger which arose in the fluctuations of that stormy time. Gustavus passed away in 1632, leaving the Swedish power in Germany still helpful but no longer very alarming to France. Wallenstein began to take, with respect to the Emperor, almost the place of Gustavus, for he had a commanding army in the heart of the Empire and into which scale he would throw this weight no one could tell. Then came his downfall. About the same time a new Habsburg prince, Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV (called the Cardinal-Infant), took the government of the Low Countries, and then the army of Wallenstein, now commanded by the King of Rome, after effecting a junction with the Spanish army under the Cardinal-Infant, won the great victory of Nördlingen.

¹ Er sprengte die ganze Verbindung der spanisch-kaiserlich-katholischen Interessen, die den Franzosen so widerwärtig war, aus einander. RANKE.

It was a kind of new birth for the House of Habsburg. Naturally therefore it revived at once all the anxiety of Richelieu.

And thus the year 1635 opens a new phase in the career of Richelieu. He must again make war in self-defence. The work of Gustavus has been undone in Bavaria and Franconia. Saxony and Brandenburg have reconciled themselves to the Emperor by the Treaty of Prague. The Alliance of Spain and Austria is stronger than ever. France is compelled to resist it more openly than ever. In her alliance with Sweden she must now become the active, the leading partner.

In May 1635, formal war was declared between France and the Spanish Monarchy. At this date openly commences the struggle in which the Spanish Monarchy, in the sense which we have explained, fell, and France established her European ascendancy.

Seven years of Richelieu's life were yet to run, and within that time the Spanish Monarchy was brought to the verge of ruin. And yet we are to remark that at this time France had no great military reputation, was held wholly inferior as a military state to Spain, and that the victory which reversed this relation, that of Rocroi, was not won till Richelieu and Richelieu's master had both passed away. It was not by war that the Spanish Monarchy was brought to the verge of ruin. What means then did Richelieu use?

When once domestic treason was scotched, if not killed, and Richelieu faced directly the problem not of resisting at some one point but of overthrowing the Spanish Monarchy, he discovered that without actual superiority in the field he had the means of inflicting great injuries upon it.

In the first place he could feed the war in Germany

and take part in it so far as to prevent Austria from rendering much aid to Spain.

Feuquières had been sent to Heilbronn to represent France when Oxenstierna organised the great Coalition of Sweden and the Protestant princes. This is the beginning of the final phase of the Thirty Years' War. From this time France becomes more and more a principal belligerent against the Emperor and Bavaria. It is chiefly by means of Bernard of Saxe Weimar that she is led into this position. At first she subsidises him, and after his death in 1639 she takes over his army. This becomes a kind of nucleus round which, chiefly under the direction of Turenne, the great French army of the age of Louis XIV. forms itself.

Secondly he could form a close league with the United Netherlands.

The renewed war of Spain and the Netherlands had been proceeding since 1621. The Stadtholder Frederick Henry showed himself a worthy successor of his father William and his brother Maurice. In 1628 the Admiral known as Piet Hein achieved what Spain had long apprehended, yet fondly hoped, the God of Catholics would never suffer to be done, he captured the silver fleet. From this time the Dutch, no longer as in the former war a community of rebels in whom despair became heroism, but a great Power and the richest nation in the world, showed themselves superior to their enemy. When Richelieu in 1635 brought them the aid of France he trusted that the two allies would be easily able to partition between them the Spanish Low Countries.

This hope was disappointed, but it soon began to appear that the Spanish Monarchy laboured under certain serious strategical weaknesses. It consisted of three masses

of territory between which there was but a precarious communication, the Iberian and Italian peninsulas and what still remained of Burgundy. Under Richelieu the naval power of France began to be considerable, and this naval power threatened the communications of Spain and Italy, and of Spain and the Low Countries at once. How could Spain support the war with Holland when the sea began to be closed to her by the united force of Holland and France? Only by the resources of Italy and Franche Comté, which must be brought to bear by way of the valley of the Rhine. And now began to be felt the consequences of Gustavus' march to the Rhine and of his occupation of Mainz. Gustavus had severed the connexion between the northern and southern parts of the Spanish Monarchy.

In an unexpected way France reaped the benefit of what had been done by Sweden. It was the most Catholic part of Germany, it was Priest-street itself, that had thus been occupied by the Protestant Swedes. As the power of Sweden somewhat declined and that of France began to rise after the death of Gustavus the princes and populations of this region put themselves eagerly under the protection of France, which was at least Catholic. Thus the Elector of Trier gladly handed over to the French the two great fortresses he had founded, Philipsburg and Ehrenbreitstein. And without calculation, by a natural process of developement, France began to find herself in possession of Alsace. As it were the spinal cord of the Spanish Monarchy was cut, but henceforth France, not Sweden, took the government from its fainting hand.

But it was possible, still without military superiority, to strike even more deadly blows at Spanish power. For the moral union of the vast mass was almost more pre-

carious than the material. It was so especially in the Iberian peninsula itself, where no organic union had ever taken place between the provinces, where no true Spain existed, but only a sovereign Castille surrounded by states which had been not so much reconciled as neutralised.

On the one side Olivarez provoked, and on the other Richelieu fomented, first a rebellion in Catalonia, then much more than a rebellion, a national war of liberation, in Portugal. The latter is the decisive event; it took place in December 1640. What we have called United Iberia was now after sixty years dissolved again. There is a curious contrast between this union, so suddenly made and so short-lived, and the gradual consolidation of England and Scotland. It is especially curious to observe that whereas Scotland gained by the union a share in a great and growing colonial empire, Portugal on the contrary by her union with Spain lost a great colonial empire. It was the sense of this injury that caused the noble families of Portugal, which sixty years before had favoured the cause of Philip II, now to rally resolutely round the native House of Bragança. They could perceive that their union with Spain had exposed their vast colonial possessions to the attack of Spain's enemy, the Netherlands, that at their expense the Dutch colonial empire had been founded. At this very moment they had bitter occasion to feel what price they paid for their connexion with Spain, for Brazil, their greatest colonial possession, was now passing rapidly into the hands of the Dutch.

Thus a new war, not less great than the war with the Netherlands, began for Spain. It lasted more than twenty years, and we shall have other opportunities of studying the events of it. It ended in the secession not only of Portugal but of all her vast colonies. But the mere

outbreak of it, following those changes on the Rhine, completely reversed the old relation between the Spanish Monarchy and France. Hampered with two civil wars at once, in Catalonia and in Portugal, the Spanish Monarchy as a European Power suffers paralysis. It seems to be on the verge of a catastrophe.

And now Richelieu himself and his defeated antagonist Olivarez quit the scene almost at the same moment. Richelieu lived long enough to see the commencement of the civil war in England. A new English policy, which we must soon examine, begins when the Parliament takes the place of the King in the direction of affairs. But before we return to English policy it is convenient to mark the principal phases through which the transformation of France passed after the death of Richelieu.

First there was a period of five years (1643—1648) during which the mighty impetus which France had received from him carries her forward unchecked. Her military glory begins at Rocroi, and the names of Condé and Turenne are soon bruited abroad. The Treaties of Westphalia are made.

This settlement is triumphant for France. But we are to remark that it does not affect her great struggle with the Spanish Monarchy. She makes peace with the Emperor, but not with the King of Spain. She conquers Alsace, but this is a German not a Spanish territory. As against Spain she gains nothing but an assurance that Spain for the rest of the war will have no assistance from the Emperor.

Spain however gains a corresponding advantage. For another treaty was made in 1648 beside those which the Emperor made with France and her allies and Sweden and her allies. This was the Treaty between Spain and

the United Netherlands, by which their dispute after eighty years was finally wound up. For the Spanish Government was conscious of inability to reconquer both the Netherlands and Portugal; it sacrificed the former for the sake of the latter—vainly, as the sequel proved. But at the outset in 1635 France had undertaken her struggle with Spain in firm dependence on the Dutch alliance, and her position was seriously altered when this alliance failed her.

Thus after 1648 the war from being a confused medley becomes a simple duel between France and Spain, the former being deserted by the Dutch and the latter by the Emperor. But we remember that Spain has all along counted on another ally, the faction of nobles in France. Richelieu had quelled this for a time, and in the triumphant *quinquennium* which followed his death by an unexpected good fortune it had not raised its head again. But in 1648 the concert of Spain and the noblesse breaks out again almost as violently as in the times of the League.

The disturbances of the Fronde make a chapter of history which is perplexing if we study it by itself, because they are caused by the meeting of several currents, and we may doubt which is the main-current. On the surface we see a struggle between King and Parliament, somewhat similar to, and perhaps imitated from, that which had just taken place in England. But if we look at the whole development of France from Henry IV to Louis XIV in his manhood, we become aware that the main-current is not this but a movement towards national union under the Crown in resistance to the concert between the noblesse and the Spanish Monarchy. Behind the surface of the Fronde, the parade of Parliament and liberty, we may see

a dispute strikingly similar to that of the regency of Marie de Medicis. Again there is a regent, Anne of Austria, and she has her Concini, her Italian favourite, Mazarin, and the princes of the blood become mutinous under the leadership of Condé, and Mazarin imprisons Condé, as Concini had imprisoned Condé's father, and civil war breaks out fomented by Spain. Finally Condé openly joins the Spanish side and serves as a general of Philip IV. In the hands of these turbulent nobles, the Parliament of Paris and the Parisian populace are but puppets. And the great principle sown by Richelieu, the principle of the State, of the public good, continues to grow and develope. It subdues in time the great Condé itself. It establishes the union and the greatness of France. It crushes down all that makes for disintegration, including those very Parliaments and those popular principles which have discredited themselves by cooperation with the party of treason.

It subdues also in the end the Spanish Monarchy, but not without new international combinations, in particular not without the aid of England.

And it is now time to inquire what England has been doing during the years of the Transformation of France.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND as well as France suffered transformation in this period. It may even be said that the change began in the two countries about the same time, in France on the Day of Dupes, in England with the dissolution of the Third Parliament and with the resolution of Charles to make himself independent of Parliament. But as in France the Government had success and in England opposition to the Government triumphed, the actual transformation began in England later than in France. The decisive event in England as much in foreign as in domestic affairs is the outbreak of civil war.

In England, as we know, the civil war began in 1642, but in Scotland it had begun four years earlier, and rebellion had begun as early as 1637. As Richelieu died at the end of 1642, we see that he witnessed but the commencement of the English Great Rebellion, but on the other hand that he lived through the whole of that stormy period which was introductory to it, that he saw the two Bishops' Wars, the Short Parliament, the meeting of the Long Parliament, the fall of Strafford, the Irish

Rebellion, and then the fatal breach between King and Parliament.

But the grand epoch of transformation for England is the moment of the outbreak of civil war. For we are to observe that, though at that moment the Parliament had no great military superiority, yet by getting possession of the fleet it acquired at once the main control of foreign affairs. Hence the year 1642 marks in some sense the close of the reign of Charles as far as foreign policy is concerned; at least in a history of policy he falls in that year almost from the position of a King to that of a Pretender. But before 1642 foreign policy is still in his hands: and as by the commencement of war between the Spanish Monarchy and France in alliance with Holland a new chapter of European affairs, most interesting to England, had begun in 1635, that is about two years before the outbreak of disturbance in Scotland, we may see that the period of seven years between 1635 and 1642 may be called the last phase of the policy of Charles I, as it is also of Richelieu, and at the same time the last phase of the old *régime* of England. Before 1642 our state was still in most of its large features what it had been in the Elizabethan age, but the discord which broke out in that year transformed it, so that it has never been the same since.

In 1635 Charles has but one foreign object, to procure the restoration of the Elector Palatine, and but one personal ambition, to maintain the naval supremacy of England in the narrow seas.

How does he regard the great struggle of Bourbon and Habsburg, which in that year entered upon an acute phase?

We saw him at the beginning of his reign break off a

marriage negotiation with the King of Spain and soon after marry a sister of the King of France. When we remember how much in that age depended upon royal marriage this may seem to involve a complete change of policy, as though he had passed over from one side to the other in the European controversy. For when we look back from such a distance upon the France of that age we may easily imagine it represented solely at this time by Richelieu and before him by Henry IV, and conceive it therefore as the steadfast determined foe of the Spanish Monarchy. As a matter of fact however Henry IV had died in 1610 and Richelieu's system was not made clearly manifest to the world till 1630, and in the intervening twenty years the rivalry of France and Spain did not merely slumber, but gave way at least in intention to a close union and family alliance. The Queen of France was a sister of the King of Spain; the Queen of Spain was a sister of the King of France. If this family union did not carry with it a union of policy, that was the work of Richelieu, and a work not yet accomplished or visible to the world.

Now it is to be observed that Richelieu met with opposition not merely in the French nation but especially in the royal family. To establish it he had to push aside the Queen Mother and the presumptive heir; he had also severely to hold in check the Queen herself. If then Charles entered by marriage into the French royal family, this by no means implies that he entered into the ideas of Richelieu or into antagonism to Spain, but rather the contrary, for the French royal family was in the main opposed to those ideas and to that antagonism. Henrietta Maria sympathised with her mother, the victim of Richelieu's persecution and the foundress of the alliance with

Spain; she associated too with the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who was not only Richelieu's opponent but actually a Guise by her second marriage. We are also not quite to forget that Charles himself was descended from a Queen of France, whose mother had been a Guise.

Mme de Chevreuse, who had fled from Richelieu across the Spanish frontier, came to England from Spain in 1638; the Queen Mother herself came to England in the same year; about this time Henrietta Maria's influence over Charles began visibly to increase. The English Court was assuming already something of that French complexion which became so marked after the Restoration; the effects of the French marriage were becoming visible. But those effects were not at this time such as might have been expected, for, as we have remarked, Richelieu had introduced a new thing into politics. He had dictated to Louis XIII a policy which was not that of his family. He had disregarded marriage and blood-relationship. There was an Opposition in France, and the nucleus of this opposition was in the Royal Family. Henrietta Maria belonged to it. Accordingly the growth of French influence at the English Court did not incline the English Government towards the French Government, but towards the French Opposition, and in the struggle which had commenced in 1635 it inclined England to favour Spain rather than France.

The Spanish Monarchy had not yet lost its ascendancy though it was on the point of doing so. In this last phase the European opposition to it takes a somewhat new form. England is now an indifferent spectator. France enters in 1635 upon a new struggle with it, in which she is assisted by Holland. There is a more direct and equal duel between France and Spain than has been witnessed

before, and after 1648, when Holland withdraws, these two Powers are left alone in the arena. After 1635 therefore it begins to be the grand question of English policy whether England shall side with France or with Spain, and twenty years later the energetic decision of this question by Cromwell led European history into a new course. About 1638 we see Charles watching the two combatants with a very indifferent eye. His connexion with the French royal family and the influence of his queen do not, for the reason just given, incline him towards France, but rather towards Spain. On the whole however he is prepared to receive offers from both sides, and to weigh what Spain can undertake against what France can undertake for the benefit of the Elector Palatine.

About the time when the disturbances began in Scotland, when the Covenant was signed and the Bishops' War broke out, a crisis occurred in the foreign policy of Charles. Two of those disastrous and ignominious failures which are characteristic of the reign of Charles I overtook him nearly at the same time, and produced a sort of catastrophe in which his direction of foreign affairs comes to an end. One of them relates to the war of the Low Countries, the other to the German war.

In the duel of France and Spain which began in 1635 and which was to end in so complete a victory for France, Spain had at the outset much success and even appeared likely to be victorious. The attempt of France and Holland to effect a partition of the Catholic Low Countries was energetically resisted, and the tide of invasion was rolled back on France. The fortresses of Picardy fell into the hands of the Cardinal-Infant, and Richelieu trembled in Paris itself. But in 1638 fortune began to declare for France at the very moment when the child was born who

was to be Louis XIV. His birth was indeed in itself a very substantial gift of fortune, for it gave a future to the conquering system of Richelieu, which hitherto had seemed to depend absolutely upon the frail life of Louis XIII. As later in 1729, so now in 1638 the birth of a dauphin changed the aspect of politics. But in the same year a great military event occurred. We have seen how Gustavus had, as it were, raised the siege of France by breaking through the Spanish lines in the Palatinate and on the Rhine. In 1638 Bernhard of Saxe Weimar completed the process which his master Gustavus had begun by the capture of Breisach. The establishment of a great Protestant prince with an important army at this place broke the connexion between two great limbs of the Spanish monarchy, the Spanish Low Countries and the Spanish possessions in Italy. It also opened a gate for French armies into Germany.

Hitherto Charles has pursued his confused system, in which the end and the means are almost equally unjustifiable and inexplicable. Why the restoration of the Elector Palatine should be a matter of such paramount importance to English policy Strafford himself acknowledges that he cannot comprehend. As in the age of Buckingham, so now he abides by the Elizabethan view. 'It affects me very much,' he writes (March 21, 1637), 'to hear the peace and prosperity of your affairs at home disquieted by entering again into action upon any foreign hopes or engagements abroad until the Crown were discharged of debts, the coffers filled, and your Majesty's profits and sovereignties set upon their right foot throughout your three kingdoms.' He hates war as much as Queen Elizabeth had done. And he goes on to question whether the Elector Palatine had any claim upon England.

Charles however seems at moments prepared to give ships and money in this cause and to allow the levy of volunteers, in fact to take steps which might speedily involve him in the European war. To which side he will attach himself seems a matter of indifference. He negotiates with France and Spain at the same time, and his aid is at the service of whichever Power will most freely promise the restoration of his nephew. Yet it had from the beginning of the reign of Charles been most doubtful whether Spain had the power of effecting that restoration, and Strafford freely questions now whether France has either the power or the will to effect it.

In 1639 all the world was admitted to watch the turnings and windings of this tortuous system. The capture of Breisach had forced Spain to fall back upon her fleet in conducting the war of the Low Countries. A great Armada under Oquendo appeared in the Channel. It was the last of the great Spanish Armadas. Not again did the Spanish maritime Power display itself on at all the same scale in these northern seas until in quite other conditions the allied fleets of France and Spain swept the Channel in the days of Lord North. In this enterprise the Spanish Government applied for the countenance of Charles, and a negotiation began in which Charles, as usual, stipulated for the restoration of the Palatine Prince. In September the fleet appeared, and was speedily forced by Tromp to seek shelter on the English coast. Then began a curious bargain. Oquendo and Tromp had to wait while Charles set his aid up to auction. Cardénas, the Spanish Ambassador, on one side, Bellièvre, the French Ambassador, on the other, were required to state how much their respective Governments were pre-

pared to do for the Prince Palatine. If France should bid highest, Tromp was to be allowed to destroy the Spanish fleet. On the other hand if Spain should make a satisfactory offer, and also pay a large sum of money, Charles would interfere to save it. The auction was open for about a month, until on October 21st Tromp took the decision into his own hands, attacked the Spanish fleet, sank some ships, burned others, and captured about eleven. The English Admiral, Pennington, having no orders, did not interfere. Oquendo himself with a considerable part of his armament made his escape into Dunkirk harbour.

Meanwhile Charles had been busy with another scheme. A crisis in the German war had occurred in July when Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, at the moment the most conspicuous military figure, a sort of minor Gustavus Adolphus, died suddenly, leaving the best army in Europe to seek a new commander. Could but the Palatine Prince fill the vacancy thus made? So thought Charles. But in fact it was natural for France to desire to get possession of this army. Charles however frankly communicated his idea to Bellièvre, professing to wait upon the decision of the French Government. But without any delay the Prince was to set out for the army, which he was to join as a volunteer, and he was to travel through France incognito, as Charles and Buckingham had done twenty years before. On October 15th, while the Spanish and Dutch fleets still watched each other in the Channel, the Prince crossed to Boulogne and proceeded to execute this scheme. It had not been concealed from Bellièvre, and yet the French Government were thought likely to be deceived by a disguise of which they had had notice, though it was intended to bring about a result extremely

disagreeable to them. The scheme perhaps, had it been executed with real secrecy and suddenness, might have had great results. Charles had taken in hand to steal a march upon Richelieu, and yet he seemed not to feel the necessity of using any extraordinary energy or promptitude. It is almost needless to say that the prince was not allowed to reach the camp. He was detained at Moulins and brought under arrest to Vincennes. In the end the army of Bernhard, instead of recovering the Palatinate for Prince Charles Louis, passed into the service of France and became the nucleus of the victorious host of Louis XIV.

These two mishaps befel Charles almost at the same moment. They left him in a position among the European Powers than which nothing can be imagined more pitiable, though probably it never came home to his dim consciousness. He had long been regarded by continental politicians as a Sovereign whose alliance was of no value, but their slight regard now became bitter dislike. He had given disgust to all at once, to Spain whose fleet he had given up to destruction, to France and Holland, since he had in no way aided Tromp and had made a clumsy attempt to deceive the French Government, while he had shown how utterly indifferent he was to that which in his negotiations with Richelieu was called the 'common cause.' In the great European struggle he appeared perfectly ready to take either side and at the same time perfectly useless to both sides. Louis XIII expresses this disgust in a memoir to Bellièvre written on October 29th of this year, 1639. Bellièvre is charged to conjure the King of England to consider that to remain on his present terms is to ruin his nephew's states and to lose the opportunity of acquiring much reputation. His Majesty is quite ready to bring all his

allies to enter conjointly with himself into a league offensive and defensive with the King of England and to bind himself not to make peace without the restoration of the Palatinate....If the King of England says that he has had a great share in the defeat of the Spanish fleet, M. de Bellièvre is to answer that so far from having had any share he has permitted the Spaniards, who have spoiled his nephew, to receive much help from his states, where they have been supplied with victuals, powder, rigging, and, what is more, several ships, which have carried two or three thousand of them to Dunkirk. He is to add that the Spaniards boast on all sides that they are on the point of making a treaty with the King of England to be furnished with 10,000 Irishmen in return for a round sum which they offer to lend him, a thing so contrary to the design he professes to have of re-establishing his nephew in his States that if the treaty were real it would be impossible to make one with him for the advantage of the common cause. M. de Bellièvre is to speak of all this to the Queen and to make her understand what a disgrace it would be to the King of England that for a money loan he should furnish the Spaniards with an army to be used against himself.

With such impatient contempt had Louis and Richelieu come to regard the policy of Charles! The rebellion had already begun in Scotland, and we may see from Mme de Motteville's account of English affairs, which was derived from Queen Henrietta Maria, that to the English Court it wore the appearance of a rebellion fomented by Richelieu. 'The Cardinal de Richelieu,' she writes, 'who governed in France, hated the King of England because his heart was Spanish...he thought it absolutely necessary for the weal of France, that that prince should have

trouble in his country.' It is no doubt true that Richelieu's policy required at the moment when he was pressing the Spanish Monarchy so hard that England should not be free to interfere, and we see with what feelings he regarded Charles. Modern inquiry however leads to the conclusion that his influence was not very active in fomenting our civil troubles, because in fact it was superfluous. Charles might be trusted to do Richelieu's work for him, and to provide those troubles in Great Britain which his vast European schemes demanded.

These events of 1639 may be said to close a period in our foreign policy. The civil war was now at hand which was to transform England as the administration of Richelieu transformed France. In domestic affairs and particularly in respect of the relation between the three kingdoms the Stuart Monarchy had strayed into a false position. The convulsion which now took place was the consequence. It led to a change which modified our foreign policy as much as our constitution.

These proceedings of 1639 are of a piece with all the foreign measures of James I and Charles I, and exhibit the foreign system of these kings in a particularly naked form. In one word, they regard foreign affairs purely from the point of view of the family. They are allied by marriage to the Palatine House, to the Danish House and to the House of Bourbon. But they enter the House of Bourbon only after having failed to enter the Spanish House, and at a time when the Houses of Bourbon and Spain were closely interwoven. These simple facts furnish the clue to their policy from the outbreak of the great twofold European war. They see but one object, the Palatinate, and even this they do not see in the same light as their subjects. To the English people also in the

age of Buckingham the question of the Palatinate was interesting, because they saw in it the cause of the Reformation. To James and Charles it is a family question, and they have at the same time a family attachment to Spain, one of the great enemies of the Palatinate, mainly because Charles courts an Infanta. Hence he pursues the restoration of the Palatine Prince at first through alliance with his Danish relative, and, when that has failed, through his Catholic relatives of France and Spain, inclining to Spain rather than to France. He will lend help to his Protestant nephew, but as he is a nephew, not as he is a Protestant, and in such a way as to render the slightest possible service to Protestantism.

It was time that the Monarchy in England should be reformed not less in the interest of foreign than of domestic policy. And now a transformation took place which did in the end cure this particular evil.

We regard this transformation purely from the international point of view, from which of course only the lesser half of it is visible. Monarchy and Commonwealth, Prelacy and Presbytery, these are matters which do not concern us. What we see is the fall, and after a time the restoration, and then again at a later time the second fall, or partial fall, of a *dynasty*, and involved in this the fall, restoration and second fall of a dynastic system of foreign policy. But lest we should stray where so many attractive paths, which nevertheless are misleading, offer themselves at every step, it is necessary to obtain a chart of the journey that now lies before us, that is, to begin by taking a general view.

We set out then from a system of foreign policy which is founded almost solely upon the family relationships of the king. But in 1642 the royal family is for the purposes

of foreign policy dispossessed. Henceforth the Government in possession is the Parliament, and from this time to the rise of the Protectorate the Parliament, not the King, represents England before the states of Europe.

This new Government is for some years much hampered by the opposition of the King and his party. But in 1651 it succeeds in crushing this opposition, and then for nearly nine years the state is guided securely in foreign affairs on a system wholly uninfluenced by family relationships. The system is indeed not wholly national, it is in some degree partisan. But the Long Parliament, the Council of State, and the Protector alike were not guided in their policy by the interests of a brother-in-law in France, or a nephew in the Palatinate, or an uncle in Denmark.

The dynasty is restored in 1660. But it is not brought back by any effort of its own or by the aid of its foreign connexions, but by the very party which in 1642 had raised rebellion against it. In 1642 King and Parliament had been at war; they had represented opposite principles. But in 1660 these two opposite parties absolutely melt into one. They combine to resist the third party which in the years 1648—1651 had overpowered both. They are so completely merged that in the first months of 1660 'Parliament' was the watchword of those who wished to bring back Charles Stuart. At that crisis he who said Parliament said King.

Charles II therefore inherited, as it were, the undynastic policy that had grown up during his exile. Meanwhile in his own mind the dynastic system had been strengthened and hardened by that very exile. He had dreamed during years of suspense of winning his restoration by the same methods by which his father had hoped to obtain the restoration of the Palatine Prince,

that is, by the armies and subsidies of his foreign relatives, his French nephew, his Dutch brother-in-law, his Danish uncle. Necessarily therefore in his policy there is a struggle between the dynastic system in which he had been bred and the more national system which had developed itself under the Commonwealth. In this struggle is the clue to the reign of Charles II.

In the simple soldier-like mind of his brother James there is no struggle. He adopts the dynastic system once for all, and tries to found his throne upon Catholicism and the family alliance with his cousin Louis XIV.

But these two brothers adopted the dynastic system in its extreme form. They were the sons of a Frenchwoman who was a bigoted Catholic, while Catholicism was odious to the English people and anything like a close alliance with France scarcely less so. They placed themselves therefore in a false position with respect to their subjects.

Now the dynastic system was not necessarily inconsistent with the national system of policy. It was conceivable that they might be brought into harmony, as it was conceivable that monarchy and liberty might be reconciled. The same man was born to effect both reconciliations. What the Revolution of 1688 means in constitutional history we all know. Its aspect in international history is not less important. William, as well as Charles or James, belonged to the royal caste. He was the first member of the House of Orange of whom this could be said. His mother was a Stuart and so was his wife. But he was a Protestant and he came from a country which, so far from being the ancient enemy, had always been felt to be a close relative, a cousin or almost a brother, of England.

Accordingly his accession in England finally reconciled the dynastic with the national system and introduced an era of English policy in which the Monarchy appeared free from the defect which we have remarked under James I and Charles I.

This glimpse of the road which lies before us, joined to our knowledge of the road we have already travelled, may enable us to understand the progress which England made in the whole period treated in this book. The 'growth of our policy' consisted in throwing off the dynastic system and adopting instead a national system. We now see the principal stages of the process. At the accession of Elizabeth the dynastic system prevailed so much that we were on the point of being swallowed up in the Habsburg Estate. By her disputed title, by her purely English descent, and by her want of all royal connexions, Elizabeth was thrown back upon the national system, or, in her own words, found herself 'married to her people.' In the forty-four years of her reign, this system was enabled to take a certain root, and meanwhile the dynastic influence in its better form counteracted the same influence in its worse form, when it brought together England and Scotland. Under the first Stuarts the dynastic system is restored, but somewhat slowly, the Stuart family being also poor in royal connexions at the time of its entrance into England. But by the time of the outbreak of the Great Rebellion, English policy, as we have seen, has become again thoroughly and coldly dynastic. By the Rebellion the national system is violently revived. The age of Oliver in respect of foreign policy is evidently similar to that of Elizabeth. It is also a kind of anticipation, though premature and precarious, of the national British policy of the eighteenth century. With the Restoration

begins a struggle between the two systems. At the Revolution this struggle is brought to an end by a reconciliation between the national system and the dynastic system in its better form represented by William of Orange.

We may add that this reconciliation proved lasting, though William himself had but a short reign. The dynastic system might easily have revived, even without the restoration of James or of the Pretender. Had Anne been married to a Bourbon or a Habsburg or to any Catholic prince and had she left heirs of such a marriage, the struggle might have recommenced. But her Danish marriage created no difficulty, and after her death that old connexion with the Palatine House, which under the earlier Stuarts had caused so much trouble, helped us to maintain the reconciliation of the national and dynastic systems introduced by William. A sister of that very Palatine Prince whose distresses and mishaps in the year 1639 we have just contemplated, and who in 1642 accompanied Charles in his attempt to arrest the Five Members, stood before the world in 1714, that is, more than seventy years later, as heiress to the throne of England. Between these two dates lies almost the whole immense reign of Louis XIV, and some years beside. Had she lived half a year longer this princess, then called the Electress Sophia, would have been proclaimed Queen in London. As it was, her son succeeded Queen Anne and founded the dynasty which has lasted to this day.

Enough for the present of large surveys and distant prospects. When we return to the period of Richelieu and look again at Charles I just entering the civil war we find that we have learnt from our anticipatory survey

to understand the importance of an event which took place in 1641. This event again is a marriage.

James I, we remarked, gave a daughter to the leading Protestant prince of his time, while he offered his son to a leading Catholic princess. But the marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to the Elector Palatine might seem to have been unfortunate, and no one could yet foresee that a great English dynasty, for which the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were reserved, was to issue from it. Charles I however follows his father's example. Though himself standing a degree nearer than his father to Catholicism, though his children were half Bourbons as he himself was partly a Guise, he too decides to give a daughter to the great representative of the Protestant cause. The Princess Mary is married in 1641, that is, about the time of Strafford's trial, to William, son and heir of the Stadtholder Frederick Henry. This is the first of the two great marriages of William and Mary by which the House of Stuart was united to the House of Orange, and which led to one of the greatest reigns in English History and also to an alliance of the Sea Powers upon which depended the international relations of Europe through a great part of the eighteenth century.

The second William and Mary and their marriage are known to all of us; the first William and Mary, who had but a short married life and passed that in Holland, have indeed a place in Dutch history, but are almost forgotten in England. And yet we shall find that the alliance which was created by their marriage between the Houses of Stuart and Orange was scarcely less important from its very beginning than the alliance of the Houses of Stuart and Bourbon, which is represented by the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. It was a new military

resource for the Stuart Monarchy, the importance of which was felt early in the English civil war. And if between the marriage of William and Mary in 1640 and the marriage of William and Mary in 1675 England waged three Dutch wars it will be found that this too was in a great degree a consequence of the connexion between the two Houses, as later the same connexion united the two states in a firm alliance.

As the occurrences of 1639 seemed to mark the close of the old policy, so if we watch the confused tumult of English affairs in 1641 about the time of the King's return from Scotland, we may note the commencement of several new systems of policy which one after another were to prevail in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Parliament was making itself independent and laying the foundation of a republican policy. On the other hand a party in the Parliament was beginning to lean towards the King, the party of Falkland and Hyde. But by the side of these Anglican Royalists there was already clearly discernible another type of Royalism. This had at once a French tinge and a Catholic tinge. It also looked towards the army. It was the party of the Queen, who was already seeking money from the Pope and debating whether it would be possible to induce the King to declare himself a Catholic, while at other times she meditated retiring to France and applied for help to Louis XIII. In this system of Henrietta Maria we cannot mistake the germ of that policy which was characteristic of the later Stuarts, which broke out under Charles II with the Treaty of Dover, under the auspices of another French Henrietta, and was at last fully revealed under James II. But moreover a marriage of William and Mary has newly taken place. Already the Queen, repulsed by Richelieu, begins

to look for aid to the Stadtholder. The royal family has formed a new connexion, which, though less brilliant than its connexion with France, has advantages of its own. This germ too will develop, there will be another William and Mary, who will sit side by side upon the throne of England.

And now the transformation of England began in earnest. One great movement was over. The Scotch disturbances had led in the first months of 1641 to the fall of the system of Charles in England and of those who directed it and to the restoration of Parliament in more than its old power. But now occurred the rising in Ireland, and the reaction of this upon England produced a new convulsion more serious still. It led to the Grand Remonstrance, which was the prelude not to one of those short spasms of revolution such as had just happened and had happened several times in the sixteenth century, but to a long and desperate discord comparable only to the Wars of the Roses, to a Civil War.

This second movement could not but have an immediate effect upon foreign policy. Henceforth there were two Englands instead of one, England represented by the Parliament and England represented by the King. The former had its foreign relations still to make. At the outset of the Civil War Parliament rests mainly on its own resources, as it obtains possession of almost all the whole machinery of Government and well-nigh succeeds in putting the King himself into the position of a rebel. It does not therefore at the outset look abroad for help, as the Scotch insurgents in 1638 had applied, though with no great success, to Richelieu. The King on the other hand depends in a very great degree upon foreign aid, since the foreign department has been all along in his own

hands. The surprising effect with which the Parliament launches its rebellion, carrying the greater part of the nation with it, throws the King back upon his continental connexions and, as it were, makes him a foreigner. He had already sought to obtain Spanish troops for his Scotch war. He now hopes to get a Spanish loan, while Henrietta Maria applies for a contribution to the Pope. It is also thought possible to obtain a Danish force. This Continental basis of operations is brought to light at the very commencement of the Civil War by the King's attempt to get possession of Hull and Portsmouth, posts important not merely in themselves but as securing a communication with the Continent. It appears still more clearly soon after by the conduct of the Queen.

The dynastic system, as it turned on marriage and the family, had naturally its centre in the Queen. It is worth remarking that from the accession of the Stuart family to the Revolution of 1688 the Queen of England is invariably a Catholic, though the creed of Anne of Denmark was not publicly avowed. In Henrietta Maria especially all that was *unnational* in the Stuart Monarchy was embodied. It was her presence and the Court that surrounded her that brought the King himself and the Anglican Church under so much unjust suspicion of Catholicising. It was she who alienated more and more the dynasty from the nation, so that the later Stuarts, resembling her and not their father, are French in disposition, morals and political affinity, and are also Catholic. From the outset of the Civil War she sways the royal party in the direction of Catholicism. The rising in Ireland was commonly called the Queen's rebellion. Could she have had her way she would probably have so arranged matters that

her husband would have suffered immediate expulsion, and her son would have had no hope of restoration. The Revolution of 1642 would have anticipated that of 1688. The dynasty would have called in the aid of France and of the Catholic world, and the party of Falkland and Hyde would have been driven by patriotism to adhere to the cause of the Parliament.

Had France in 1642 been what it was in 1688, profoundly tranquil within and serenely preeminent in Europe, it might have been tempted, and had it been ruled by a Louis XIV instead of a Richelieu, it might have resolved, to gratify Henrietta Maria, and thus to turn the civil war of King and Parliament into a national war of England and France. But Richelieu desired nothing better, at that critical moment when both branches of the House of Habsburg were beginning to give way before the arms of France, than that England should be paralysed for some considerable time by civil troubles, and Louis XIII had been taught by Richelieu sternly to thwart his nearest relatives. To refuse all help to his sister cost little to the king who had driven his mother into exile and was that moment overthrowing the monarchy in which another of his sisters was queen.

And thus, fortunately for the Stuart family, it could get no serious help in 1642 from the Bourbon. It was therefore driven to apply to another family, with which it had so recently formed a connexion, the House of Orange. A political combination begins precisely at this point, which soon became highly important, even though no one could foresee the vast importance it was to have in the next generation. The marriage of Mary, Princess Royal, with William, eldest son of the Stadtholder, had taken place on May 2nd, 1641; but now on Feb. 3rd,

1642, the Queen set sail, carrying the Princess to her husband and at the same time the Crown jewels, with which she hoped from the friendly shelter of the Hague to purchase an army, while at the same time she sought assistance and mustered all the resources of the dynasty. At the Hague she remained for a year and executed her design with considerable success. It illustrates the composite nature of the Royalist party that while Charles gathered round him a national army and a national party inspired by Anglican principles, the Queen formed another army abroad and thus consolidated the unnational element of the party.

These two facts, that France declined to interfere, and that the Stadtholder was from the first disposed to interfere, in behalf of Charles, are of the highest importance.

After 1688 France intervened promptly, and the Revolution of that year led to a great war, the greatest war we had waged since the sixteenth century, and the first of a series of great wars with France. It is therefore the more remarkable that the Rebellion of 1642 was followed by no similar intervention, although it affected the French royal House much more directly, a daughter of France being on the English throne and being most pointedly attacked and endangered by the rebellion. And the non-intervention of France, which in 1642 was due to Richelieu, was maintained after his time through the whole period of our civil troubles. The remarkable characteristic of our Great Rebellion, that France had no share in it, appears again not less remarkably in our Restoration eighteen years later.

Richelieu himself died a few months after Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, in the last days of 1642. Louis XIII followed him in April 1643 in a crowd

of notable men—Hampden, Falkland, Pym—who took their leave about the same time, and Louis XIV became king of France. The unparalleled reign of seventy-two years began. There was every reason to expect at this moment a sudden change in French policy. The great statesman with his austere system of opposition to family interests made way for the principal victim of that very policy, the natural head of the Spanish party in France. A Spanish Infanta would surely refuse to overthrow the Spanish Monarchy; a woman, beautiful and indolent, long persecuted by Richelieu, an old friend of Mme de Chevreuse, would surely decline Richelieu's task. From her surely Queen Henrietta Maria might expect the sympathy and aid which Richelieu had so coldly refused.

But the change was so sudden and complete that in any case France could not be expected to intervene at once. Some months passed, while Louis XIII reigned on without Richelieu, and again some months during which Anne of Austria was fully occupied in settling her government, in breaking her husband's will and establishing her own unrestricted regency. Meanwhile the great victory of Rocroi was won by the heir of the House of Condé, and the war of France with the Spanish Monarchy entered upon a wholly new stage. France stood forth as a great military Power, the new reign had a splendid opening, and the Regency too was covered with glory. But by this very success Anne was, as it were, caught in the tide of the Richelieu system, she was hurried along the career of victory over Spain, her policy became identified with that of the young hero, whose house was closely connected with that of Richelieu. To pursue the war with Spain became her absorbing task, and thus intervention in England became more unadvisable than

war. The party called the Importants, who were preparing to seize the reins and to cancel Richelieu's work, found their endeavours frustrated, and Mazarin, adroit and unassuming, presented himself as a sort of lady's Richelieu.

Thus France remained almost as insensible as ever to the distresses of the daughter of France.

But it was otherwise with the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry. The Dutch state had had from the outset a peculiar, double character. It had become a Republic almost in its own despite, because it had not been able to find a monarch. Elizabeth had declined to become its ruler; the French prince of Anjou had betrayed it. But out of its own bosom a kind of Monarchy had been developed. The House of Orange stood in the midst of the United Provinces, an object of popular loyalty, and furnished regularly in each generation a defender and patron to the free state which William the Silent had called into existence. In succession these princes held certain public offices, that of General, that of Admiral, and that of Stadtholder in some of the provinces. As in so many states we see the name of Monarchy without the thing, so here in the first ages of the Dutch state we see not less clearly the thing without the name. These princes were of great rank—they boasted of an ancestor who had been Roman Emperor—and of vast wealth. But they were not considered to be of royal rank, as we may see by their marriages. William the Silent had been several times married, and the mother of the third Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, who held the office in 1642, was a daughter of Coligny. The second Stadtholder, Maurice, had remained single; Frederick Henry married Amalia van Solms.

In these peculiar circumstances it was a great event for the House of Orange that the son of Frederick Henry was allowed to marry the Princess Royal of England. It raised the House out of the rank of noble, into that of royal Houses. In the standing controversy of the Dutch state between the Orange party and the republicans of the Province of Holland, the party formerly led by Oldenbarneveltdt and now led by De Witt, it gave a new advantage to the former. And as a natural consequence it gave to the Stuart family a new ally, powerful, and yet not too powerful, an ally that might prove more serviceable than the House of Bourbon, being in some degree dependent and also Protestant. From the Stadtholder therefore the King and Queen received a certain amount of aid immediately, and by the residence of the Queen for a whole year at the Hague, and afterwards by the presence of an English princess in the midst of a republican people, the Dutch state was drawn, as it were, into the eddy of the English civil war. Ten years later we shall find a war breaking out between the Dutch and the English Commonwealth, and we shall perceive that it has something of the nature of a continuation of the English civil war.

Such in outline are the foreign relations of Royalist England. If the King who in the winter of 1641 seemed almost without support, as helpless as John at Runnymede, found himself in the summer of 1643 greatly superior in his struggle with the Parliament, so that he might look forward to victory, this was indeed due in great part to the growth in England of a powerful Royalist party, which had not existed before the Grand Remonstrance; but in great part also it was due to the aid which the Queen had been able to bring from the Continent.

Throughout we see Royalism woven out of two distinct threads; there is national royalism, which is that of Falkland and Hyde, and there is dynastic royalism, which is Catholic and Continental, the royalism of the Queen.

At this period Parliamentary England had comparatively slight foreign relations. And yet it was in a certain sense by the aid of a foreign ally that the Parliament succeeded in 1644 in turning the scale against the King.

At the opening of Queen Elizabeth's reign we saw England threatened, as we see her threatened now, by a French princess residing on the Continent. Mary Stuart was then Queen of France, and she laid claim to the throne of England. For a moment Elizabeth's position seemed scarcely tenable. She saved herself by an alliance with the party of the Reformation in Scotland, and we remarked that Elizabethan England rested thenceforward amid the storms of the age of the Counter-Reformation upon the agreement in religion of the English and Scotch nations. Now in a similar extremity this foundation proved again firm and sufficient. The rebellion in England joins hands with the rebellion in Scotland. The Solemn League between the two nations which was made on the basis of the Covenant signed in Scotland in 1638 restored the balance between the warring parties.

Our Civil War is by no means a simple struggle between a king and his people; it is rather, as we have already remarked, a disturbance caused by the mutual action of three kingdoms with three distinct Churches, which happen to be united under one king. It is an effort to establish a *modus vivendi* between Anglicanism,

Scotch Presbyterianism and Irish Catholicism. England, we see, has foreign relations of two radically different kinds. Those relations with the Continent which we have lately examined are at this epoch comparatively unimportant. The relations of England with Scotland and Ireland are so important in our Civil War that almost everything turns on them. We must take note of this, but we must recognize at the same time that there is not room in this book for even an outline of relations which are only foreign in a secondary sense.

We remark only how each stage of the Civil War is introduced by some new contact between England and Scotland or Ireland. The Bishops' Wars of Scotland led to what we may call the first Revolution, that is, to the fall of Strafford and his system. Next, the rising in Ireland led to a second convulsion, to the Grand Remonstrance and the Civil War. Thirdly, when the Royal Party is seen to have the advantage Scotland comes to the help of the Parliament and restores the balance. Next, we find the King labouring to meet this move by a counter-move of the same kind. The Irish Cessation is arranged, which sets free some regiments for the King's service in England. Afterwards the Glamorgan negotiations take place, the object of which is to oppose to the alliance between the Parliament and the Scots an alliance between the King and the Irish Catholics. This mutual action of the Three Kingdoms upon each other does not stop at this point, but continues to the end to characterise the Stuart period. Charles after his defeat in England throws himself into the hands of the Scots. From Scotland comes the second civil war of 1648. By negotiating with the Scots Charles II attempts to recover his throne; he establishes himself in Scotland; thence he invades

England, and it is a Scotch army that is defeated at Worcester. From Scotland the Restoration is at last brought to us by George Monk. And when a quarter of a century later the struggle begins again, James II, driven from England, maintains the war in Ireland. In Ireland are fought the decisive battles. Finally, in the eighteenth century the Stuart cause lives on in Scotland, and gives rise to new invasions of England in 1715 and 1745.

The period in which England was so absorbed in her domestic struggle as to be almost without a foreign policy extends from 1642 to the earlier part of 1646, when by the surrender of Astley at Stow-on-the-Wold the victory of the Parliament may be said to be decided. Now these are the years during which France by the victories of Condé and Turenne was taking her position as the great military Power of Europe. Scarcely any period witnessed so momentous an alteration in the military balance of the Continent. To the superiority of statesmanship which Richelieu had given to France was now added a military superiority almost more imposing still. After the first great stroke at Rocroi, by which France (under the government of a Spanish Infanta) crushed the great army of the Netherlands, which since the days of Alexander of Parma had been the pride and stay of the Spanish Monarchy, there opened a period of grand strategical combinations. Distant armies are brought together and produce great results by surprising junctions. First, Condé leaves his war with Spain on the frontier of the Low Countries, and carries his army to the help of Turenne against Austria and Bavaria. The great battles of Freiburg and Nördlingen are fought. This is followed by the still more comprehensive and decisive operation of 1646,

by which France and Sweden, entering Germany from the West and North, unite their armies, and together force their way into Bavaria. It seems the original of which the Blenheim campaign is a somewhat close copy. Hitherto the main belligerents on one side, Austria and Bavaria, had had the advantage of close communication, while on the other side France and Sweden had waged the war successfully indeed yet far apart. The consequence was that while the rest of Germany had long been abandoned to unrestrained pillage and desolation, Bavaria, whose Elector, more than almost any other man, was responsible for the war, enjoyed a happy exemption. It was therefore a deadly and decisive stroke when Turenne, the Frenchman, and Wrangel, the Swede, joined their armies on the Lahn and, instead of giving battle to the Austro-Bavarian army near Frankfurt, left it behind them, and crossing the Main made their way to the Danube, where they occupied all the posts from Ulm to Donauwerth. The way into Bavaria was now open, and this country too soon shared the dismal fate of the rest of Germany.

Thus the obstinate knot which for nearly thirty years had refused to yield to war after war was at last cut by the sword of Turenne and Wrangel. The close union of Austria and Bavaria was dissolved. France reaped the benefit of being a Catholic Power while she fought on the Protestant side. To yield Alsace to her seemed not inadmissible, since she was Catholic, and by the expedient of creating a new Electorate, Bavaria was satisfied, while at the same time the Catholic majority in the Electoral College, and so the Catholic character of the Holy Roman Empire, was preserved. Bavaria being satisfied, the German Powers in their exhaustion and despair were able to force the Emperor to separate the interest of Germany

from that of the Spanish Monarchy, and so to abandon that Family Alliance of the House of Habsburg which had originally caused the intervention of France and Sweden. The Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, followed by the Treaty of Westphalia, brought peace to Central Europe, while the war of France with the Spanish Monarchy still continued to rage.

While this mighty change took place our islands remained a prey to civil war, and the principal events took place even before the first Civil War could be said to be altogether at an end. The King was indeed conquered in 1646, but the victorious Parliament could not for a moment feel at ease, and in 1648 a new Civil War broke out. It is a fact of great importance that the French Government was thus completely preoccupied at the time when changes took place in England which might otherwise have tempted it to interfere. Had France been at leisure we may suppose that she would have felt bound in honour to come to the aid of Henrietta Maria. On the other hand, had England been at leisure she would perhaps not have looked on indifferently while such a revolution was made in the system of Europe.

But early in 1646 foreign politicians became aware that an event had happened in England which was of prodigious magnitude. The English Monarchy had been completely and hopelessly beaten in its struggle with the Parliament. This event is historically perhaps greater than the more thrilling event of January 1649, and moreover it must have seemed at the time even more momentous than it really was. Many kings in many European countries had been defeated before, but they had given place to other kings, as Richard III to Henry VII or Mary of Scotland to James. In this case the Monarchy

itself seemed to have received a mortal wound, and to Mazarin looking on England must have seemed to be undergoing a transformation which would assimilate her to the Netherlands. Already in 1646 he may have foreseen the English Commonwealth. What he could not then have foreseen was that the English Monarchy would revive, and in such power that late in the eighteenth century its influence would still be held excessive, and that it would still subsist in the closing years of the nineteenth. For what hope could remain to the English Monarchy after a struggle in which it had put forth its utmost resources, and had been slowly, gradually, completely defeated? It might indeed be nominally reinstated after due submission, but, deprived of the military power and schooled by a Presbyterian Church, the English Monarch could only be for the future a ceremonial functionary, who would disappear in the first fit of economy that might seize the victorious Parliament.

Such a prospect was most serious for Mazarin. Hitherto he had had to deal in England simply with a family, and a family half French, half Catholic, half Bourbon. For nearly twenty years English policy had given the French Government no serious trouble, only occasional cause for irritation. Yet England was rich and great, 'an old and haughty nation, proud in arms.' What if she should put forth her power and announce her will? A new Government practically republican, and now too in possession of a veteran army, might cause her to do this.

But instead of conjecturing what Mazarin must have felt, let us read in his Instructions to Bellièvre (July 1646) what he actually did feel.

'The invariable object of the Embassy of M. de Bellièvre, the centre to which all his efforts must tend,

is this. He is to try to promote and foment the discord between the Independents and the Presbyterians and Scots in such sort that they may never be able to agree or unite to abolish the Monarchy and constitute themselves as a Republic. That would be to us a mischief beyond all comparison. It would be far less prejudicial to us that the King of Great Britain should be restored to his former authority, even if we were certain that he would be an enemy to us, than that there should arise a Republic of England and Scotland, though it were uncertain if it would be friendly or hostile to his crown.

The reasons of this difference are very easy to understand.

First, the revenue of the King is so restricted that it can barely suffice for his ordinary expenditure, and consequently if he wanted to make war he would have to make it without money, which is impossible, or else he would have to levy it from his subjects, and in this he would either meet with complete resistance or would obtain but very moderate subsidies.

As to that, we cannot be surprised that those populations who have some right in certain matters to resist the views and wishes of the Prince should almost always resist if only to make use of their right, since they are extremely tenacious of the use of it. Whereas in a free state such as a Republic is, the money grants being voluntary and given by consent and by the concurrence of all to a design unanimously adopted, they make such grants without murmur or reluctance, and to the amount needful for the success of the design.

Add to the above what consideration and power such a new Republic would acquire by alliance with that of Holland; which alliance for several reasons would assuredly

become indissoluble, if only the empire of the sea were to be in their hands, and by this it would be easy for them to cause annoyance to any one at pleasure, whether in the Old or New World.

For these reasons M. de Bellièvre is to bring into play every sort of contrivance and adopt every kind of expedient, whether by courtesy and civility, by presents and promises, or by fears and threats, and apply all the friendships and familiarities he has contracted in that country to avert so great a calamity.

We have here the key-note of French policy towards the transformed England, which already in 1646 begins to appear. It is the more striking because this very Mazarin afterwards did more than any man to support the so-called Republic by the alliance which he formed with Cromwell. It is also striking because it points to further consequences which in the end did not fail to follow, but yet did not follow so speedily as Mazarin expected. Such was that union with Holland. In fact the immediate consequence of the establishment of a Republic in England was war with Holland. And yet after a long course of time, and when certain obstacles had been removed, the new England did unite with Holland in that powerful alliance which humbled the pride of Louis XIV.

Mazarin vainly hoped to prevent the Revolution which he apprehended. But he perceives clearly what causes are at work to retard it. Bellièvre is to 'foment the discord between the Independents and the Presbyterians and Scots.' And thus this same document, while it opens a long vista, marks at the same time the new struggle which is immediately at hand. An act in the drama is at an end, that which began in 1642, the Civil War between King and Parliament, in which the King has

had some help from the Stadtholder, but very little from France, and the Parliament has had very effective help from Scotland. Another act now begins, which will end in 1651 with the battle of Worcester. This also is a period of Civil War, though intermittent. But the Royalist Party has fallen into an inferior position, the main disputants being at first the two branches of the Parliamentary Party. The Monarch himself, divorced from his personal following, falls back upon a series of negotiations, not unlike those negotiations with France and Spain about the Palatinate which had occupied so many of his more prosperous days. He palters in turn with the Presbyterians, with the Scots, and with the Independents, and irritates Cromwell now as he had irritated Richelieu before.

If we recognise in general that one of the great questions throughout our civil troubles was to establish a satisfactory relation between England, Scotland, and Ireland, we shall readily understand the nature of the new struggle which began in 1646. At the outset England had offered to absorb Scotland in ecclesiastical uniformity by means of Laud's Service-book. Disturbances had then arisen, and in course of time Scotland had found an opportunity of retaliating. By means of the League and Covenant Scotland had, as it were, imposed a Service-book upon England. Scotland now took the lead in the alliance between the two countries; England was in some sort conquered by Scotland. And to France, as the Civil War itself, which bound the hands of her old rival, was extremely convenient, so it was convenient that Scotland, her ancient ally, should give the tone to British policy in general. But now began a new fluctuation. England was uneasy under Scottish influence. The Scottish religious system was as intolerable in the South as Laud's

Service-book had been in the North. When Anglicanism or Prelacy had been routed, a reserve of opposition came into view. The Triarians of the religious war between the two countries were found in the most Puritan of English Puritans, in the Ironsides themselves. Baxter, when he visited the Parliamentary camp about the time of the battle of Naseby, heard those godly warriors practising their wit upon the *Priestbiters*, and the *Dryvines* of the Westminster *Dissembly*. The wit of this new party was not its sharpest weapon. And it had a leader in the man who had played the most striking part in that great effort of the Parliamentary party which in 1644 and 1645 had turned the balance of fortune against the King. Oliver Cromwell was already the most impressive person on the public stage, and he represented more than any other man the national, the anti-Scottish, feeling which now began to gain ground.

It was this latest developement which inspired the keen apprehension expressed in the above observations of Mazarin. Hitherto France has not found it necessary to interfere very actively in British affairs, since they have taken of themselves a course highly agreeable to her. But we see her now girding herself up for intervention. We see too that Mazarin's apprehensions are by no means unfounded. The increase of British power which he foresaw was soon realised; the alliance of Great Britain with Holland was realised in the end. He had other anticipations, which were equally just. In his Instructions to Bellièvre he speaks of 'the bad example which will be offered by the insurrection of the English and Scots against their king to the subjects of other princes, whose interest accordingly it is not to suffer an evil which can easily be checked to run its course and be completely successful.' A

remarkable prophecy of those troubles of the Fronde which were to follow so speedily upon the rise of Cromwell's party in England, and were for a time almost to overwhelm Mazarin himself! He also fears, we can plainly see, a revival of the Huguenot party. 'The condition of the Catholic religion,' he writes, 'cannot but suffer in England from this change of Government, where those who have brought it about will seek to justify it in part by the rigour with which they will try to expel Catholicism entirely and not to suffer it there even concealed, and where the ministers of religion, who have always more credit in republics than in monarchies, will neglect no means of causing it to be persecuted in that realm, and of causing the interests of those who are of the same religion in the states of other princes to be embraced there.'

All this leads us to anticipate that the phase which begins in 1646 will be marked, among other features, by French intervention. In the war of King and Parliament France has been on the whole a spectator; in the second struggle which now begins, and which may be called the War of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we see France preparing to take an active part.

Mazarin, as we know, was prevented ultimately from pursuing the course he laid down for himself in 1646. When the so-called Republic was actually set up in England, we find it after a time most effectively supported by Mazarin. None the less important is this rough sketch of a policy which he lays down under the influence of a first impression. For the French Government returned to it after Mazarin had passed away.

It is one of the grand differences between the later and the earlier part of the Stuart period that the later

Stuarts lean very much upon French aid in their struggle with their subjects, whereas before 1646 France has either looked on indifferently or has inclined to the side of the Parliament.

Another transition is also observable in the combination sketched by Mazarin. Hitherto the Stuart King has been rather more estranged from his Scotch than from his English subjects. In Scotland the rebellion took its rise, and afterward it prospered by Scotch help. But, once fairly defeated in England, the Stuart finds a refuge among his original subjects. In 1646 Charles takes up a position which reminds us of that of Mary Stuart. At Newark and Newcastle he reminds us, as Ranke has remarked, of his grandmother at Fotheringay. This too is a characteristic of the later phase. The Stuart is once more a Scotch King in the days of Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester, as again later in the time of Sheriffmuir, Preston Pans, and Culloden. In the eighteenth century indeed the very combination sketched by Mazarin reappears when Scotland and France are united in the cause of the Stuart against the English Government.

But in 1646 the Stuart Prince, nay the Monarchy itself, was but a secondary matter of consideration in English politics. The English Monarchy is at its *nadir*, and those who fancy that by observing main currents they can predict at least in outline the future of a state, might have held it certain that, whatever might happen, at least the monarchy and the Episcopal Church were sunk beyond the possibility of a resurrection. The struggle was now between two parties, the Presbyterians and the Scots on the one side, and the Independents on the other, who were agreed in wishing to reduce royal power to a nullity. All that remained to Charles was the power of selling a

certain traditional influence which still belonged to the Crown to one or other of these two parties at the price of some concessions, and so contributing to decide the victory.

The phases between 1646 and 1648, so profoundly interesting in the internal history of Great Britain,—when the two parties consolidated themselves and ranged themselves in order of battle, while the Monarchy passed backwards and forwards between the two camps,—must not detain us here. We cannot speak of the flight of the King to the Scots, of the negotiations at Newcastle, of the surrender of the King by the Scots to the English Commissioners, of his residence at Holmby, of his seizure by Cornet Joyce in the name of the army and his transference to Hampton Court, of his negotiation with Fairfax and Cromwell, of the Agitators and the division in the military party, of the King's flight to the Isle of Wight and his residence at Carisbrooke Castle, of the reunion of the military party and their agreement in a policy hostile to the Monarchy, of the ascendancy acquired by the military party over the Parliament. Nor can we speak of the reaction among the Scots after their surrender of the King, of the growth of a Royalist Presbyterianism, having its headquarters in Scotland, but at the same time strongly influential in the City of London, and how this was provoked by the growth of Independency and its ascendancy in the army. The result was seen in 1648 when a second Civil War broke out, a Civil War widely different from the first. The event of 1648 resembles in some of its larger features those of 1715 and 1745; it may even be compared with the old Rising of the North under Queen Elizabeth. It consists in an invasion of England from the North in the cause of a Stuart prince supposed to have a hereditary right, which is not sufficiently

recognised by the English Parliament. The main bulk of the party which takes up arms is in this case Presbyterian, but Anglicans and Cavaliers appear also in the background. It resembles those other events in another feature which concerns us here more closely, namely, that aid from France might have been hoped for, but was not given.

But this second Civil War, though so strikingly different from the first, is blended with it in the prevalent view, because that view is rather biographical than historical, and contemplates the person of Charles rather than the English state. It is the last act in the tragedy of the Fall of Charles I, and as such seems naturally connected with the earlier acts, with the first Civil War, and beyond that with the fall of Strafford, and even the initial stages of the constitutional struggle. In a historical view of the growth of Policy, the second Civil War, with its consequences till 1651, is separated from the first, as being a war between the dominant parties in England and Scotland, whereas in the first war the dominant parties in England and Scotland had acted for the most part in union. This point of view at the same time presents a new aspect of the events of 1648 by exhibiting the connexion of Continental with British affairs.

The death of the King in January 1649 is a catastrophe so thrilling that it makes us more indifferent even than we usually are to the Continental history of the time. Yet on the Continent too mighty events were taking place, events worth consideration not only on their own account but also by their influence upon English history.

I. On January 30th, 1648, peace was signed at Münster between the King of Spain and the States-General.

This is one of the greatest events. It is the settle-

ment of that dispute which for eighty years had troubled Western Europe, which had occupied more than any foreign question the minds of Queen Elizabeth and Henry IV, which had given rise to a new European state, now the richest in the world, and to a new Colonial empire. This dispute was now at length closed for ever, and the Dutch question ceased henceforth to trouble international politics.

II. Since 1644, when a Pope of anti-French leanings, Innocent X, had succeeded the Barberini, Mazarin had studied to carry the war against Spain into Italy. Of the three great masses which composed the Spanish Monarchy, the Peninsula, the Low Countries and Italy, the two former had been invaded in Richelieu's time, and French troops had long given aid to the rebels in Portugal and Catalonia. Mazarin followed the example of Richelieu; in particular he fomented rebellion in Naples. Masaniello's rising commenced in July 1647; his death took place before the end of the same month. Here was an opportunity for Mazarin, who at once conceived the idea of sending Condé to detach Naples from the Spanish Monarchy and rewarding him with the crown for himself. This scheme had to be abandoned, but a Guise presented himself to play the part which Condé declined. The French Government did not indeed authorise the attempt of this adventurer, but a French fleet arrived before Naples in December, and a naval battle was fought off Castellamare. The fleet however withdrew soon afterwards. Guise failed in his military operations, and in April 1648 fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

III. On October 24th, 1648, peace was signed at Münster between France and the Emperor and the Empire, and at Osnabrück between Sweden and the Emperor and

the Empire. Thus in the same year in which what we may call the Eighty Years' War came to an end the Thirty Years' War also, the most disastrous and destructive war of modern history, was terminated.

IV. In the course of the same year 1648 discord steadily grew between the French Government, directed by Mazarin, and the Parliament of Paris. It is the commencement of what is known as the troubles of the Fronde. Because this movement proved abortive, and ended only in confirming the absolutism founded in France by Richelieu, we are not to conclude that the symptoms which appeared in 1648 were not in the highest degree alarming. Monarchy, which had almost disappeared in England, was now threatened in France also. Mazarin had predicted two years earlier that the English contagion would spread, and already the Parliament of Paris was emulating that of Westminster. Republicanism at the same time was assuming a militant form in the Netherlands, and there seemed reason to think that the ancient Monarchical system was crumbling away in Western Europe.

These vast perturbations must have pressed more heavily upon Mazarin than upon any other man. In France he already began to feel his authority undermined, and the conclusion of peace between the Dutch and the Spaniards created a new difficulty for his Government.

The war in Italy did not prosper with him, nor yet since 1646 the war in the Catholic Low Countries. The negotiations in Westphalia proved more difficult than he had anticipated. And that the States-General entered in 1647 upon a separate negotiation, and in 1648 actually concluded a separate peace with the King of Spain, was to Mazarin nothing less than a great calamity.

We may say that the year 1646, when he actually contemplated intervention in Britain, was the zenith of that great age of French history which may be called the age of the Cardinals. It has been too much effaced by the more conventional brilliancy of the period which followed. In 1646 the Italian who shortened his name to Mazarin had a position before Europe similar to that of the other Italian who when he came to rule France shortened his name to Napoleon. His armies fought at once in Spain, Italy, Bavaria, and Flanders, and they were commanded by Condé, Turenne and Harcourt. Meanwhile he negotiated at Münster, through Longueville, D'Avaux and Servien. At home he appeared as the great patron of letters. Descartes and Corneille were his pensioners. Scholars, including Grotius, studied in the library which his munificence had thrown open to them. And while Virgil's line, *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, was pointedly applied to himself, his nieces began to give the law to the world of French society. But it is an important fact in English as well as in French history that the decline of his fortune, and a temporary decline in the fortune of France, began in 1647.

France had waged war since 1635 with both branches of the House of Habsburg at once, and in both wars she had met with equal success. In both wars likewise she had had a most efficient ally. Sweden had aided her against the Emperor, the Netherlands against Spain. She had pressed on towards a consummation which had seemed well within her reach, and which would have placed the boy Louis XIV on a throne of well-nigh universal dominion. But in 1647 it began to appear that this utmost good fortune would not be granted to her.

She was indeed successful in the Westphalian nego-

ciations, where she herself at Münster and Sweden at Osnabrück exacted so much from the Emperor that Germany might be said to be partitioned between Austria, Sweden and France. Louis XIV obtained Alsace by way of 'satisfaction' for the French crown, and as guarantor of the new settlement of the Empire he took up a position within Germany which was little inferior to that of the Emperor. There was even some reason to think that, on the death of Ferdinand III, Louis XIV would become Roman Emperor.

But in her war with Spain, which was more important to her, and in which hitherto she had been equally successful, France now met with a misfortune. Everything here depended upon her alliance with the Netherlands, as in Germany on the alliance with Sweden. But here Spain had a grand diplomatic triumph. She brought the States-General to conclude a separate peace.

What was the consequence? Relieved at last of the burden which had weighed upon it for eighty years the Spanish Monarchy was now set free for war with France. And this happened at a moment when other internal difficulties, in which Spain was closely concerned, were growing up for the French Government. It has been pointed out that from the outset the French war with Spain had been more than half a civil war. Spain had been all along in concert with the turbulent noblesse, the turbulent princes of the blood, and the House of Lorraine. And so at the very moment when the French Government seemed to have surmounted all ancient difficulties and to have overcome all enemies, the old evil broke out again, the old concert between Spain and the turbulent noblesse. The League itself seemed to revive in the Fronde.

It is necessary to attend to this sudden change in

French affairs if we would understand why at the critical moment of the transformation of England Mazarin, who watched it with so much anxiety and with such a resolute purpose of intervening, after all allowed it to run its course. In October 1646 Henrietta Maria writes to Charles: 'Mazarin has assured me that the general peace will be made before Christmas, and when that happens you will be powerfully aided.' Mazarin himself writes to the same effect to Bellièvre as late as December 10th. His diplomacy through Bellièvre and Montreuil is very active during the time of the King's stay at Newcastle.

This is not the place for a discussion of the decisive step taken at this time by Charles. He disappointed at once his Queen and Mazarin, and made French intervention impossible for the moment. We remark again the double character of English Royalism, that there is a royalism of the King, which is essentially Anglican, and also a royalism of the Queen, which is Continental and Catholic. The King will not sacrifice the Bishops, but the Queen remarks that, whereas the King has hitherto held firm on this point, at present '*il faut de nécessité que ce pas-là se franchisse gaillardement et que Sa Majesté se déclare hautement pour le Presbitère Escossois*' (Memoir by the Queen accompanying the Instructions to Bellièvre). This is not the place to point out how by his firmness on this occasion Charles on the one hand sacrificed his own life, but on the other made his cause respectable and paved the way to its ultimate triumph. We are concerned with the immediate result, which was to alienate the Scots and so to frustrate the scheme of Mazarin, since that was founded on a concert between the Scots and the French Government in favour of Charles.

Mazarin lost his opportunity, and it never returned.

His unfortunate year, 1647, now overtook him, a year in which he declares himself convinced that some astral influence, adverse to his fortune, prevails. There is indeed a great contrast between his position when the King was at Newcastle and when the King was before his judges, two years later. In 1646 the position and prospects of France were better than at any time in Louis XIV's reign, if we except a few months in 1701. Indeed Louis throughout the second half of the seventeenth century is mainly occupied in climbing laboriously back to the eminence from which his government had descended in 1647. In 1646 France had possession of Lorraine, and of half the Catholic Low Countries, while within the Iberian peninsula itself and in Italy her position was such that Mazarin could calculate upon exacting from Spain at the peace the Low Countries, Franche Comté and Lorraine, that is, more than Louis XIV could ever acquire. In such a position he could afford to meditate intervention in England.

In 1648 all was changed. His ally, the States-General, had deserted him, and at the same time society in France was undergoing all the perturbations which naturally follow the conclusion of a great war. For the Thirty Years' War was over, and Alsace was conquered. The abuses and oppressions that had accumulated in a long period of war, fiscal grievances, the misery of the people,—all this was now to be overhauled; now at last it was called to mind that France had once had something in the nature of a constitution, which had perished in the war now ended and by the hands of the Cardinal whose place had since been taken by Cardinal Mazarin. Probably the example of England had already produced its effect, as Mazarin had foreseen.

At least in 1648 the moment was passed when France

could prevent revolution in England; the time seemed to be come for England to arouse revolution in France. The French constitutional movement of 1648 corresponded in a striking manner to the English movement of 1641. It was a rising of Parliament against Royal Power, all the more startling because the Parliament of Paris was an assembly so different from the English Parliament, and the attack upon Mazarin brought to mind that which had been made in England upon Strafford. Very different, no doubt, was the French movement from the English in its result, but the superficial correspondence lasted a good while, and at a later stage Condé might seem for a time to answer to Cromwell. One resemblance at least it had which concerns us here. We have seen England paralysed by her civil troubles while France established her ascendancy in Europe. The civil troubles which now arose in France paralysed her in turn for several years, so as to give room for revolution and for the growth of Cromwell's power in Britain.

Thus when the second Civil War occurred the aid of France had to be omitted from the calculation of the composite party of Presbyterians, English and Scotch, and old Royalists who took up arms for Charles I.

Hitherto since the commencement of the troubles the Monarchy had not been directly assailed. Its powers had indeed been relentlessly curtailed, but the opponents of it had kept in view everything rather than foreign policy. Their grievances had been mainly religious; they had scarcely since the age of Buckingham been seriously disquieted about any foreign interests or relations. Nor had they yet been driven to have a foreign policy of their own by any success of the King's party in procuring foreign alliances. Much help had been obtained by the

Queen on the Continent, but no foreign Power had openly intervened, and the aid of France could now, as we have seen, no longer be expected.

A profound innovation, the most profound innovation we have yet had to record in foreign policy, could not but be produced when in the course of the second Civil War the dominant party, that is, the parliamentary Independents combined with the army, broke with the Monarchy itself. In 1647, we know, it had seemed possible for a time that this party should reconcile itself with the King, but in 1648 when the King's name had drawn together so mighty a resistance to its ascendancy it naturally enough became republican. For the first time in our history a revolution, in the full sense of the word, was consciously made. The Army which had been formed during the first Civil War took violent possession of the Government. England passed under an Imperialism, which in a short time assumed, as was natural, a monarchical form, and Oliver Cromwell rose to the head of affairs.

For us this means that the connexion by ties of family and marriage between the Government of England and foreign Governments was absolutely dissolved. In Elizabeth's time, as we have seen, that connexion had become, at least in the latter part of her reign, very slight. When at last it became apparent that Elizabeth herself would not marry, a period began in which a national policy took the place of a dynastic, and the Queen became a sort of embodied Britannia. This result was reached approximately and, as it were, accidentally. By the violent revolution and catastrophe of 1649 the same result was brought about absolutely and deliberately. All questions of dynasty, marriage, and succession lapsed at once. Foreign policy began to concern itself with questions of

another kind, with the relations and dealings of the community itself with foreign Governments and communities.

This transformation was peculiarly abrupt because, as we have seen, the dynastic system of policy, almost evanescent under Elizabeth, had returned upon us with the arrival of the Stuart, and had grown stronger and stronger as their family connexions had multiplied. They had woven a web which united us with the Houses of Denmark, of the Palatinate, of France, and of Orange. In this respect we had passed through a long period of reaction.

The new system, introduced so suddenly, was not indeed destined to last long. Imperialism had but a short day, and when the ancient Monarchy was restored it brought in its train all the old dynastic connexions. But the brighter side of Oliver's government, his foreign policy, could not be forgotten, nor could the nation unlearn again the new idea of policy. Under the later Stuarts we witness a struggle between dynastic and national policy, until the great reconciler, William III, effects a satisfactory compromise in foreign as in domestic policy.

END OF VOL. I.

PART III.

CROMWELL AND THE MILITARY STATE.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST DUTCH WAR.

THE transition in foreign policy caused by the fall of the Monarchy in 1649 is the most complete and abrupt that will be dealt with in this book. Foreign policy became of necessity a new thing from the moment that the Monarchy was removed, and the change thus made could not be undone by the Restoration of the Monarchy. The period of the so-called Commonwealth was long enough to allow the new conception of policy to take root.

At the transition-point we cannot avoid making a general comparison between the two kinds of policy. We have traversed a long period in which dynastic considerations of marriage and succession have determined everything; we now see before us a period when such considerations are eliminated. It would be too much to say that they simply gave place to considerations of national well-being, for there were also interests of the ruling party to be considered, there was a system bequeathed to the new government from the Civil War. But theoretically

our policy now became national, and practically under the Protectorate it was at least more national than it had been under the Stuart Monarchy.

There can be no question that an advance was made when the fantastic system which drew a whole nation in the train of a single family was discarded. But, as English history has always abhorred extremes, the improvement was less manifest, because the old system had been less abusive than it might have been in another country. In particular our policy did not become more peaceful, but decidedly more warlike, by becoming national.

Peace and non-intervention pushed to an extreme had long been the established tradition of English policy. From the first outbreak of rebellion in the Netherlands against Philip II to the conclusion of the Treaties of Westphalia, England had intervened only and barely as much (if we except the age of Buckingham) as was necessary for her own safety.

Dynastic government was now removed, and forthwith this peaceful tradition was set aside. England became more warlike than she had been at any time since the Hundred Years' War with France. Although she had been torn by war within the British Islands for ten years and might be supposed to need rest, she now makes war with the Dutch Republic. Oliver succeeds to the power of the Long Parliament, and it has sometimes been alleged as a proof of Oliver's humanity that after attaining supreme power he sheathed his sword. But after making peace with the Dutch, Oliver went to war with the Spanish Monarchy, and thus England, which for a century had been a peaceful Power, now in twelve years of the new system waged two deliberate wars with great European States. We shall see moreover that the Dutch wars of Charles II

were undertaken in pursuance of a policy which the Restoration Monarchy had inherited from the Protectorate.

Why a national policy in England should be more warlike than a dynastic system we shall inquire in the proper place. We note in the meantime that there lies before us, as might be expected from the personality of Oliver Cromwell, and from the Imperialism which he represented, one of the most martial periods of English history. It is true that the wars of the Commonwealth were individually less burdensome than those of the eighteenth century, but they follow in rapid, almost uninterrupted series. The country had but newly emerged from a civil war of ten years (reckoning from the first disturbances in Scotland), and there now followed a renewal in 1649 of the war in Ireland, war with Scotland in 1650 and 1651, and concurrently with these maritime war with the Royalist party. Then followed in 1652 war with the Dutch, which was closed in 1654. In 1655 began war with the Spanish Monarchy.

This enumeration brings to light the phases through which the policy of the Commonwealth passed. It begins in civil war and passes by gradations into foreign war.

Bearing in mind our general observation that the civil troubles were largely the effect of the interaction of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we remark that as the first Civil War had been caused by the action first of Scotland and then of Ireland upon England, and in like manner the second Civil War of 1648, and indirectly the Military Revolution itself at the close of 1648, had been caused by the action of Scotland, so the Military Revolution led to a great reaction of England upon Ireland and Scotland.

This Military Movement is in reality the only Revolution of England in the full sense of that word, the only

attempt which the English nation has made to shake off tradition. It is a purely English event in which the Scotch have no more share than in the defeat of the Spanish Armada and which took place also wholly outside Ireland. For the moment therefore it created a wholly new relation between the three kingdoms. Necessarily therefore it was followed by new dealings between England and Ireland and between England and Scotland. Oliver Cromwell, who in the first Civil War had been a great cavalry officer and party leader, the soul of the Military Party, and who in the second Civil War had won the decisive battle, now stood forward as the national English hero. He creates a new relation between the three kingdoms in which England takes the first place, shaking off the kind of yoke which had been imposed upon it through the Covenant by Scotland. This work is mainly accomplished between 1649 and 1651.

It was but natural that English should be entangled with Scotch and Irish affairs. But they were entangled also with the affairs of another country, viz. the Netherlands. We have seen how close had been from old times, and especially from the days of Elizabeth, the sympathy and intercourse between the English and the Dutch. The recent intermarriage between the Houses of Stuart and Orange had drawn the bond tighter. The struggle of King and Parliament was, as it were, reflected in the spectacle of Dutch politics, where the Stadtholder stood for King and the States of Holland for Parliament. It was therefore not merely on account of trade-disputes that war broke out in 1652 between England and the States-General. That war grew up more naturally and, as it were, instinctively, out of the English Revolution, which could not but produce a perturbation in Holland, almost as in Scotland.

Meanwhile it was also natural that the new constitution in England should need a certain amount of reconstruction. Imperialism belongs naturally to the governments which have a monarchical form. As an army has a commander-in-chief, so government by the army is naturally administered by the Commander-in-chief.

In 1654 all this important business which necessarily followed in the train of the Military Revolution had been successfully dealt with. A settlement had been made with Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands. The Lord General Cromwell had dismissed the Parliament which, since its mutilation by Pride's Purge, had only served to conceal the supremacy of the army. The edifice was henceforth complete.

Accordingly the year 1653 marks a turning-point, the close of the Revolution, the opening of a definitive state of things. Great Britain and Ireland, for international purposes more fully united than ever, now compose a powerful military state, and their resources are in the hand of a great statesman and soldier. This military state proceeds to declare war with the Spanish Monarchy.

Thus from about 1653 to Oliver's death in 1658 we have a system of government in effective operation. As after 1658 this system is in dissolution, so before 1653 it is but in growth and preparation.

There is in the whole of English history nothing more profoundly interesting than the attempt made between 1648 and 1654 to reconstruct the state from the foundation, and in particular to unite the three kingdoms into a single commonwealth. But this Essay is not concerned with constitutional changes, however interesting, nor can we even dwell upon the internal disturbances and wars

which accompanied the reunion of the three kingdoms. The fact of that reunion is indeed most important to us, but on the whole we must be prepared to regard all such insular events much as Blake did when in his fleet off Aberdeen he received the news of the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It is said that, being then exhorted by his captains to declare against Cromwell, he replied No, it is not for us to mind affairs of state, but to keep foreigners from fooling us. That is, he held a position outside the British state, from which he kept watch on its relation with foreign states. In like manner this Essay deals with the foreign relations of the community inhabiting the British islands, and so the mutual relations of the parts of that community interest us only so far as they may indirectly affect our foreign relations.

We are also to bear in mind that, striking as this chapter of our history is and important too by its indirect consequences, yet in a general view, including later as well as earlier periods, the short duration of the Protectorate and the speedy downfall of the institutions then founded disentitle it to be treated at any great length.

From this point of view we see in the period between 1648 and 1654 principally the struggle of England and the Netherlands.

On the wars of Scotland and Ireland we merely remark as follows:—

England and Scotland being distinct kingdoms, the abolition of monarchy in England had of course no effect in Scotland, while the trial and execution in England of the King of Scotland necessarily strained in the most violent manner the relations between the two peoples. It is one of the striking analogies between the tragedy of Charles I and that of Mary Stuart that a sovereign of

Scotland was in both cases put to death by the English. Now the son of Charles I succeeded to the throne by unquestionable right in Scotland at the moment of his predecessor's death. After January 1649 Charles II was King of Scots by the admission even of those who denied his right to the title of King of England, and is so called in the State Papers of the Commonwealth. Thus for the moment the Military Revolution had the effect of undoing all that had been done since the accession of Elizabeth towards the union of the Southern and Northern parts of Britain. The personal link was broken, and for the moment violent hostility between the two governments took the place of sympathy.

In Ireland civil war had never ceased. There Ormond still professed to hold his commission from the King. Between the English Commonwealth and the population of Ireland there was the same kind of discord which prevails in primitive society between alien races and alien religions. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford were soon to give proof of this.

Thus a rearrangement of the mutual relations of the three kingdoms had to be effected by war. A third civil war of the most tremendous kind takes place, growing naturally out of the second Civil War, which is that of 1648.

In the life of Oliver Cromwell the distinctness of this great event is very strongly marked. Oliver was a victorious commander, and also a great ruler and statesman. But he did not, like Napoleon, appear in all these characters at once. He assumed them successively. From 1653 to 1658, for five years, he is the ruler of the country, bearing for the greater part of that time the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

During this last period of his career he is a great European statesman, he makes peace with the States-General, alliance with France and Sweden, war with the Spanish Monarchy. But during this period he is no longer a soldier, he commands no army, he fights no battle. He is not the Wellington or Wolfe, but the Pitt, of the European war. For when he became a ruler he had already laid down his sword. His last battle was that of Worcester.

And as his victories were over before the Protectorate, so in the grand Rebellion they have not begun. In the first Civil War he is the most distinguished of officers, as he is the most remarkable of party leaders, but he does not yet win battles in his own name. He is not nominally the commander at Marston Moor or Naseby, but only the officer to whom in each case the victory is chiefly due.

But between 1648 and 1651 he is the great commander and winner of battles. From Preston to Worcester he commands armies in his own name, and not only wins victories, but wins the only important victories that are won. Considered as a military commander, the special and peculiar work of Cromwell is not the defeat of Charles I, but that rearrangement of the relations of the three kingdoms which we have just discussed. It was by the sword of Cromwell that the so-called Commonwealth, that is, the government of the army, which was first set up in England, was triumphantly established in Ireland and Scotland.

That this alarming revolution was allowed by foreign monarchies to complete itself in the British Islands was due in the main to the causes which have been already explained. Bellièvre writes to Servien at the time of the King's trial: 'As you know very well, they are so suspicious here with regard to everything that proceeds from

France that that which would pass unnoticed from others is declared criminal when it comes from us; and as, of foreign Powers, they fear us alone, they pay such attention to our actions and our words that the least expression of the resentment which we must feel for that which they have done might be enough to *lead them to make alliance with Spain.* These words furnish the key of the policy at once of the French and of the Spanish Courts. Since the secession of the Dutch from the French alliance and the outbreak of civil troubles in France the European war had sunk into a duel between France and Spain, and a duel in which the combatants were very equally matched. Spain had conceived new hopes from the movement of the Fronde, and at the same time France had lost her ally. It was a critical moment for both these Powers, and therefore both were nervously careful not to offend England. The government newly set up in England was assuredly warlike; it had a fleet and an army; and neither France nor Spain could face the thought of seeing British ships and men placed at the service of her antagonist. But there was another foreign Power which by its position was forced to take a different view of British affairs. This was the United Netherlands, which, now at length relieved of the Spanish incubus, enters upon a new period of its history.

With this new phase of the Netherlands begins a new period in the foreign relations of England. As the Elizabethan age might be said to begin with the first rebellion of the Netherlands against Spain, so a second period of greatness for England begins when the Netherlands take, after the Treaty of Münster, the place from which the Spanish Monarchy is now retiring. Henceforth the Netherlands will play a greater and more important part

in our story. We have before us three great wars between England and Holland, and beyond this an alliance of the two Sea Powers which is still more memorable, which indeed is the great and dominating combination of the opening of the eighteenth century.

The foundation of this new relation was laid by the marriage of the first William and the first Mary in 1641. By this the Stuart family, at the moment when its position in England was shaken, acquired a new support, and at the same time the English and Dutch nations, which had always had a strong sense of kindred, were drawn closer together. So much was visible at the moment, but other consequences and results of the marriage came to light in course of time.

It was perceived that if the House of Stuart in England had gained help in its difficulties, not less had the House of Orange in the Netherlands acquired a new support of the utmost importance, by this alliance.

The year 1648 seemed to be fatal to all royal Houses in Western Europe, so that an observer of political currents might then have predicted that Monarchy was approaching its last hour, and was about to give place, in all advanced countries, to a republican system. It actually fell in England, and the lively French mind now took the infection of the ideas that were in the air. In Paris republicanism was preached and barricades were set up in this same year. And in the same year also that virtual monarchy which had grown up in the Netherlands and was attached to the family of the Liberator, received a sudden blow; the tendency which from the outset had always set in favour of it, was suddenly arrested.

Not that the Monarch was wanting. That standing difficulty of the hereditary system, that it depends upon

an accident, that the man worthy to reign may fail in the monarchical family, was not felt here. It is true that the Stadtholder Frederick Henry died in March 1647. The fiction which identifies a son with his father and might enable the Dutch up to that time to believe, or make believe, that they had still their Liberator among them, could no longer help them. Henceforth they had but a grandson of William the Silent. But then he was named William. He was William II. He was 'un tres gentill cavalier,' as the Earl of Warwick writes to his mother. He was 'the ablest man whom the House of Orange had produced,' in the opinion of the enemy of the family, De Witt. At the death of his father he was twenty-one years of age.

It was not the death of Frederick Henry but the Peace of Münster that shook just at this moment the monarchical power of the House of Orange. The Princes of the House of Orange had been in request as Liberators and Protectors of the Dutch people against Spain, and ever since the people had aimed at independence, except during the twelve years of truce, they had needed such liberation and protection, for during all that time they had been at war with Spain. Now that peace was made definitively, and there was really little prospect that Spain at least would ever trouble them again, the condition of the state was fundamentally altered. The function of Liberator or Protector lapsed. The unique House, which in a population of traders, bankers and sailors held a court, bore hereditary titles, and had a sort of hereditary right to the chief public offices, seemed henceforth out of place.

For the new Prince this created a position which was peculiarly intolerable because he had risen to a higher rank than any former Prince of Orange. The tide which

now suddenly ebbcd had just before risen higher than ever. His predecessors had been great noblemen but not of royal rank; *he* had married the Princess Royal of England; his son, if he should have a son, might not impossibly succeed by right to the British throne.

He is the one unhappy Prince of Orange in a century and a half, the only one who missed his vocation. His misfortune lay in this that his time fell in the interval between the decline of Spanish and the rise of French ascendancy. His three predecessors had won honour in resisting the former, his son was to rise still higher in resisting the latter; he alone, not less gifted than they, saw to his despair the republic make peace, and found his occupation gone. Hence the wildness of his conduct during his short term. Perhaps it was happy for him that after three years he died suddenly at the age of twenty-four.

With his death disappeared for a moment the rudiment of Monarchy in the Netherlands. His son was not born, and the effects of the peace were shown in the Stadtholderless time, which now began and which lasted till the third William had arrived at manhood. Thus Dutch history has a chapter which corresponds somewhat closely to that which in English history is inscribed Commonwealth. The English Monarchy fell in 1649, the Dutch in 1650; the English Monarchy was restored in 1660, the Dutch in 1672.

The condition of the two countries being so remarkably similar, and the two nations and the two royal Houses being so closely connected, it was inevitable that they should exercise a strong mutual action. In the English Revolution the Dutch were concerned scarcely less closely than the Scotch.

It is indeed possible that William II, had he lived, would have run a great career and have acquired as much fame as his forefathers or as his son; in that case however the fame would perhaps have been of a sinister kind. From the archives of the House of Orange we may learn what he aimed at, and we may also perceive that he might probably have succeeded, and that by succeeding he would have drawn Europe into another course.

He regarded the Peace of Münster precisely as it was regarded by the French government, by Mazarin himself. The retirement of the Netherlands from the war with Spain, which had confounded the policy of Mazarin at the moment of its consummation, had at the same time frustrated all his own hopes. But there was no reason why he, as there was no reason why Mazarin, should acquiesce in the disappointment. Both had separately great resources, and it was open to them to put these resources together.

Mazarin, who had hoped to settle with Spain as triumphantly as he had settled with Austria, and then to interfere in England, desired now to induce the States-General to cancel the Peace. William II, who had hoped to follow in the steps of Maurice or Frederick Henry, and to rival Condé and Turenne, also desired to cancel the Peace. And he too desired not less than Mazarin to interfere in England in favour of the family which had introduced him into the royal caste. There was every likelihood that by a combined effort William and Mazarin would be able to reverse the peaceful policy which had gained the upper hand for a moment in the States-General. Parties in the Netherlands were pretty equally divided. The trading party represented by the States of Holland and the Burghers of Amsterdam had for a moment gained

the control of foreign policy. But the House of Orange controlled the other six provinces and had the people on its side. What might not William hope to accomplish, aided by his youth, his energy, his hereditary aptitude and hereditary reputation, his royal rank, and lastly by the powerful assistance of Mazarin and the deep purse of the French government? The two statesmen together would certainly cancel the Peace, revive the alliance of 1635 and probably also at last accomplish that partition of the Catholic Low Countries which had been contemplated in 1635.

In this change of Dutch policy would be involved no doubt a change in the Dutch constitution. The awkward and intricate system of government which had hitherto prevailed would be simplified. The Dutch would at last find what long before they hoped to find in Queen Elizabeth and in the Duke of Anjou, a Monarch. The grandson of William the Silent would become the first King or Sovereign Duke of the Dutch provinces. He would endow the country with a most valuable French alliance, with the family alliance of the King of Scots and with the friendship of the Royalist party in England.

Not that William was a plotter, or that he allowed his mind to dwell on such ambitious schemes. To him it seemed that the plotting and the ambition were on the other side; he meditated only a measure of self-defence against the trading party who threatened to deprive him of his hereditary position, who were dangerous to the union of the provinces, and who in making the Treaty of 1648 had actually broken the Treaty of 1635. But the defensive measure would probably have involved such a revolution as we have described, and so Mazarin writes to Servien (April 5th, 1647): You may, if you think proper, let fall a

word to make him (i.e. the Prince) understand that a conjuncture may occur when, if he has secured the protection and good will of their Majesties, he may attain to a greatness quite beyond that of his predecessors.

We speak of the father of a great English king. This great English king and great master of European policy was born within a week of his father's death on November 6th, 1650, and at that time the revolution in concert with France was already beginning in the Netherlands. It is important for the history of William III and of England that we should conceive clearly the position of the House of Orange at the time of his birth. I therefore make room for a few sentences from one of the latest letters of William II, dated August 27th, 1650. It is written to an unknown friend.

"I have obliged the province of Friesland through the president of the week, who is dependent on me, to represent to the States-General that it is disgraceful to us to see France embarrassed as she is without offering her our aid, considering the debt we owe her. He will also propose that a frank letter should be written to the Archduke (i.e. the Governor of the Catholic Low Countries) to show him that this state cannot see or allow him to meddle further in the affairs of France, and offering mediation for a fair settlement. He will also propose that the Spaniards should be asked to perform what has been promised by the Treaty of Münster for the advantage of my House, in default of which the measures that may seem good shall be adopted. I am assured that they are not in a condition to satisfy this demand, and as they have tried to embarrass me you can fancy I shall not lose the opportunity of retaliating. I cannot say how desirous I am to entertain you, and as I hope the King and Queen (i.e. of France) will

pay the Princess Royal the honour of a visit after her confinement, I conjure you to exert yourself to the utmost with his Eminence that you may accompany them; which will give us more opportunity to talk of many things. I do not despair that we shall soon have war with the Spaniards, but it is necessary for us to take our measures."

So stands the House of Orange just before the birth of William III. It is in close alliance with France; it is bent on plunging the Netherlands into war with Spain; it is a House with royal pretensions, engaged in a mortal struggle with Republicanism.

War with Spain, not war with the English Commonwealth, for the restoration of his brother-in-law, is the object William has most at heart. Nevertheless he entertains the Prince of Wales at vast expense, he sends money in support of his cause to Scotland, and in his negotiations with Mazarin the restoration of the Stuarts is occasionally mentioned.

But did not a war with Spain accompanied by a domestic revolution constitute an undertaking sufficient to absorb his attention? Would he burden himself at the same time with a war with England? The answer is that intervention in England did not strike him as thus purely optional, a mere family duty which it was open to him to perform or neglect. The new government in England already regarded him as their enemy; they regarded Mazarin as their enemy; and they were roused to immediate hostile action by the mere menace of a concert between him and Mazarin. William found that his opponents in the State of Holland were receiving support from England; Mazarin found that Spain was likely to receive support from England. In short a great international combination was springing up. The newly-founded

Republic of England, the republican party in the Netherlands, and the republican Fronde in France, were rallying to the side of Spain; and opposed to this combination stood the monarchical and family alliance of the three Houses of Bourbon, Stuart, and Orange. It was therefore scarcely possible for William to separate the British question from the Spanish question, or to make the revolution he contemplated on the Continent without at the same time declaring against the English Commonwealth.

We need scarcely therefore enter into the vexed question of the draught treaty of October 20th, 1650. In this document the Prince and the King of France undertake to attack the Catholic Low Countries jointly on May 1st, 1651, also to break with England and to restore the Stuarts, and not to make a separate peace with Spain. Some writers have disputed the genuineness of the document. Among those who grant this there has been disagreement as to the significance of it, some¹ regarding it as implying an assumption by the Prince of full monarchical power and therefore a fixed intention of subverting the constitution of his country, others² treating it as a mere informal sketch of a policy to be pursued by legal means. But William II does not pass across our scene; whatever were his plans, they were frustrated within a month from the date of this paper by his sudden death. It is enough for us to remark that it corroborates (and Mr Geddes points out that the weight of authority is on the side of its genuineness) what the international situation itself renders probable, viz. that the restoration of the Stuarts was one of the articles of the secret compact between William and Mazarin.

¹ Sirtema de Grovestins.

² Groen van Prinsterer.

But the death of the Prince was a very great event, for a whole policy, which might have changed the face of Europe, died with him. His party was essentially monarchial, and was therefore paralysed until his unborn son should arrive at manhood. The republican party of Holland passed at once by his death from despair and from the prospect of dissolution to the control of affairs.

Already on July 30th, 1650, the Revolution had begun which was to crush this party. The Prince had arrested six of the delegates of the Province of Holland and imprisoned them in the fortress of Loevesteyn. In this act he seems to imitate Mazarin, who had lately arrested the great Condé, Longueville and Conti, leaders of the Fronde, and had been warmly applauded for so doing by the Prince himself. He had next proceeded to march troops upon Amsterdam. At the moment of his sudden death he was 'master of the republic'.¹

Almost immediately after his death the power passed over to the party which he had so easily crushed. For all the strength of the Orange party resided in its head, and it lost its head on November 6th. In the first days of January there met at the Hague a Great Convocation of delegates from the Seven Provinces. By this time indeed there was a new Prince of Orange, but he was a baby, concerning whom his mother and grandmother were debating whether he should be christened Charles William or William. And so the paralysis of the party continued, and their antagonists were able, at the Convocation, to destroy, so far as legislation could do it, the germ which had been on the very point of developing into Monarchy. Republicanism had won in the Netherlands even more truly than in England two years earlier.

¹ The phrase is Mr Geddes'.

A great event not only for the Netherlands, but also for France, and Spain, and for all Europe! A great event for England! For the second time the new English government was relieved from the danger of a foreign intervention. The war of Scotland and England was at this time proceeding. In the interval between the Prince's successful stroke and his sudden death was fought the battle of Dunbar. The decisive catastrophe of Worcester followed in the next year. Now had William II lived, the King of Scots might have been aided in the first months of 1651 by a grand alliance of France and the Netherlands in his favour, and the result might easily have been different. But the Monarchical Coalition was broken by his death and there was no prospect of repairing it. Mazarin had suffered another great disaster; republicanism would now assuredly prevail for a time in the Netherlands and therefore probably in England, and it was probable that the cause of the Fronde would receive a new impetus in France.

The tide of republicanism seemed to be steadily rising. Charles I had fallen, and now William II on the other side of the sea. England was a Commonwealth, and now for the first time the Netherlands too seemed to be really a Commonwealth. Might it not be expected that these two communities, so closely akin in blood and religion and so similar in trading and maritime propensities, would proceed in due course to unite in close alliance? And yet we are now to see them for the first time engaging in war. Now breaks out a rivalry which hitherto had been held in check. While the monarchy and the quasi-monarchy lasted they had remained at peace; no sooner does republicanism prevail in both communities than we see them in spite of a strong common interest become enemies.

What now occurred between England and the Netherlands had been witnessed already between England and Scotland. Those two countries had rebelled almost at the same time against Charles I; in both rebellion had been successful, and the religious tendency of both communities had been similar; yet now, almost immediately after the fall of Charles I, England and Scotland were at open war. This was the effect of the close contact between the two countries, and between England and the Netherlands there was contact almost equally close. In the Elizabethan age, at the time of the Armada, it may be said that the Netherlands were even closer to England than Scotland as yet was. If they had drifted away in the next generation, a new and most important link now held them together, the link of royal marriage. In commerce and colonisation the two nations had developed together and lived in perpetual contact and collision.

This peculiar intimacy of the two communities was indicated in a striking manner by the step which the English Government took in 1651 after the death of the Prince. We remember that after the death of William the Silent the Dutch laid their country unreservedly at the feet of Queen Elizabeth, desiring no better lot than to become her subjects. Now at the death of the second William, while the Great Convocation was sitting, two ambassadors from England, Oliver St John and Walter Strickland, appeared with a similar proposal, tending not merely to an ordinary alliance, but to 'a more strict and intimate alliance and union, whereby there may be a more intrinsical and mutual interest of each in other than hath hitherto been for the good of both.'

Thus on the eve of war England and the Netherlands

discussed a plan of exceptionally close union. This may show us that we have to do with a quarrel of relatives!

The military revolution of 1648, a movement far more radical and profound (though it proved ephemeral) than that which had begun in 1640, could not but disturb the relations of England and the Netherlands on the one side as it disturbed those of England and Scotland on the other. Over all the seas the English and Dutch were in contact; now it was a marked feature of this revolution that it was felt beyond the sea and on the sea, wherever Englishmen had settled or English ships went. In the first Civil War Parliament had kept control of the fleet, but in the second Civil War the fleet had been divided, and it had threatened on the whole to incline the other way. From this time we see a maritime royalism, at the head of which Rupert appears, contending henceforth with Blake on the sea, as before with Cromwell on land.

An English civil war on the sea! This was an occurrence the more pregnant because for half a century the sea had been growing more and more important to England. The numerous English convulsions of the Tudor time had been at least confined to the island. For the first time in 1648 it began to appear that there was an England on the Atlantic and far away beyond the Atlantic. The maritime war of Royalist and Republican touched one of the most sensitive nerves of the new England, its foreign trade.

Already there existed, though still on a small scale, a Colonial Empire of England. Our colonies were indeed small compared with the vast territories which had so long, nominally at least, belonged to the Spanish Monarchy. They were not, as they are now, scattered over the globe. But a modest overflow of English people had

taken place across the North Atlantic. To our one Tudor colony of Newfoundland had been added, as we have said above, a continental England on the eastern coast of North America and a few West Indian islands. This developement, not striking in mere magnitude, had however not only contributed much to the Puritan Revolution, but had also materially altered the character of our state. The change which Raleigh had foreseen had taken place. England's 'interest in foreign trade' had grown considerable, she had become a commercial state. She became, as it were, conscious of this when the Civil War became maritime, as it did in 1648, when the communication between England and English settlements was interrupted by royalist privateers.

In this maritime Civil War the Dutch could not but be entangled. Their ships, far more than our own, crowded the narrow seas and the North Atlantic. The larger part of our foreign trade made use of Dutch bottoms. Nor indeed could the Dutch be regarded as wholly neutral in the civil war of England. The English struggle of King and Parliament was blended with the Dutch struggle of the House of Orange and the States of Holland, and royalists all over the English world looked scarcely more to the Prince of Wales, who now speedily became King of Scots, than to Prince William II of Orange, and afterwards to the babe in the arms of the Princess Royal. Until the death of William II in 1650 the Netherlands drifted under the same influences as Scotland towards war with England. They were opposed to the republican movement, they clung to the dynasty, they were appalled by the execution of Charles I. But when republicanism prevailed in the Netherlands also after the death of the Prince, a more peaceful prospect seemed to open. Hence the mission

of St John and Strickland in 1651, the object of which was to unite the two states upon the basis of republicanism.

It is surprising at first sight that this proposal should have so completely failed, and that the two republics, threatened by the same enemies, viz. the Stuart interest, the Catholic interest, and France, instead of uniting in self-defence should now for the first time make war upon each other.

But there was a fundamental difference between the anti-monarchical government in England and the anti-monarchical government of the Netherlands. The former was concentrated, resolute and all-powerful. There might be in Britain a vast amount of royalist feeling, but it had no voice and no influence upon the policy of the government. It had been purged out of the Parliament and defeated in the field. The ruling party was not a precarious majority, which cannot afford to lose votes and is therefore driven to a temporising course, but a minority depending upon force, whose one principle of action is audacity and whose one hope of safety is in success. It is easy for such a government to have a resolute and consistent policy, and by the help of a devoted army it may succeed. For this is the nature of Imperialism.

On the other hand the republicanism of the Netherlands in 1651 was in the highest degree precarious. It was founded simply on the superiority in wealth of the Province of Holland over the other six provinces. In the absence of a Prince of Orange who might embody and impersonate the wishes of the nation, the Dutch nation for a time lost its unity, and a national policy became impossible. The Dutch were no longer one thing, but seven things, and of these seven things the largest and

most powerful was the Province of Holland. Holland therefore began forthwith to take the lead, and in 1653 John de Witt, son of one of the prisoners of Loevesteyn, became Pensionary of Holland, and in that capacity guided Dutch policy for the rest of his life. But the power he represented was a mere *preponderance*, which would only last so long as the six provinces refrained from combining against Holland, and to maintain which therefore required infinite tact, and the most watchful caution. He could not afford to forget that he ruled a country which was devoted to the House of Orange, and therefore strongly inclined to the House of Stuart. In the Netherlands in short public opinion counted for much, whereas in England the government was not in any way accountable to public opinion.

The negotiations of 1651 on the proposal of union brought this difference strongly to light. From March to June St John and Strickland resided at the Hague and, though their main object was to secure both governments by union against Stuart machinations, they were made to feel during those three months that they were living amidst a population almost hostile to them. 'Every day the Princess Royal and her brother, the Duke of York, who had returned to the Hague, rode slowly past the ambassadors' residence with ostentatious pomp and an imposing suite, staring at the house, from top to bottom, in a manner to encourage the rabble, which her procession gathered up in its way, to commit an insult. A warning also reached the ambassadors from Rotterdam that the royalists there were conspiring to murder them; not improbable, looking to the fate of Doreslaar (Dorislaus) at the Hague and of Ascham at Madrid. They drew the attention of the States of Holland to the insulting nature of the Princess's

processions. The sterner Republicans in the Holland States wanted to instruct the Princess and her brother to leave the Hague during the visit of the ambassadors; but the proposal was modified into a request to the Princess Royal and the Queen of Bohemia to keep their dependents in order¹.

It is also apparent from the grounds alleged by the Dutch for rejecting the scheme of union, that even under republican guidance they retained their royalist predilections. A principal object of the scheme was to deprive the Stuarts of the shelter and basis of operations which the Dutch territory afforded to their supporters. Rebels against the English Government accordingly were to be banished from Dutch territory. This proposal was expressly rejected by the Dutch. 'We cannot,' they said, 'banish from our soil all persons who are banished out of England. Our country is a refuge for the exiles of all nations².'

Thus the English demand for union, in itself a somewhat exorbitant demand, did not commend itself to Dutch public opinion, and fell through. But what followed is startling. The pendulum swung suddenly round from importunate friendship to violent hostility. In this same year 1651 Parliament passed the Navigation Act, and in 1652 Blake and Tromp were exchanging broadsides in the Channel.

The Navigation Act, which remained substantially in force for nearly two hundred years, is the great legislative monument of the Commonwealth. It was the first manifestation of the newly-awakened consciousness of the community, the act which laid the foundation of the English commercial empire. For this measure the great

¹ Geddes, p. 173.

² Quoted by Geddes (*Administration of John de Witt*, i. p. 178) from a MS. Narrative of the Ambassadors preserved at the Record Office.

adventurers of two generations had paved the way. It consummated the work which had been commenced by Drake, discussed and expounded by Raleigh, continued by Roe, Smith, Winthrop and Calvert. It completed the apparatus of our foreign trade by creating an English commercial navy. Hitherto we had had indeed merchants in England, colonies in America and on the Atlantic, and factories in India. But the link between them, what was then called the navigation, had been mainly supplied by the Dutch. By excluding the Dutch from the carrying trade of English commodities we now took into our own hands the whole work of commerce, to which our nation was henceforth mainly to devote itself. But by the same act we struck a deadly blow at the very state to which, but a few months before, we had offered almost an incorporating union. If that state in her long struggle with Spain had displayed such prodigious vitality and energy, this was because the Spaniard had never known how to strike her in the vital part. Her near neighbour, the other Protestant state, the other trading state, found out this vital part at once. The Netherlands lived by the carrying trade of the world, and of this the carrying trade of England formed a considerable, and was soon to form a still greater, part. And thus though Dutch greatness was yet to last another half century, its decline commences here. The Navigation Act of 1651 is the first nail in its coffin.

But might not England have rested content with the Navigation Act? It secured her own commercial interests, and, if she was offended at the rejection of her advances, it was assuredly more than a sufficient revenge. Was the war which followed necessary? Was it unavoidable that our Protestant Republic should begin its career by making

war upon the other Protestant Republic and thus exposing both Protestantism and Republicanism to the most imminent risk?

This question reminds us that the same English Government was already at war with Scotland and with that very party in Scotland which had taken the leading share in crushing Prelacy and reducing the power of Monarchy. The truth is, it was a Sovereign Army; war was its natural, its all-sufficient policy. It had every encouragement to abide by this policy. Very shortly after the return of St John and Strickland from their unsuccessful mission the dispute with Scotland was triumphantly settled at Worcester. Cromwell, who in spite of his victory at Dunbar, found himself beset with difficulties in Scotland, succeeded in luring his enemy into England, where he was able to overwhelm him once for all by an immensely superior force. The King of Scots became a fugitive, and the kingdom of Scotland, having lost its army, fell a helpless prey to the English invader. England's new Government had evidently the favour of the Lord of Hosts. Why should it seek any other aid? The fate of Scotland would assuredly be the fate of the Netherlands also. The union which they had declined would speedily be forced upon them by the sword.

It is indeed not easy, as Buckingham had found, to create at short notice a navy capable of winning victories. But we are to observe that between 1648 and 1652 the Commonwealth had formed and trained a navy not less successfully than in the first Civil War the Parliament had formed an army. The maritime war with the Netherlands grew up naturally and gradually out of the maritime war with Royalism. Robert Blake, who in the first war is a soldier appears after 1648 as a sailor and a sea-king, the

rival of Francis Drake. How closely united in those days the two services were is seen not only by the example of Blake but also by that of Monk, and, on the other side, of Rupert. Since that covert, half-piratical war with Spain which had been the first school of the English navy no impulse towards the developement of naval strength had been so potent as that which was now given by the Maritime Civil War. The royalists held Jersey, the Scilly Isles, the Isle of Man, and some Irish ports, and from these ports they preyed upon English trade. But they had to learn that if there was one thing which the new Government of England understood it was war. No financial difficulties, no constitutional scruples, hampered them. The navy was speedily reorganised; Blake expelled Rupert from the narrow seas, pursued him first to the Tagus, then into the Mediterranean, asserting the authority of England in a tone which had not been heard since the days of Essex and Raleigh, and not only against the struggling Government of Portugal but against Spain itself. On his return he forced John Grenville to surrender in Scilly and Carteret in Jersey.

Taking land and sea together, the transformed England could rival any European state in the organisation of military force. It was a military age. The lessons of Maurice, Gustavus and Wallenstein had been taken to heart by the European Governments. Standing armies were the order of the day. Condé and Turenne were approaching their zenith. Charles the Tenth was about to begin his career. But at this moment the most thoroughly military state in Europe was England, the country of Cromwell and Blake, where the army had actually taken possession of the government. Its triumphs were already what might be expected from its organisation. It had conquered

Scotland, which since January 1649 was a foreign state; it had subdued Ireland; it had driven its enemies before it over the seas. We need not therefore be surprised to find it prepared in 1652 to deal with the Netherlands as it had already dealt with Scotland. It was fully prepared to challenge the great Sea Power and to pit Blake against Tromp. It had also, like Napoleon, its commercial system. The cannon of Blake would be aided by the Navigation Act, and the Protestant Republic naturally destined, like Scotland, to union with England would be taught by such pressure to submit to its destiny.

In 1652 the English Commonwealth was already beginning to feel itself secure from the hostility of the leading states of Europe. It had indeed not yet adopted a definitive policy towards France and Spain, but still contented itself with asserting its rights intrepidly, nay imperiously, against all Powers alike. It still enjoyed that good fortune, which is a fundamental fact in its history, that France and Spain, being engaged in a struggle which just then was more than usually equal, could not afford to break with it, but on the contrary were forced to compete for its favour. It was hated by both alike—we have seen Mazarin plotting with the Prince of Orange against it, and the Spanish Minister, Don Louis de Haro, after the murder of its Ambassador, Ascham, said to Hyde, 'I envy those gentlemen for having done so noble an action,'—yet it was openly acknowledged, after a certain delay, by both alike. Spain naturally took the plunge first, for, at the moment of the foundation of the Commonwealth, Spain saw the House of Stuart and the House of Orange closely united with her enemy France. That monarchical alliance, which was only frustrated by the death of the Prince of Orange, was pointed both at Spain and the English Commonwealth,

which therefore were naturally tempted to combine, and indeed Spain still remembered against the House of Stuart the conduct of Charles I in the matter of Oquendo's fleet. It was a great event when the Spanish Ambassador Don Alonzo de Cardenas was received by Parliament in solemn audience, delivering his letters of credence to the Speaker and acknowledging the House as the supreme power of the nation in the name of the greatest prince in Christendom.

After a time the recognition by Spain led to that of France. Those were years of great perplexity for Mazarin, who was indeed sadly declined from the glorious position he had occupied in 1646. He had now the Fronde upon his hands, backed by the arms of Spain. He could not afford to contend at the same time with England, and yet, while Henrietta Maria resided in France and received a pension from the French Government, while the young Charles II was believed to receive advice from Mazarin, non-intercourse between the French and English Governments was certain in no long time to ripen into war. Mazarin at last saw the necessity of abandoning the attitude of hostility to the English Revolution which he had taken up so early. His change of policy was to lead in time to memorable results. In this place we only note that after a considerable interval passed in tentatives and secret negotiations the public acknowledgment of the Commonwealth by the Government of Louis XIV took place on December 21st, 1652, when M. de Bordeaux had his audience of the Parliament, and said that 'the union which should exist between neighbouring states is not regulated by the form of their Government.'

Such triumphant success had English Republicanism

in its first form, before the power of England was gathered up in the hand of Cromwell. Even before the Dutch war began, the new State had taken up a secure position in the world, recognised by Spain and soon to be recognised by France. It must indeed have already seemed to politicians the most powerful, and perhaps also the most ambitious, state in Christendom. This successful administration of foreign affairs ought scarcely to be attributed to Cromwell. The maritime war in which such vigour and such imperious decision were displayed was neither conducted nor inspired by Cromwell. It was Henry Vane who reorganised the navy, and it was chiefly Robert Blake who wielded it with so much effect. In this chapter of our history these two names shine side by side, much as Pitt and Wolfe a century later.

Apart from Cromwell, the Commonwealth was warlike and ambitious. Such was the phase of affairs when it plunged into war with the Netherlands. Nor is any personal influence of Cromwell to be traced in the Navigation Act, though that marks the commencement of a new commercial and imperial policy for England. Altogether the policy that resulted in the Dutch war and the Dutch war itself, though they correspond in date to the culmination of Cromwell's influence, are nevertheless not in any way due to that influence. Though, when he took the government into his hands, he inherited the Dutch war, he was not responsible for it, and he put an end to it as speedily as possible.

That war was the natural result of the perturbation which had been caused in foreign trade and everything connected with it by what we have called the Maritime Civil War. There had long been a trade rivalry between the English and Dutch. In 1624, 1646, and 1650 there

had been agitation and even legislation against the Dutch carrying trade. Now too, that is in March 1651, the Dutch concluded a treaty with Denmark concerning the customs of the Sound, which threatened, in the words of the Council of State, a 'destroying mischief¹' to the Baltic trade of England. In short there was an acute crisis in the commercial relations of England and the Netherlands. Had the English mood been calm, had an Elizabeth, a Walpole or a Peel presided over our policy, peace might perhaps have been preserved. But we were in a martial temper, and we were in a higher state of military preparation than at any previous time. Moreover it is to be observed that the Maritime Civil War developed, as it were, insensibly and almost naturally into war with the Netherlands. Royalism in some of the colonies, e.g. in Barbados, formed a sort of alliance with the Dutch carrying trade. Political feeling was blended with the commercial rivalry of the two states. In the list of English grievances we see along with the old story of the Massacre of Amboyna the insults heaped by the Dutch populace on St John and Strickland and the impunity of the murder of Dorislaus. Almost more marked was the strong political feeling of the Dutch themselves. The Orange party was in a great majority, and it was a Stuart party. It had not indeed immediate control of the Government, which was peacefully disposed. De Witt foreboded ruin to both states from the war of which he watched the approach. But the Government could not resist public opinion, and that clamoured for war, not merely out of a feeling of commercial rivalry, but in the joint interest of the Houses of Orange and Stuart, because war would bring, they hoped, first the restoration of the Stadtholderate at home, and next the restoration of the Stuarts in England.

¹ Geddes, *op. cit.* p. 177.

Thus the first Dutch War is transitional. It is half a civil war, and is to be classed, under one aspect, with the war with Scotland which was decided at Worcester. It grows out of the Maritime Civil War as the war with Scotland had grown out of the Land Civil War. But in another aspect it is the war by which England for the first time assumed her modern position as the great trading and Maritime Power of the world. By it for the first time she shook herself free from her commercial dependence upon the Netherlands and showed herself capable not only of standing alone but of surpassing the Netherlands.

The war may be said to have commenced in June, 1652, that is, about midway between the Battle of Worcester and the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It was closed at the end of April in the year 1654, when not only the Parliament had fallen but a new constitution had been devised for England and the Protectorate was in full vigour. According to the plan of this Essay we abstain from narrating military operations and content ourselves with noting in general the character of the war.

The Navigation Act was in force and English ships were hampering Dutch commerce by exercising the right of search. The Dutch fleet, which had been greatly reduced at the Peace of Münster, was accordingly ordered to be augmented by 150 ships. A considerable augmentation actually took place and in May 1652 Tromp put to sea. It is to be noted that this famous Admiral was a devoted adherent of the House of Orange. There was as yet no war, but he met Blake off Dover. He was instructed to protect Dutch merchantmen from search and capture. On the other hand Blake was instructed to assert

the old English claim to dominion in the narrow seas by compelling foreign ships to lower their flag. A kind of battle or half-battle, a collision almost inevitable in the circumstances, took place between the two fleets. And thus the dispute, which a special embassy had been despatched some months before to settle by negotiation in London, fell to be settled on the sea by war. The excitement produced by the battle could not be allayed in the irritable mood of both nations.

It was only too easy for the English Government to strike a heavy blow at their enemy. There was a Dutch fishing fleet off the coast of Scotland, carrying perhaps 8000 persons. Blake fell upon it in July, dispersed it, sank three of the ships of war that protected it, and captured the remaining eight or nine. A Dutch fleet of East Indiamen was returning richly laden. It was expected to take the route round the North of Scotland. Blake sailed to meet it towards the Orkneys. Tromp pursued him with a fleet of ninety-six ships. On August 5th they sighted each other, but a hurricane came on, which deprived Tromp of more than half of his fleet, while Blake's fleet escaped injury. In the same month De Ruyter defeated Ayscue off Plymouth. Tromp, disgraced for the moment in consequence of his misfortune, gave way to Vice-Admiral Witte Cornelis De With¹. On October 8th De With and De Ruyter met Blake and Ayscue in the Channel, and a battle was fought not very decisive, but in which the Dutch found themselves paralysed by the discord of the Republican and Orange factions in the fleet. Tromp was now restored and defeated the English completely on December 10th. From

¹ Not to be confounded with Cornelis De Witt, the well-known brother of the statesman. See Geddes, p. 249.

this time till the end of February he remained master of the Channel, when he is said to have mounted a broom at his mast-head and even meditated entering the Thames. England's fortune was at the lowest ebb.

The tide turned in 1653. In a great battle of three days, which raged between Portland and Beachy Head, Blake, Deane, and Monk defeated Tromp, De Ruyter and Evertsen. This took place at the beginning of March. In June another engagement took place off the Dutch coast, when Tromp had to retreat before Monk and Deane, who were joined during the battle by Blake. In this battle Deane was killed. Finally in the early days of August Monk and Tromp met for the last time off the Texel. Tromp was killed and the Dutch fleet suffered terribly. But the English now retired from the Dutch coast, as after the battle of March the Dutch had retired from the English.

These are the principal occurrences of the war, from which it might appear that the two states were pretty equally matched in naval power. Nevertheless it came to light that the English had certain substantial advantages. One was that the Dutch ships were inferior in size to the English, bore lighter guns and carried fewer men. In the course of the summer the great Dutch admirals represented this to their Government in the strongest terms. Commander De Ruyter declared openly to the Committee that 'he would not again go to sea unless the fleet was strengthened with better ships.' But the principal weakness of the Dutch was in their military administration, which had lost all its unity and efficiency with the fall of the House of Orange. Indeed not merely the administration, but the state itself, had lost its unity. Each of the seven states had a will of its own. Zealand ✓

envied Holland, and Holland vexed Zealand. In the most critical moments of battle these jealousies broke out. The leading Dutch statesman, John De Witt, whose public life precisely covers the period of the Dutch wars of England, not only recognized, but approved and promoted, this fatal disintegration of the state. In a letter of May 10th, 1652 (quoted by Mr Geddes), he writes: 'The English call the United Netherlands by the name of a republic; but these provinces are not one republic; each province apart is a sovereign republic, and these United Provinces should not be called a republic in the singular, but federated or united republics, in the plural number.'

Another circumstance made this war most ominous for the Dutch. It might have been expected that a state which had emerged wealthy and mighty from a desperate war of eighty years would at least bear lightly the effort of this short struggle with England. In the war of Spain and the Netherlands the mighty Spain had been ruined, while its rebel had risen to wealth and fortune. But a contrary result was witnessed now. The Netherlands now seemed quite unable to support the burden of war, while England seemed to suffer little. Famine and despair afflicted the Dutch population, and their politicians acknowledged that no remedy but peace could save the life of the state. The explanation was that Spain had made a land-war, whereas England made a naval war, upon the Netherlands; at the same time Spain, through her vast colonies, had been most vulnerable by sea at a time when the Netherlands, having as yet no colonies, were not so vulnerable. In the war of England and the Netherlands these conditions were altered. Most of the wealth of the Dutch was now floating on the waves or stored up in colonies beyond the sea. It lay therefore

exposed to the attack of England. England meanwhile was by no means equally exposed, being still in the main an agricultural country and in no way dependent upon foreign trade. In the most summary account that can be given of the war this difference in the position of the two Powers comes to light. We see the Dutch throughout on the defensive against damaging blows which they cannot retaliate. Blake swoops down upon their fishing-fleet; he lies in wait for the East Indian commercial fleet. In the battle of March the Dutch fleet is formed in four squadrons in order to protect 150 merchantmen. And upon this vast foreign trade depends almost the whole prosperity of the United Provinces and the very livelihood of the Dutch population.

Economically therefore they were at a terrible disadvantage, for the very reason that they were commercially more developed than England. England was not as yet hampered by its own wealth or entangled in the intricate machinery of its trade. We were in fact better prepared for war than we have almost ever been before or since. For we were just then a military state with a military government. We had had four years of the Maritime Civil War, in which our navy had gained organization and discipline, and behind the navy there was, what had been wanting under Elizabeth and has been wanting for the most part since, a formidable and disciplined standing army. The two services were closely blended together. It is in this war particularly that we are surprised by the appearance of distinguished soldiers in command of fleets, because it is only at this time that the army and the navy are equally active and prominent. Blake himself did not tread the deck of a ship of war till he had passed his fiftieth year. Monk,

one of Oliver's most trusted officers, commanded in the action which was fatal to Tromp. It seems to be due but to accident that Oliver himself never directed a sea-fight. On the Dutch side the Tromps and De Ruyters are seamen by profession, and when Jacob van Wassenaer, Baron of Obdam, was appointed by the State of Holland to succeed Tromp, though he was at the time colonel of a cavalry regiment, Mr Geddes conjectures that the example of England was followed.

But states have another resource in war beside military organisation and wealth. They may seek aid from alliances. We naturally ask, Did not Mazarin see his opportunity when the war of England and the Netherlands broke out in 1652? Nay, we found Mazarin, who had been alarmed as early as 1646 at the very thought of a republic in England and who still in 1650 had meditated in conjunction with Prince William the restoration of the Stuarts, formally acknowledging the English Commonwealth at the close of 1652, when it must have appeared more dangerous than ever, and when it had already been for some months at war with the Dutch.

But in 1652 the troubles of the Fronde developed themselves into actual civil war. In the autumn of that year Condé, retiring from Paris, entered into treaty with the King of Spain and raised the provinces against the government of Mazarin. Once more the English Commonwealth was relieved from the danger of foreign intervention by the internal embarrassments of the great Powers.

Thus France is temporarily paralysed. Spain too is preoccupied with her French war, not to mention that her day of greatness is over. It is a new feature that at a great maritime crisis these two Powers, hitherto the only

Powers, beside the Netherlands, with which England has had to reckon, should be without influence. The old international system of Europe, such as we have known it from the time of Charles V, seems, for the moment at least, to have disappeared.

Accordingly that secondary system, the system of the North, which hitherto has remained in the background, now becomes prominent. At this point, when we see the modern trade policy of England founded by the passing of the Navigation Act, we also witness the commencement of a Baltic policy. It is caused, like the Navigation Act itself, by the disturbance of trade which arose out of the Maritime Civil War.

Of the vast foreign trade of the Dutch, which was endangered by their war with England, a principal branch was their Baltic trade. During the war it was likely to pass into neutral hands. On the other hand it was possible for them to convert their influence in the Baltic into a most effective weapon against England. Here first we have occasion to make a remark which in a view of the growth of British Policy is fundamental. England is at this moment awakening to the consciousness of her commercial and maritime vocation. What the Dutch have done already in colonisation and foreign trade she begins to understand that she can do also. But for this purpose she must manufacture, maintain in efficiency, and continually renew, an instrument which is highly expensive and requires an unfailing supply of certain materials, namely, a fleet. Now these materials, timber, tar, hemp, &c., were only to be procured in those days from the Baltic countries. Any occurrence therefore which endangered the communications of England with these countries struck at the root of her commercial

and maritime greatness. These countries were numerous and of vast extent, but they were so situated that traffic with them must pass through a narrow strait, and therefore could be interrupted by any Power which could control that strait. It follows that in those days, and after those days for more than a century, it was matter of life and death for England that no Power, whether Denmark or Sweden or Russia, should acquire the power of shutting the Baltic. On this principle our Baltic policy almost exclusively rested. It follows also that the Dutch, when in the winter of 1652 they found themselves for a moment through the victory of Tromp masters of the sea, would desire to crush once for all their maritime rival by closing the Baltic against him. This they hoped to do by an alliance with Denmark, which, it is to be observed, was naturally opposed to England on account of the connexion of its royal house with the Stuarts. They had entered upon this policy before the war began by what was called their Redemption Treaty with Denmark, and the English Government had already taken alarm, as we may see from the following passage of the instruction of the Council of State to St John and Strickland¹:—

‘Whereas the trade of this nation, through the Sound into the Baltique Sea is of very great concernment, both in respect of the usefulness of the commodities brought from thence, so necessary among other things for building and rigging of ships, which it is not convenient we should only receive or not at the pleasure of other nations; but more especially in regard of the great number of ships we have employed in the transportation of those bulky goods,

¹ Printed by Mr Geddes from the MS. Order Book of the Council of State, May 9th, 1651 (p. 176).

whereby mariners are bred, and they and our shipping maintained; and being also but short voyages, are often at home, to be made use of in case of any public occasions of the state requiring their service; and whereas this trade, being very much weakened otherwise, is in danger to be wholly lost by the agreement that hath been lately made between the King of Denmark and the States General of the United Provinces,' &c. &c.

When the war had fairly begun, the desire to exclude the English from the Baltic became blended in the minds of the Dutch with anxiety for their own Baltic trade. In August 1652 they sent to Copenhagen an envoy named Keyser with a small squadron of ships of war, with the commission to suppress, as far as might be safe, all neutral trade through the Sound, and at the same time to prey upon English trade. A proclamation was issued forbidding the transport direct or indirect to England of 'any munitions of war or any materials serving for the outfit of ships.' It will be understood from what has just been said that this was a mortal blow at the English navy.

Within the Baltic there raged rivalries similar, on a smaller scale, to those of the Bourbon and the Habsburg, of Spain and the Netherlands. Denmark and Sweden had been enemies for a century since the rise of Gustav Wasa; Sweden and Poland had maintained a dispute of succession for more than half a century. In these struggles Denmark might hope to receive valuable aid from her great neighbour, the Netherlands, and was disposed to purchase it by compliance. Accordingly in the winter of 1652—53 a treaty was concluded between the Netherlands and Denmark, by which the Sound was closed against English ships, Denmark engaging to maintain this prohibition by a fleet, the Nether-

lands engaging to bear part of the expense of such fleet and to defend Denmark against any hostilities she might incur in consequence of the treaty.

Thus the Dutch acquire an important alliance. England on the other hand stands alone. She has however the advantage of having settled all her domestic disputes. It is indeed not against England that the Dutch contend, but against Great Britain, which for the first time appears as a thoroughly united power. It is moreover Great Britain the Military State, possessing a powerful navy and behind that a powerful and disciplined army.

Such then is the First Dutch War, which is in some respects the type to which all the later wars of England have conformed, while it differs strikingly from earlier wars. In other respects however it is peculiar to the age of the Military State, and in some respects again it resembles the Second Dutch War which followed the Restoration. One striking characteristic of these two wars is that from both the great Continental Powers, the Habsburg and the Bourbon alike, hold aloof.

But in April, 1653, while the war was at its height, a new revolution occurred in England. The republican form was dropped, and the imperialism, which had been established substantially by Pride's Purge, now assumed the monarchical form most natural to it. The Lord General Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, and after another assembly, not properly a Parliament but commonly called the Little Parliament or Barebones' Parliament, had sat for a short time and dissolved itself, a new form of Monarchy was established by the independent action of some military officers. The Protectorate begins.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEACE OF CROMWELL.

It is one of the correspondences between the career of Cromwell and that of Napoleon that Cromwell's Brumaire (the dissolution of the Long Parliament) occurred during a war, and that Cromwell, like Napoleon, on rising to the head of affairs, made it his business to restore peace. In fact, as Cromwell resembles Napoleon, so does the Government he superseded resemble the Directory. We may go further and say that both those Governments alike resemble the Government which was superseded by Caesar, the so-called First Triumvirate.

All these Governments alike are examples of Imperialism, but of *unmonarchical* Imperialism. All alike display a prodigious military energy. The First Triumvirate conquered Gaul and settled the East. The Directory conquered Italy and practically annexed Switzerland. In like manner the Purged Parliament conquered Scotland and Ireland and suppressed royalism over all the seas. At the same time all alike display a certain wildness, or want of coherence, in their foreign policy. The generals make war and peace almost at their own pleasure, Caesar in Gaul, Bonaparte in Italy; and the self-will of individual generals brings disaster on the state,—Crassus loses an

army at Carrhae—the French are driven out of Italy by Suworoff. The remedy is in all cases the same. A supreme general is created, whose function it is to direct and control the military energy of the state. Imperialism gives birth to an Emperor, and the world sees a Caesar, a Napoleon, or a Cromwell.

Cromwell had been absent in Ireland and Scotland, as Caesar in Gaul, or Bonaparte in Egypt. In his absence English policy had certainly shown itself somewhat wild and spasmodic. The Government had offered to the States General an exceptionally close union, and not being able to obtain so much as this had swayed violently round in a contrary direction. England was now at war with the United Provinces. In this war she displayed energy and obtained success, for she was in a martial mood and had a military government. But could a lover of his country see with satisfaction the course she was taking? Under the Stuart kings she had enjoyed peace almost without intermission. But now in the tenth year since the Parliament had levied war against the Stuart king, now after ten years of ruinous civil conflict the new Government no sooner finds itself securely established than it undertakes a new war against a great continental Power.

Again, complaint had arisen against the Stuart king that he had not been sufficiently zealous in the cause of Protestantism. And yet in the main, though feebly, he had supported the Protestant interest. He had negotiated persistently in behalf of the Elector Palatine. The only wars he had waged had been against Catholic Powers, Spain and France, and he had broken with France in the cause of the Huguenots. But no sooner had the new Government been established than it undertook a ruinous war, and aimed the most destructive blows, against

a Protestant Power, the very Power which had borne the brunt of the Catholic attack for well nigh a century. The more we recognize, as recent historians, notably Mr S. R. Gardiner, teach us to do, that religion, rather than politics, gave the impulse to the Great Rebellion, the more startling does this result appear. A Catholic Queen and a Prelatic King were intolerable to us in that phase of our religious history; nor was this surprising when we consider how much the cause of the Reformation had sunk. All the more surprising is it that when the stumblingblock was removed, the Catholic Queen expelled, the Prelatic dynasty dethroned, England, now for the first time unreservedly Protestant, should introduce a suicidal discord into the camp of the Reformation.

It is true that the confusion in foreign policy does not seem to have been a principal ground of the revolution of April 1653. Foreign policy indeed was a department to which Cromwell had hitherto been comparatively a stranger. Unlike in this respect to Bonaparte, who was strange to the ideas and internal movement of the French Revolution but made himself early master of its foreign relations, Cromwell was passionately moved by the revolutionary impulse, was a politician before he was a soldier, and again a soldier before he was a general. He had risen by slow degrees to the position of a kind of national statesman, representing England as against Scotland and Ireland. But before 1653 it would perhaps be difficult to show that he had given his attention to European policy, though in his famous conversation with Whitelocke, in which he broached so frankly the question, What if a man should take upon him to be King? we find Whitelocke saying, 'As to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation

of good or bad success in it is from your Excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign Ministers are made to you only.' But even this conversation took place in the autumn of 1652.

But after April, 1653, the State, whatever we may think of its internal government, has internationally the character of a Great Power, that is, it has a Government which, resting on a disciplined irresistible army, is strong and secure, and its decisions are made for it by a resolute, fearless and sagacious man. It will not indeed be more energetic than it has lately been; this is impossible; but it will know its own mind better, it will no longer oscillate from one extreme to the other.

For five years, between April 1653 and September 1658, England, or rather Great Britain and Ireland, is a European State similar to Sweden in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. It has a great and victorious fleet, it has a great and victorious army, and its policy is decided by one of whom Queen Christina said that he had done greater things than any man living, though the Prince de Condé might be ranked next. When we compare this period as a whole with that which had immediately preceded it we see that Cromwell's great international work consisted in this, that he put England decidedly on the Protestant side in Europe. In one word, he brought the war with the Protestant Netherlands to an end, he concluded an alliance with the Protestant Sweden, and, having done this, he did not rest content with a condition of peace, but entered into war with the Spanish Monarchy and, in order to carry on this war, formed an alliance with that Power which, though Catholic, had all along favoured internationally the Protestant interest, namely, France.

We are therefore to treat of the policy of the Protectorate under two heads, first, as it composes the differences bequeathed from the former Government and restores peace, secondly, as it enters upon a new war. Cromwell and De Witt rise to the head of affairs at almost precisely the same moment, Cromwell in April, De Witt in July of 1653. For on July 30th De Witt was sworn in as Grand Pensionary of Holland, and thus assumed the office which, in the abeyance of the Stadtholderate, carried with it practically the government of the United Provinces. In both countries the new system founded on the fall of royal Houses adopted at the same moment the monarchical principle in another form, England by creating a Protector, the Provinces by creating a vigorous Pensionary thirty years old.

Negotiations for peace began in the interval between the dissolution of the Long Parliament in April and the meeting of the Little Parliament in July. Cromwell had the advantage that the Dutch felt the necessity of peace much more than the English. Their Tromp might be equal, or even superior, to our Blake, but the fabric of their prosperity was not solid enough to bear the pressure of war with such a Power as England.

As before the war began, so now it was felt that in the intercourse of the two states there was scarcely an alternative between hostile rivalry and close union. Either the Navigation Act and destruction of Dutch commerce, or such a union that Dutch commerce should become a part of English commerce, in which case perhaps the Navigation Act might be repealed.

We have remarked several times how readily the idea of union between England and Holland suggested itself. Cromwell was even more likely than Elizabeth or than

the Long Parliament to be attracted by it. His mind was possessed by religious conceptions; he more than any man had founded a new union between England and Scotland; probably more than any man he had been revolted by the suicidal quarrel of two Protestant Powers at the very moment when England had become more Protestant than ever. He was accustomed to work on a large scale and by means of great forces. Now that for the first time he felt himself a European statesman he would naturally desire to apply to international politics the method which had become habitual to him. He who had overcome the English Cavaliers by creating a Puritan chivalry, who had overcome the Scotch Covenant by a freer and grander English Covenant, was now to enter the arena where Habsburgs and Bourbons and Wasas had so long contended together. We need not say that his policy was not likely to be that of the Stuarts. But neither would it be that of Elizabeth, nor would it be that of a statesman of the eighteenth or of the nineteenth century. Cromwell would regard himself as bound to be a champion of what he called the Gospel; the model he would set before himself would be Gustavus Adolphus.

Elizabeth, as far as she is able, adopts the principle of non-intervention, and this principle has revived in the nineteenth century, especially since the severance of England and Hanover. But neither the Long Parliament nor Cromwell inclines at all to this policy. They are not only warlike, but they go out of their way to form connexions with the European Continent. In this respect the Protectorate and the Long Parliament resemble each other. For if Cromwell makes peace with the Netherlands, abandoning the idea of union, he only does so after

a struggle, and because he finds it impossible to realize that idea. And yet had it been realized, had the United Netherlands become to England as another Scotland, it is evident that our insularity would have been sacrificed. A Power would have been created which would have had an overwhelming maritime ascendancy and at the same time, being assailable by land, would have needed a great standing army. It would have been a military state as much as Sweden. The design was indeed abandoned, but that the ambition which suggested it remained appears from the pains Cromwell took to get possession of Dunkirk.

The fundamental principle of the policy of the Protectorate, as it appears in all the State Papers, is the union of all the Protestant Powers of Europe under the leadership of England. A Cromwell could adopt no other basis of policy. But he had another principle which lay almost as near his heart as Protestantism itself, the principle of toleration. This had an important effect upon his foreign policy. It led him to draw a distinction among Catholic Powers. Wherever the Inquisition reigned he saw a State with which not only he could not have alliance but could scarcely remain at peace, since it was not only Catholic but also intolerant. But there were other Catholic States, which admitted the principle of toleration. The chief of these was France, which had its Edict of Nantes. Cromwell had not at the outset any special inclination to a French alliance. As we have seen, the Commonwealth had hitherto inclined rather to Spain, and on the other hand Spain had anticipated France (the country of Henrietta Maria) in acknowledging the Commonwealth. But very early in the negotiations with the Dutch we find Cromwell laying it down that while there can be no alliance

with states which maintain the Inquisition, alliance with France is permissible on condition that French Protestants are not molested in their religious freedom. Thus at the very commencement of the Protectorate a germ is visible in the mind of Cromwell, from which afterwards grew the war with Spain and the alliance with France.

We have here the outline of a policy which is large and grand, but one main article of it, union with the Netherlands, was impracticable. Or rather it was practicable only, and that in a modified form, on a royalist basis. That child at the Hague, who was regarded both by Cromwell and De Witt with such jealous ill-will, who was at once an Orange and a Stuart, would one day weld the two nations into a mighty alliance, which should give the law to Europe. But the Dutch government which De Witt represented was a mere loose federation of seven governments, and De Witt was bent upon keeping it such. An energetic Protestant policy was repugnant to him just because it was energetic, because it would draw together the seven provinces, which it was his object to hold apart. He did not feel as a citizen of the United Provinces but purely as a Hollander, and his object was simply by tact and adroitness to draw the other six provinces into a course advantageous to the trade of Holland. Such a system was too delicate to blend with the energetic system of Cromwell. The Protestant union proposed, had it been adopted in the United Provinces, must have roused the old heroism of the Dutch population, and the result of this would have been startling to Cromwell and more than startling to De Witt. The old feelings and thoughts would have brought back in a moment the old beloved House. The cry of *Oranje boven* would have been raised again; De

Witt and his party and his policy would have disappeared; and at the same time the revolution, since the House of Orange and the House of Stuart were so closely united, would have set the Dutch nation in threatening opposition to the government of Cromwell himself. He learnt this gradually in the negotiations of 1653, while the Little Parliament was sitting and the Protectorate taking shape. Just as in the Little Parliament itself the high-flown ideas of the victorious party in domestic matters took momentary shape and disappeared, so at the same time its foreign policy was reduced to a more modest and practical form.

An account of the Treaty of 1654, to be at all exact or complete, would require a volume, and moreover it belongs to the history of the United Provinces rather than of England, of the administration of De Witt rather than of the Protectorate. De Witt's statesmanship is from first to last a miraculous performance on the tight-rope. He succeeded for almost twenty years in working a constitutional machine which might have seemed too clumsy and intricate for the most consummate dexterity. What he did in 1654 could not be made intelligible to the reader without a long explanation, which would be quite out of place here, of the Constitution of the United Provinces. We are concerned with Cromwell, not with De Witt.

Cromwell then discovered that the Provinces would not tolerate the idea of a complete union, though they were prepared for a close alliance and only hoped that it might be made close enough to involve the repeal of the Navigation Act, though not the loss of their own sovereignty. He had to content himself with an ordinary treaty, though we may perhaps imagine him calculating that when his grand Protestant Alliance was

once launched, the Provinces being included in it, they would fall into a dependence on England which would in the end cause them to desire the union they now rejected. Having once descended to this lower level, the task of making peace was comparatively easy to him, since to the Dutch peace was almost a necessity, while he himself declared to the envoy of the Swiss evangelical cantons, 'with tears in his eyes, and invoking the name of God, that nothing had grieved him so much as this war.'

But two difficulties remained to be dealt with.

1. The first brings to light the peculiar relation of England to the United Provinces by showing that that state was not regarded as simply foreign but rather as another Scotland. Cromwell had already expelled the King of Scots from Scotland; he now held it necessary to exclude the Stuart family from the government of the Netherlands. But in his view the Stuart family and the Orange family were indistinguishable. William of Orange, who was to live in English history as a kind of second Cromwell, who was in like manner to dethrone a Stuart King and to occupy his place, is regarded in his infancy by Cromwell as a kind of second Charles Stuart, as a dangerous embodiment of the dynastic principle.

Peace with the Netherlands was only possible for Cromwell because for the time they were under a republican government. But this republican government was scarcely more than an accident; it was opposed to the popular feeling; it was a makeshift not likely to outlast the minority of the Prince of Orange and likely enough to pass away much sooner. Already the proposal had been made to invest the child with the offices which

his ancestors had held, entrusting the execution of them to his relatives and adherents. In these circumstances it seemed essential to Cromwell that the exclusion from office of the Prince of Orange should be made in some form a condition of the peace. Yet if there was one feeling in which the population of the United Provinces, excepting Holland, were unanimous it was devotion to the House of Orange.

On the other hand, what Cromwell desired so much was precisely what the Province of Holland, the ruling Province under the existing system, also desired. It was therefore natural that he should try to attain his object by an understanding with them.

We are to note that what he aimed at was in some sort the conquest of the United Provinces, for to dictate to a people what its government shall be is practically to assume the government of it. If we study the methods of the French Revolution and Napoleon in dealing with foreign states we shall see that they held a state conquered when they had set up in it a government dependent on themselves. Cromwell's proceeding was less violent in that he contented himself with giving a new guarantee to a government which already existed. Nevertheless it was felt by the Dutch population to be the proceeding of a conqueror. So long as Cromwell lived they felt themselves to be living under his yoke, and when he died the boys in the streets of Amsterdam sang that the devil was dead. Had he lived longer or had his system taken root and his conquest of Dunkirk borne its natural fruits, the dependence of the United Provinces upon the mighty Military State which he had founded would have become much more evident.

The spirit of the Dutch people was not sunk so low

that they should consciously and deliberately submit to this humiliation. The States-General did not ratify an undertaking to exclude the Prince of Orange from the offices which had been hereditary in his family. They only undertook that any one who in the future should hold the office of Stadtholder and Captain-General should be bound by oath to observe the treaty. But Cromwell took advantage of the state of decomposition into which the Dutch Commonwealth had fallen. As we have said, it was not now one thing but seven things, and of the seven the Province of Holland was by far the greatest. The Province of Holland had also its States; it was by the States of Holland that John De Witt had been appointed Pensionary. From this Assembly then Cromwell required an Act of Exclusion, by which they engaged never to elect the Prince of Orange nor any of his descendants as their Stadtholder or Captain-General or Admiral, nor to consent to the appointment of a Prince of Orange as Captain-General of the forces of the Republic.

The incredible series of manœuvres by which the States of Holland were induced to pass this Act belongs, we are happy to think, not to English but to Dutch history. Cromwell had simply to insist, and to decline to ratify the treaty until the Act should have been formally delivered to him. De Witt had to do the rest.

The plan of dividing the Dutch Republic in order to conquer it would be suggested to Cromwell by his experience in Scotland. There too in the Second Civil War he had found two distinct interests. By the side of the Parliament, just then guided by the Duke of Hamilton, there was the Church party represented by Argyle. The former was royalist, the latter not.

Cromwell after defeating Hamilton in the field had entered Scotland and had procured the exclusion of his party from public office. What Hamilton, closely connected with the royal family, had been in Scotland, that was the Prince of Orange now in the United Provinces; De Witt on the other hand was the Dutch Argyle.

2. The other difficulty with which Cromwell had to deal related to Denmark. The Baltic question was not only all-important to England as a naval Power, but to Cromwell, meditating a great Protestant union, it had also another bearing. Several Protestant states were accessible to England through the Sound. Here lay Sweden; here Frederick William of Hohenzollern, afterwards to be called the Great Elector, was rising in influence; Denmark itself was a Protestant state. Russia being still in the background, the Baltic might almost be regarded as a Protestant Mediterranean. Moreover Denmark had a royal House which, being closely connected with the Stuarts, inspired the same sort of misgiving as the House of Orange. Already before a clear prospect of peace opened he had adopted an important Baltic policy. To prevent Denmark from closing the Sound against England, there was an obvious plan, namely, to draw Sweden into the war, and on other grounds an alliance with Sweden, the country of Gustavus Adolphus, would be welcome to Cromwell.

In December 1653 Bulstrode Whitelocke had his first audience of Queen Christina at Upsala. The idea of a Protestant Union could have no charm for Christina, who was already secretly a Catholic. But hostility to Denmark was the very basis of policy to her House and to the state which Gustav Wasa had founded. With the help of the mighty British Power it struck her at once

that the old Danish quarrel could speedily be settled. She saw at once in vision what her successor Charles Gustavus was so speedily to accomplish. It seemed for a moment likely that the Dutch war, in which hitherto only three states had been concerned, would expand into a European struggle. The alliance of England and Sweden was by itself not less momentous than had been Richelieu's alliance of France and Sweden in the last generation. And meanwhile the Dutch were looking wistfully to France, where Mazarin had not yet fully resigned himself to the ascendancy of the British Commonwealth. But if France should come to the help of the Dutch, Spain almost of necessity would combine with England. Would a war grow up between France, the Netherlands and Denmark on the one side, and England, Spain and Sweden on the other? Queen Christina proposed to Whitelocke what she called a 'trinity' of these latter Powers. It was evident from his answer, in which he referred to the murder of Ascham and the backwardness of the Spanish Government in avenging it, that alienation was already beginning between England and Spain, and probably Whitelocke's master was more adverse to such a combination than Whitelocke himself knew. But the possibility of it was at least a good diplomatic instrument.

If the United Provinces already felt themselves over-matched by England, it was evident that Sweden, just then at the height of her military efficiency, was far more than a match for Denmark. And a glimpse of Spain in the background was enough to check any confidence that might be placed in France, especially as France was now in the throes of a civil war, and it was open to Cromwell to join hands with that

other general, whom alone Queen Christina would admit to be comparable to himself, Condé. Thus Cromwell had a commanding position in the negotiations of 1654.

He was therefore able not only to impose humiliating terms upon the United Provinces but also to enforce the claims of England upon Denmark. Denmark had complied with the Dutch in closing the Sound against England and in seizing English ships, and the Dutch stood stoutly by their ally in the negotiations. She had now to pay damages, which she was enabled to do by the help of Dutch wealth and credit. The peace of Cromwell was concluded in June 1654.

It marks a great epoch in British policy, when the Military State of Great Britain triumphantly takes its place among the states of the world. The struggles of the English Revolution now subside, and a new system is definitively established. The Cromwellian State was now the greatest Power in Europe, somewhat similar to Sweden in the days of Gustavus Adolphus but resting on a much broader basis of population and wealth. By the peace it emerges into a commanding international position. It has reduced the Low Countries to a sort of dependency, it has intimidated Denmark, and formed an alliance with the great Military State of the previous generation, Sweden. It is already the centre of a great Protestant Union.

England has several times since the sixteenth century made peace triumphantly, but never except in 1654 has she done so as a Military State. At other times she has laid down her arms gladly, with a sense of relief, and with no desire to take them up again. We have seen her peacefully disposed under Elizabeth, and so the peace which James I concluded in 1604 lasted

through his whole reign. So too in the eighteenth century, though war was so frequent, it was usually entered on with a feeling of despair, and it was more than once brought to an end by an uncontrollable outbreak of popular impatience. In 1654 it might certainly be thought that England had had enough of war, for she had scarcely known peace through a period of twelve years, during a great part of which time her own fields and homesteads had been devastated. But Cromwell has no more thought of giving the country repose than Napoleon when he made the Treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. Having rectified the confusion which had been introduced by the Long Parliament, having restored union to the Protestant interest, he proceeds almost at once to make a new war. He attacks the Spanish Monarchy. In the history of British Policy the Cromwellian period which extends over five years (1653—1658) falls into two parts. During the first part he is a Peace-maker, during the second he is an Aggressor and Conqueror. Napoleon's reign divides itself in the same way, but Napoleon arrived at supreme power when he was thirty years of age, and had therefore a long career of conquest. Cromwell was older by a quarter of a century when he reached the same stage, and accordingly death frustrated his designs. He had only time to conquer Jamaica and Dunkirk.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR OF CROMWELL.

CROMWELL had proposed to Queen Christina an offensive alliance against Denmark. But the proposal by itself was sufficient for the end he had immediately in view. While the Swedish negotiation went on the treaty of peace with the Dutch and with Denmark also made progress. Accordingly the active military aid of Sweden was not required, and the arrangement which was made at Upsala in 1654 contemplated a state not of war but of peace.

At the very same time occurred the abdication of Queen Christina. The Protector's envoy Whitelocke received from her the first communication which she gave of her intention, and was himself a witness, before he returned, of the ceremony of abdication. Her cousin, a son of Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus, by a prince of the Palatine House, becomes King of Sweden by the title of Charles the Tenth. The Queen had no doubt more than one reason for retiring, but the reason she alleged to Whitelocke, namely, that the throne of Sweden could not properly be occupied by a woman, certainly appears to have been not merely ostensible. Sweden had long been, what England had recently be-

come, a Military State. The main function of its ruler was to command armies, and to tread in the footsteps of Gustavus. It was now at the height of its power, ready for new campaigns and new conquests. No sooner does the woman retire and the man fill her place than we see Sweden stand out as a conquering Power, the terror of the North. Charles Gustavus in Swedish history is *der dritte im Bunde* with Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, and may be said to represent the culmination of the Military State, as Gustavus Adolphus represents the splendid rise, and Charles XII the lurid setting, of it.

Thus in the short period with which we now deal Cromwell and Charles Gustavus shine side by side. They are the Dioscuri of Protestantism. They appear almost together, and, as Charles Gustavus had but a short career, they are not far divided in their deaths.

Protestantism, as an active Power, attains now its highest point. The suicidal discord has been removed, and the forces of Protestantism are now gathered up in the hands of two great soldiers, who have both the power and the will to use them aggressively. What Sweden could do had been proved a quarter of a century earlier. What the British Military State could achieve was destined never to be fully known. It was but in the first stages of its great career when it was upset by a new revolution. But a Power so formidable has rarely been seen in the world. It had both a mighty fleet and a mighty army, a position almost impregnable, a growing colonial power, a trade capable of indefinite expansion. And the ancient rival of England, France, was at this moment paralysed by civil war.

Cromwell, having settled the partial war which he found raging, now fixes his attention upon the great

European war, and we too must now attend to this if we would understand his next step. Thirty-six years have gone by since the European war began, but it has passed through many phases and the actual phase of it is but six years old. In this phase it is a duel between France and Spain, between the Bourbon and the Spanish Habsburg. These two Powers had indeed been at war for nineteen years, that is, since 1635, but from 1635 to 1648 their war had been involved in the great complex which we call the Thirty Years' War. In 1648 the other belligerents had laid down their arms, the Emperor, Sweden, the Protestant Princes of Germany, and the United Provinces. A great pacification had been made, but it had not extended to France and Spain, which still continued to wage war.

Besides this Spain still waged war with Portugal, which since 1640, that is, for fourteen years, had been in rebellion against the Spanish Monarchy, and had set up the House of Bragança against the House of Habsburg.

Since 1648 the war had taken a new aspect. France seemed to be on the decline. Her first ascendancy, the great age of the Cardinals, reached its height in 1646. Truly alarming in that year was the power wielded by Mazarin. But all this ascendancy passed away when the troubles of the Fronde began in 1648.

Spain was now relieved of her war with the Low Countries, and by the Fronde she might seem to gain as much at the expense of France as France had gained at the expense of Spain by the rebellion of Portugal. And not only was France cleft in twain, but the old incurable wound was opened again, and all the work of the Cardinals seemed to be undone. Once more,

as in the time of the Religious Wars, the Government is resisted by the noblesse, headed by a prince of the blood, and this party is in open concert with Spain.

The duel of France and Spain was pretty equal; as we have seen, it had been of great importance to England, for by paralysing both Powers for the purpose of intervention in England it had given free scope to the Military Revolution and to the reconquest of Ireland and Scotland by the military party. Nevertheless it had exhibited considerable fluctuations of fortune. The settlement of Westphalia had diminished the resources of France, but it had also diminished those of Spain. The former had lost the help of the Dutch, but the latter had lost the help of Austria, for the great alliance of the two branches of the House of Habsburg had been broken up by the peace of 1648. Then came the Fronde, and for a while the prospects of France darkened very ominously. Should she lose her strong Government, her strong national unity, the precious gift of Richelieu, what would become of her? First she had four years of violent internal dissension, not unlike the troubles of the first years of the Long Parliament, and next in 1652 she entered upon formal civil war, as England had done ten years earlier. Mazarin had been driven into exile. The great soldier and prince of the blood Condé overawed the regency. But now the regency came to an end. Louis XIV attained his majority, and now Condé retiring from Paris deliberately called the provinces to arms and concluded at Maubeuge a treaty with the King of Spain. Condé was King at Bordeaux as Louis XIV at Paris, but to Paris Mazarin now returned. Henceforth a large part of France, controlled by one of the great commanders of the age, is pledged to procure for the King of Spain a good, just, and secure peace. Nor could

the restored Mazarin by any means count on the fidelity of that part of France which remained nominally loyal. Thus about the time when the first Dutch war began, France was indeed hard pressed and fortune seemed to incline in favour of Spain. In the summer of 1652 Condé and Turenne fought a battle in the Faubourg St Antoine itself. Mazarin had to retire a second time.

This was the condition of France at the moment when England for the first time stood before the world as a mighty Military State. The relative position of the two Powers, as it had been ten years before, was actually reversed. About 1644, when Condé was at the opening of his career, England was absorbed and paralysed by civil war, while France 'went forth conquering and to conquer'; now in 1654 it is the turn of France to be enfeebled by civil war, when England makes a triumphant peace which puts her at the head of the Protestant states, and has fleets that sweep the Ocean, an army that has conquered Ireland and Scotland, and a military government directed by Oliver Cromwell.

It is at this moment that the immense greatness which was reserved for Great Britain in a later age was, as it were, foreshadowed. Cromwell's fabric was extremely ephemeral, but it revealed for the first time the large possibilities of our state. It is a first sketch of the British Empire.

He looked at the duel of France and Spain from a certain distance, from which he could perceive that if France was much depressed—and there was nothing to show that she would speedily recover herself—Spain was still more deeply and irrecoverably sunk. For he looked abroad over the Ocean, and here Spain was in full decline. Fourteen years had now passed since the outbreak of the rebellion in Portugal. The first Portuguese king of the

House of Bragança, João IV, was approaching the end of his reign—he died in 1656. In the peninsula he had perhaps barely maintained himself; here in fact the struggle was still to come, for the war languished and was almost suspended from 1646 to 1656. But in general history the rebellion already appeared as a mighty and decisive event because of the change it had produced in America and Africa. The ancient Portuguese monarchy over a great part of the globe had revived. Every one of the foreign possessions of old Portugal, except Ceuta, had declared for the House of Bragança. This great revolution in the Oceanic world had one peculiarly strange circumstance. In Europe the Portuguese were naturally between 1640 and 1648 in sympathy with the Dutch through the common hostility of both countries to Spain, but outside Europe the Dutch had been for a long time the plunderers and conquerors of old Portugal so long as Portugal was lost in Spain. In particular they had conquered Brazil under the leadership of John Moritz of Nassau, and between 1640 and 1642 was seen the strange spectacle of the Dutch assisting the Portuguese in Europe and at the same time tearing from them their colonial possessions. In 1645 began a reaction. The Portuguese in Brazil, headed by João Fernandez Vieira, rose against their Dutch conquerors. By 1649 the vast possession was substantially recovered to Portugal, and about the same time they succeeded in expelling the Dutch from their old possessions on the west coast of Africa. The modern Portuguese Monarchy took its place in the world at the expense almost equally of the Spanish and the Dutch.

There had scarcely been witnessed so violent and confused a revolution in the colonial world since that colonial

world came into existence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was the fall of the world-state which had been founded by Philip II; it was also a sudden and considerable decline of the Dutch colonial empire. And these changes were followed by the war of England with the Dutch, in which for the first time England displayed a certain maritime superiority. Cromwell, when he came to the head of affairs and began to consider foreign and colonial questions, could scarcely fail to see that a sort of interregnum had begun in the empire of the sea. It was also evident that the new Military State of Great Britain, with its fleet commanded by Blake, was as well qualified as any other state for maritime empire.

England had already taken indirectly some share in the oceanic revolution, since the success of Portugal against the Dutch in Brazil had been partly caused by the embarrassment which their war with England created for the Dutch. The reviving Portuguese Empire, opposed alike to Spain and the Netherlands, offered a natural lever by which England might raise her own colonial importance, and this she perceives somewhat later, but not in Cromwell's own time. He concludes however a commercial treaty with João IV, as indeed Charles I had done at the commencement of the Portuguese rebellion.

In this critical condition of the maritime world there were some obvious considerations which would tempt Cromwell to the policy he ultimately adopted of hostility to Spain. As the most Catholic and also the most intolerant Power, as the patron of the Inquisition, Spain was the natural enemy of Cromwell's party, which was at once strongly Protestant and by religious principle tolerant. Moreover hostility to Spain was the old Eliza-

bethan policy, by which England had grown great and which all England could understand. Perhaps we should add—it was a point very important for Cromwell, who was as unable as Charles I to hit it off with Parliaments, and therefore must always be in want of money—that war with Spain, as had been seen in Elizabeth's days, might be made profitable. Could Blake but once bring home a silver fleet, the Protectorate would be relieved for some time of all its financial embarrassments.

Nevertheless Cromwell, who was always disinclined to form long plans, does not at first look forward to war with Spain, and throughout 1654 his policy seems on the whole rather to threaten France. He appears to have principally at heart a league of the Protestant Powers of Europe. It was believed that he was about to summon a great Protestant Council which would declare the Pope to be Antichrist and open a grand religious war. This rumour was particularly alarming to the French Government, which had to reckon with the Huguenot party, protected by the Treaty of Nantes and accustomed from old time to look to England for countenance. Mazarin had all along expected this result from the success of the Puritan rebellion; he considered too that Henrietta Maria and the Dukes of York and Gloucester were actually living under his protection; he knew that since 1648 the inclination of England had been rather towards Spain than towards France.

It is certain that a party in England at this time were full of the idea of a great Protestant league. A Scotsman, John Dury, was the apostle of it. Samuel Hartlib interested himself in it. That it affected the Government is proved by Milton's State Papers and by some allusions in the speeches of Cromwell himself. It was held not to be **merely** desirable, but even necessary, for a great religious

war was thought to be at hand, which the Catholic Powers, reconciled by the Pope, would soon undertake for the destruction of Protestantism. The remark was made that in the Thirty Years' War Protestantism had been well-nigh ruined by the discord between Protestant Saxony and the Protestant Palatinate, and more lately Protestant England had gone to war with the Protestant Netherlands. This last discord had created great alarm in the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland. They had sent an envoy, Johann Jakob Stockar, to London, for the purpose of mediation. And now early in 1654 the Protector in his turn sent envoys to the Evangelical Cantons, one of whom was the apostle himself, John Dury, and the other was a mathematician, John Pell. This diplomatic activity of the Protector could not but alarm Mazarin. It was a new thing for England to interfere in Swiss affairs, and the interference was pointed somewhat threateningly at France, which at this very time was busy in renewing its old treaty with the Cantons. Pell was actually instructed to oppose this renewal.

The summer and autumn of 1654 were on the whole a moment of singular alarm and suspense. On the one hand the Protestant world was looking for the outbreak of a new religious war. On the other hand both Spain and France were in an anxious mood. Their duel had reached a critical point. In 1653 Mazarin had reestablished himself in power. His second period of good fortune had begun. He was once more all-powerful in the Government, as omnipotent, says Guy Patin, as God the Father at the beginning of the world. But the French Government itself withstood with difficulty the alliance of Spain and Condé. Its field of battle was not on the frontier, much less beyond it, but in Champagne and Guienne. Spain meanwhile, though pros-

perous on the Continent, was declining rapidly on the sea, and financially was quite exhausted. The result was that Cromwellian England held a most remarkable position, a position extremely advantageous for a Military State such as England then was, but quite unlike the usual position of England.

It was evident that with England lay the decision of the great duel. And no doubt at many later times England might have decided a European war by a sudden commanding intervention, but it has not been usual for England to speculate on such possibilities. Under Cromwell however she did so, for she was then a Military State.

In 1654 Cromwell was observed to be preparing two great fleets, although it was certain that England was in no danger of being attacked. That the Protector meditated some grand stroke was well understood, and yet no reason could be alleged that would have weighed with Elizabeth, not to speak of the Stuarts, why England should not enjoy for a long time the blessings of peace. Never has England since, nor had she for centuries before, been so aggressively disposed.

While Cromwell made his preparations the new king of Sweden, Charles Gustavus, was maturing a similar design. The two great captains of Protestantism occupied a similar position and acted, though independently, yet in harmony. For the moment their policy corresponded to their religion. The correspondence, as it soon appeared, was but accidental; for the moment however it realised the idea of a great Protestant League. As Spain in the West so Poland in the Northern system was entering at this moment decisively on the path of decline. The rebellion of the Cossacks had already broken out, and in this very year 1654 they formally put themselves under the

protection of Russia. The fall of Poland begins here. Immediately afterwards Charles Gustavus, who felt, as the aged Oxenstierna also felt, that the Swedish Government could not afford to be long at peace, plunged into war with Poland. A Catholic state suffered an overwhelming attack from a Protestant Power, and at the same time the Emperor saw the approach of a great danger. He could not be at ease while Sweden, which had already planted herself so firmly in North Germany and had given her guarantee to the Treaty of Westphalia, was moving her armies round and between the scattered territories of the Great Elector. To Cromwell therefore the war in Poland gave an assurance that the Emperor had his hands full, and would not be at leisure, whatever might happen in the West, to come to the help of Spain.

In this period of suspense Cromwell seems to form no definite plan. He meditates at the same time a league of Protestant states, by which England was likely to be drawn into a continental war, and an active maritime policy. Nor does he even later renounce either of these plans for the other, but continues to the end to push both forward at once. If in our history he is remembered chiefly for the impetus he gave to our maritime and colonial development, this is due not so much to his deliberate policy as to the fact that what he did in this direction proved lasting, while his continental schemes came to nought. The navy grew and prospered, and Jamaica was a permanent acquisition. The army was speedily disbanded and Dunkirk was given up.

From the beginning of the year 1654, while the peace with the States-General is in treaty, France and Spain are competing with almost desperate eagerness for Cromwell's alliance. Both kings offer him money. Fifty thousand

crowns a month is the subsidy which Spain is prepared to offer; some members of the Spanish Council record their opinion (April 12th) that, as the case is urgent and the whole fortune of Spain at stake, even a hundred thousand crowns would be no exorbitant subsidy. Mazarin offers four, or at need five, hundred thousand crowns a year, remarking that Spain always prefers to engage herself by the *month*, intending to make at most but one or two payments. But he also holds out the bait of Dunkirk, and adds that he will allow the Protector a free hand in the Indies, and aid him in seizing the two trade-fleets which are expected to arrive in August. For a long time however Spain seems likely to win the race for the Protector's favour. Her urgency, arising from her need, was greater; on the other hand war with France suggested itself more naturally to Cromwell's Government. France protected the Stuarts, and had Huguenots. One of her representatives in England, the Baron de Baas, is suspected of complicity in the plot of Gerard and Vowell, and is expelled by the Protector in June. On June 20th Mazarin writes, 'We shall perhaps be so unfortunate as soon to have war with England.' Meanwhile Cromwell prepares his fleets, and in October Blake sets sail for the Mediterranean bearing a Latin letter, couched in friendly terms, to the King of Spain.

There was in those days so little maritime police that the mission of Blake with a fleet of twenty-five ships, followed soon after by that of Penn with a still larger fleet, might be reasonably justified by the plea that 'the safety and protection of the trade and navigation of the people of this Commonwealth required it.' At sea England might almost be said to be already at war both with Spain and France, and a similar relation with Portugal had only just been

brought to an end. France was almost more alarmed than Spain by the appearance of Blake in the Mediterranean. He threatened to intervene at Naples against the French expedition of Guise, and would have done so had he not arrived too late. He then appeared at Leghorn, demanding an indemnity from the Duke of Tuscany and the Pope for injuries inflicted with their countenance on English merchants by Prince Rupert in 1650. He also demanded liberty for the Protestants to open a church at Florence. Here again the Protestant League shows itself. An indemnity was paid, the demand for religious liberty was answered evasively. Blake then sailed for the coast of Barbary, made similar demands, and on meeting with resistance read a lesson to the piratical states by bombarding Tunis. He then appeared successively at Malta, Venice, Toulon and Marseilles. So far the Military State of England merely displayed its power and asserted in general the rights of the Protestant states. It had not yet involved itself in any formal war.

So ended 1654, and the year began in which Cromwell was to make his momentous decision. But even in 1655 it scarcely appears that he consciously resolved to prefer France to Spain. Perhaps his only fixed intention was to vindicate the rights of England and of Protestantism wherever they might be questioned, and the rest followed of itself through the force of circumstances.

That Protestantism is about to suffer a great attack from the united force of the Catholic Powers is the burden of Protestant State Papers at this time, and seemed to receive a striking confirmation in the early days of 1655. In January the Waldenses of the valleys of Luserna, Perosa, and San Martino received orders from Charles Emanuel,

Duke of Savoy (he reigned from 1638 to 1675, and was father of the first King of Sardinia), either to conform to the Catholic faith or to quit their habitations. Through Pell and Dury at Zurich the Protector's Government had its attention immediately called to this. Piedmont was not far from France, the Waldenses were not widely separated from the Huguenots. And thus though the catastrophe in the Alpine valleys was still delayed for some months, the apprehensions of Mazarin that he would soon have to reckon with Cromwell received further confirmation.

But Cromwell's power threatened all non-Protestant states at once. That he menaced France and Tuscany and the Pope and the Barbary states did not prevent him from menacing Spain at the same time, for Spain and France alike, at that critical moment of their duel, seemed incapable of offering resistance to him. As early as November 9th, 1654, Bordeaux, who still remained in England to represent France, writes that he has learnt from a brother-in-law of the man who seems likely to be Cromwell's successor that 'the second fleet is to sail for St Domingo after having made a demonstration off La Rochelle in order to encourage the Huguenots.' He adds, 'When I asked what pretext the Protector would allege for such an undertaking against Spain, without declaration of war, he laid down the principle that any one was free to establish himself in that country, adding that the said island was not entirely occupied by Spain; as to our affairs he thinks this Government has no design of breaking with France, but intends to continue carrying into effect the letters of reprisal, partly in order to further the maintenance of the fleet by the capture of our merchantmen, partly because he cannot believe that His Majesty means

to make good the losses suffered by the English, which they state at an enormous sum¹.

Thus all evidence concurs to show that Cromwell did not form the plan of taking the side of France against Spain in the European war. At the outset he threatens both France and Spain alike, and seems almost to make it a point of honour to threaten both equally. His plan is to stand forth as the head of a Protestant League alike in Europe and on the sea. His allies are Sweden and Holland and the Protestant Cantons and the Waldenses and the Huguenots. He makes no nice calculation of forces. He seems in his own mind to have hoped to find in the King of Sweden a new Gustavus Adolphus. We read that 'Cromwell is exceedingly intimate with the Swedish Ambassador, a person of great estimation; they dine, sup, hunt, and play at bowls together. Cromwell never caressed any man so much, nor sought the friendship of any so much as the King of Sweden.' The writer, Charles Stuart's Secretary, Nicholas, adds, 'Some say France will join these two, but I doubt it, for they will make themselves protectors of the Reformed Churches in Germany, France, &c.' Here is Cromwell's plan, or more properly his idea, for his was a mind which did not form plans, but was inspired by ideas. He was soon to find that Charles Gustavus was no Protestant Crusader, and was prepared to aid him only so far as to hold Austria in check. As to the West Indies also we discover no trace of any profound calculation. Here too Cromwell intends only to assert his rights and the rights of Protestantism. As Blake appeared in the Mediterranean so are Penn and Venables, commanding the other fleet, to show themselves in the Atlantic. But there is a difference. On the further side of the

¹ Cheruel, *La France sous Mazarin*, II. p. 386.

Atlantic Protestantism has a special grievance, for here the whole territory is claimed by Spain in virtue of a Bull issued by an ancient Pope of Rome. This Bull must be trampled under foot, Protestant Englishmen must assert their right of settling and acquiring territory. We are to observe that here too Cromwell regards his warfare as defensive. He is the leader of 'a company of poor men,' who are surrounded by a hostile world. In the instructions to Penn it is stated that the Spaniards have cruelly destroyed lawful possessions of the English in America and that it is to be supposed that they mean to destroy all the English possessions in those parts.

As a matter of fact, the Spanish ascendancy in the New World was in rapid decline, so that Cromwell's step strikes us rather as the deeply planned aggression of a conqueror. But he does not, as we might expect, concert measures with France or with Portugal. Perhaps he assumes that Spain, preoccupied by her war with France, will have no leisure for resistance. Otherwise he seems to waste no time in calculation, but rather to act as on the field of Marston Moor or Dunbar. He trusts in Penn's good fleet, and the good army of Venables, but chiefly, we may believe, in the Protestant cause and in the Lord of Hosts.

His action ought not to be judged by modern rules. The Spaniards had committed many violent acts against the English in the West Indies, and it will not be questioned that the Protestants had a right to disregard the famous Bull on which they relied. But the modern mind disregards all this, and asks why Cromwell wantonly plunged his country into a war with the Spanish Monarchy at a moment when she had scarcely emerged from a long, dark period of civil discord. The modern mind has forgotten, or scarcely

understands, that War of the Confessions in which Cromwell's life had been passed. It scarcely understands how critical the position of Protestantism still seemed to be, or how the example of Gustavus Adolphus influenced the course of Protestant statesmen. Hence it is tempted to put aside as hypocritical the religious considerations which Cromwell alleged, and to regard him as a sagacious politician who foresaw the future colonial greatness of England and who seized the opportunity of the decline of the Spanish empire to enrich England with its spoils.

But notions of trade seem at most but secondary in his mind, and deep plans foreign to his nature. He left the future to Providence, not only as a statesman but even as a general, so that in his campaigns there is little strategy. Accordingly his attack upon St Domingo seems to have had no remote object. It was simply a spirited assertion of the rights of Protestantism and of England, made by one who felt himself at the moment superior in force to his enemy and who washed his hands of the future.

But though he was no far-sighted schemer, Cromwell was astute, adroit, and, at need, double-minded in dealing with the difficulties of the moment. We can easily believe that he found it absolutely necessary to employ his fleet, which made him uneasy by its royalism, in some great, popular, and rather remote enterprise. An attack upon the Spanish Indies was in conformity with the old Elizabethan tradition. It also held out indefinite hopes of plunder. A single silver fleet captured would enable Cromwell to defy Parliament for a year or two. Such thoughts as these perhaps were blended in his mind with the Puritan's hatred of Popery and the Independent's hatred of intolerance.

The innovation however which he introduced did not

consist in inclining towards France but simply in breaking with Spain. The Long Parliament had leaned towards Spain, which indeed had been much more forward than France in favouring and acknowledging the Commonwealth. Cromwell bears himself as threateningly as the former Government towards France, but resolves at the same time to attack Spain. The negotiations with France in 1654 lead to nothing, but the new feature was that the treaty with Spain also unexpectedly fails, in spite of the strongest assurances on the part of Spain of support against the Stuart family, to which King Philip IV declares himself irreconcilably hostile. But, says Thurloe, 'Oliver always expressed an aversion to any conjunction with Spain.' The negotiations turned on the Treaty of 1630, and Cromwell urged (1) that in contravention of the first article of it 'the English were treated by the Spaniards as enemies, wherever they were met with in America, though sailing to and from their own plantations: (2) touching the Inquisition, the danger whereof all the English merchants trading in Spain were exposed to; in this it was desired that the English might have the exercise of religion in Spain without trouble, and that these words (*modo ne dent scandalum*) might be omitted out of the article, and that liberty might be granted to the said merchants to have and use in Spain English Bibles and other religious books.' Other stipulations were proposed which, says Thurloe, would have been granted but with respect to these two Don Alonso de Cardenas was pleased to answer that to ask a liberty from the Inquisition and free sailing in the West Indies was to ask his master's two eyes and that nothing could be done in these points but according to the practice of former times.

The Spanish Alliance was thus wilfully thrown away,

and Penn and Venables made their sudden descent on St Domingo. And yet no concert with France was arranged, though it was fully discussed and strongly recommended in the Council of State. On the other hand Cromwell's intention was to have war with Spain in the West Indies alone. In Europe there was to be peace 'unless the American fleet should be met with, which was looked upon as lawful prize¹.'

On the whole the memorable crisis of the early part of 1655 exhibits Cromwell in his characteristic attitude and at the height of his power. It is at this moment that he breaks with Parliament and suppresses royalism by means of the Major-Generals. It is at this moment that, after having united the Protestant world under his leadership, he deals a direct blow at the power of Spain without taking the trouble to secure the aid of France. Let us not think of him either as a friend of liberty or as a friend of peace. But he attains in a startling manner the Protestant ideal of his age. That conception of militant zeal which one poet embodies in the seraph Abdiel and another in Mr Greatheart, and which Cromwell himself saw embodied in Gustavus Adolphus, is here exhibited on a still larger scale than it could be exhibited even by Gustavus Adolphus.

We may see in the dedication which Morland prefixed to his book on the Waldenses what enthusiastic admiration this attitude of Cromwell excited in the mind of the ardent Protestant. But it is scarcely, as he thinks, similar to the attitude of Elizabeth, who, if she attacked the Spanish West Indies, did so only on extreme provocation, and who steadily refused to put herself at the head of a Protestant League. Cromwell follows not Elizabeth but Sir Walter Raleigh,

¹ Thurloe, i. 761.

who said of Elizabeth that she 'did all by halves'.¹ The expeditions of Blake and Penn at this time are strikingly parallel to that last expedition of Raleigh in the middle period of James I.² Raleigh too before striking across the Atlantic dallies with the French Huguenots; Raleigh too professes to be at peace with Spain, yet intends to occupy territory which Spain claims as her own, and Raleigh too hopes above all things that he may fall in with a silver fleet. The difference is that Raleigh has no distinct instructions, and runs the risk of being repudiated by his Government. This time it is the Government itself which is inspired by Raleigh's spirit. As Gustavus Adolphus furnishes the model to Cromwell in his European policy, so, it would seem, does Raleigh in his maritime policy.

Cromwell was not able to maintain very long the commanding position he occupied at the opening of 1655. Militant Independency did not long stand before the world 'bright as the sun, clear as the moon, terrible as an army with banners.' It reached its highest point when the question of the Waldenses became acute. Then it was seen that Cromwell, so far from seeking the help of France against Spain, was prepared, if not eager, to make war with both Powers at once. It must indeed be understood that already for some time past France and England had been rather at war than at peace. As Dunkirk begins now to become important to us, we may note that it had been but recently conquered by Spain from France (September 16th, 1652), and that at the critical moment Blake had interfered against France and had actually captured seven French ships sent to its relief. In Mazarin's correspondence of 1654—5 we find statements such as the following: 'The English plunder everything they meet of

¹ See above, p. 221. ² See above, p. 285.

ours, because we began first;’ or again, ‘We hear from Brittany they [the English] continue their depredations on the king’s subjects with unexampled insolence. It is even said that the people at St Malo have arrested all the English they could meet. If this goes on, it can scarcely be but that a rupture must take place.’ Does not Cromwell, after forming the grave resolution of attacking Spain in the West Indies, at least see the necessity of restraining himself on the French side? Does he not fear that the Catholic Powers may forget their differences and combine against the most powerful and threatening Military State that had ever arisen in the Protestant world? Not at all. The massacre in the Alpine valleys now occurs, and though the principal culprit is the Duke of Savoy, the French Government is also implicated. Some of the troops employed against the Waldenses were French, and some Waldensian communities inhabited French territory. When therefore in May 1655 Cromwell put himself at the head of the agitation against the atrocities of the Duke he threatened France as well as Savoy. The rupture that had been so long dreaded seemed to come nearer. The negotiation of a treaty between England and France was for a time suspended, and Bordeaux was expressly informed that ‘the great influence over the Duke of Savoy which the King of France possessed obliged the Protector to render this service to the Protestants and forbade him to sign a treaty at this conjuncture’ (Bordeaux to Brienne, June 3rd, 1655)¹.

We see then that as late as the summer of 1655 Cromwell has not as yet adopted the compromise upon which he ultimately fell back. He is still possessed with the idea of the Protestant League, and thinks of all Catholic Powers

¹ See also Milton’s Despatch of July 29th, 1655.

alike as belonging to an opposite system. In Europe however his policy is defensive. He does not think of attacking Catholicism, but only of asserting the right of his own religion to toleration. In the Indies he takes indeed the offensive, but here too he conceives himself only to assert an unquestionable right. He protests against the Bull of Alexander VI, which would consign for ever the whole Indies to the rule of the Inquisition.

Such is the second phase of Cromwell's policy. In the first phase he made peace among the Protestant states; in the second he rallies them against Catholic intolerance all over the globe. This phase too soon passes away, but it remains especially memorable as the commencement of an English policy which, whether wise or unwise, just or unjust, is not in the least degree *dynastic*.

As he made no advances to France, so perhaps he did not intend to begin a formal war with Spain. Rather he calculated that neither Power could at the moment afford to break with him. When Venables landed in St Domingo with not less than ten thousand men, his proceeding after all was not much more violent than that which the French had long submitted to from England on the sea. Cromwell seems to have contemplated war in the Indies but not war in Europe. While the two great Catholic Powers held each other in check England was to push boldly forward in all directions at the expense of both alike. Affairs however took a different turn, and by the end of 1655 Cromwell found himself involved in formal war with the Spanish Monarchy and entering into alliance with France.

That expedition of Penn and Venables does not seem from our present point of view to have been a failure. It was intended to assert the right of Englishmen to settle in the West Indies, and, as a matter of fact, it added Jamaica

to the British Empire. But at the moment it gave a great blow to Cromwell's military reputation. The force was at first landed in St Domingo, and here it met with a disastrous repulse and retired with the loss of a thousand men. On the return of the expedition Penn and Venables were committed to the Tower; their defeat alone was remarked; that before returning they had occupied Jamaica, which had then but five hundred Spanish inhabitants, scarcely attracted attention.

It would have been wise in Philip IV of Spain to have rested content with his victory in St Domingo. He had taught Cromwell a lesson. But Castilian pride has never been wise. He proceeded now to declare war in solemn form with the Protector. By doing so he sealed the doom of the monarchy of Philip II. But at the same time he caused considerable embarrassment to Cromwell, and forced him to take measures which perhaps he had not originally contemplated.

Mazarin allowed no such punctilio to disturb his policy. He temporised, as he had done ever since the establishment of the Commonwealth. During the summer Cromwell met with unexpected obstacles in dealing with the Piedmontese question. He was disappointed in the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, which he had hoped to set in motion against the persecutors, for he now learnt from Pell that they were held in check by the Catholic Cantons. Switzerland was indeed paralysed at this time by internal disturbances. It had just emerged from a Peasants' War, and was about to enter upon the Wilmerger War, so called in Swiss history. On August 18th Mazarin arranged with the Duke of Savoy the Treaty of Pinerolo, by which the Waldenses received forgiveness and toleration, without however being restored to their homes. It seemed to the English Protestants 'a

lame and impotent conclusion'; Morland calls it a leper in splendid dress. But occurring about the same time as the disappointment in Switzerland and the outbreak of formal war with Spain, it had the effect of modifying the Protector's policy. Instead of a Protestant League he begins to meditate a policy similar to that which had saved Protestantism in the days of Henry IV and in the days of Richelieu, viz, alliance with France.

The Treaty of Westminster, signed on November 3rd, 1655, established by no means an alliance between France and England against Spain. But it brought to an end the condition of lawless maritime war between the two states, and it established by a secret article a satisfactory understanding with respect to the rebels and refugees on both sides. England ceased to protect the party of Condé, Mazarin ceased to shelter the Stuarts and their leading partisans. Cromwell however lost no time in proposing a closer alliance.

We are apt to see Cromwell's policy foreshortened, as it were, by distance. It was not his deliberate policy, we have seen, to side with France against Spain, though he ultimately did this. In like manner when he began to lean towards France he contemplated no such relation with her as was ultimately formed. It is true that owing to his interference the duel of Spain and France was decided within a few years in favour of France, and an age began of vast continental ascendancy for this Power, while Spain fell into irremediable decline and England became a great maritime Power but also for a long time a stranger to the Continent. No such result was contemplated by Cromwell to the last day of his life, and indeed it was produced, if in part by his policy, in part also by his death and the fall of his policy. To the end Cromwell sees England as the

leader of the Protestant Powers of Europe; to the last he labours as much and with as much success to establish English power on the Continent as in the New World, and the sudden progress of France is made not by his means but through the opening left by the abrupt fall of his system.

As Cromwell had been slow to make advances to Mazarin, so Mazarin was not at first eager for the imperious and dangerous help of the great Protestant and Republican Power. The year 1656 was passed by the two statesmen in learning to understand each other. Colonel Lockhart arrives at Paris in May as the Protector's representative. Will he share the fate of Ascham and Dorislaus? Mazarin receives his proposals with little warmth, and hopes for a moment that he may obtain peace with Spain without any further help from England. Hugues de Lionne negotiates at Madrid in July with Don Louis de Haro, while a new Don John of Austria, also a Bastard, assumes the government of the Low Countries. But at this moment the success of Condé against Turenne at Valenciennes gives new encouragement to the Spaniards. The war revives, and Mazarin is obliged after all to invoke the Protector.

The result is an offensive and defensive alliance signed at Paris on March 23rd, 1657. Its object is the conquest from Spain of the three maritime towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; for this purpose France is to furnish twenty thousand men, England six thousand men and a fleet.

Such is the definite shape which Cromwell's policy ultimately assumes. It bears always the same marked character. Among the many wars which England has waged in the same region it would be difficult to name any which has been more purely aggressive. The avowed

object of this enterprise is that England may acquire for herself the town of Dunkirk, a town which has not been hers before, and which seems intended to be a starting-point for further designs.

This treaty consummated at the same time a very violent change of English policy. In the abstract Spain might be a more strongly Catholic Power than France, but since the days of Charles I and his French queen France had been the great Catholic enemy to the Protestant party of England and had been almost identified with the Stuarts. Spain on the other hand had sincerely opposed the Stuart interest ever since the affair of Oquendo's fleet, and had nursed the good will of the Commonwealth with the utmost care. In the course of 1655—6 these relations were gradually reversed. As Cromwell was restoring monarchy at home, so he restored the international relations of the Monarchy. The new war with Spain revived Elizabethan times, and the new alliance with France called to mind the alliance of Elizabeth with Henry and the marriage of Charles with the daughter of Henry. It laid a foundation upon which the later Stuarts built, though they built a very different fabric, as in domestic policy also we find them more than once improving the Protector's hints.

But at the outset great confusion was produced. Both Cromwell in England and Mazarin in France raised new difficulties against themselves. The former had to face a convulsion in the world of English trade, the consequence of the reprisals he had provoked from the Spanish Government. Mazarin on the other hand created a ferment in French public opinion, which he would willingly have avoided, by giving his hand to the successful rebel, the Protestant Protector, and at the same time by abandoning

the cause of a French princess and the honour of the French royal family at a moment when royalism in France was just winning its victory over the republican movement. The disturbance extended further than mere opinion. It altered the position of the exiled English Court, and furnished it with a new opportunity. So long as it had been sheltered by the French Government, which was bent upon keeping the peace with the Protector, it had been unable to take any public action against him. But now that it was thrown into the arms of Spain, and Spain was at war with Cromwell, it became free to act. Charles II, who had long resided at Cologne, now transferred himself to Bruges, to be near his friends in England. Spain, through the same ambassador Cardenas who had so long courted the Protector, now concluded a treaty with Charles Stuart by which it promised to aid him with 6000 men in an invasion of England.

Some time before this revolution of policy the acquisition by England of a continental seaport town had been under discussion. It had been a question whether she should acquire Dunkirk by joining France or Calais by joining Spain. Now however that Cromwell found himself at war with Spain he began to have an additional reason for coveting Dunkirk. Dunkirk began to wear a threatening aspect, as the harbour from which Charles Stuart's expedition favoured by Spain was likely to set sail. The alliance of March 1657 therefore, though so strikingly aggressive, has a defensive aspect at the same time.

And thus in the course of 1656 the policy of the Protectorate assumes a new and final shape. While we contemplated it from a distance we were able to distinguish two broad phases in it, a phase of peace with the

Netherlands and then a phase of war with Spain. This latter phase too, contemplated from a distance, might seem Elizabethan. We see now more phases than two, and the phases are less simple. Cromwell is a sort of chameleon; his attitude and policy are ever on the change. This versatility is a feature of his domestic policy, so that what we loosely call the Protectorate is in fact four or five different governments, the government of a Lord-General with an Assembly of Puritan Notables, the Protectorate under the Instrument of government, Imperialism by means of the Major-Generals, Royalty under the Petition and Advice, and something further which died in the birth with the death of Cromwell himself. In foreign policy too he is a chameleon. Between the peace with Holland and the war with Spain we have now discerned another phase, the policy of the warlike Protestant League. This, we have seen, threatened Spain and France alike, and was by no means Elizabethan, but rather was compounded out of the continental policy of Gustavus Adolphus and the maritime policy of Sir Walter Raleigh. But the chameleon took a new colour in 1656, when the disaster in St Domingo had taken place, when Cromwell found himself, contrary perhaps to his calculation, at war with the Spanish Monarchy, and this now enters into active relations with Charles Stuart.

His policy now enters upon a new phase which may more justly be called Elizabethan. It corresponds to the phase of his domestic policy in which he tried to turn his Protectorate into a Royalty. When he met Parliament in September 1656 he evidently hoped to find a new basis for his authority in the great national war, waged at the same time against the Catholic enemy, upon whose defeat Elizabeth had founded the greatness of England, and against the Stuart. It might indeed have seemed a hopeless task

to turn the pure military imperialism of 1655 into a royalty purely civilian and pacific; but who shall say that the transition could not be made under cover of a great national war, in which the Lamberts and Fleetwoods might be compensated by commands in the Netherlands for the Major-Generalships they would be required to resign?

At least the tradition of hostility to Spain, Popery and the Inquisition might be used for the purpose of reconciling the people to commercial losses and inducing them to found a new dynasty, which should be, like the dynasty of Wasa, characteristically Protestant. And for this purpose it was advantageous for Cromwell that the rival House should have been driven into the arms of the national enemy.

These great designs were frustrated in two years by his death. In the meanwhile English Policy had been launched upon a new course, and the years 1655, 1656, witnessed a transition in our international history.

The War of Cromwell has a maritime and also a continental side. Our sea-king, Blake, *immensi tremor Oceani*, rode the waves again, but, what was more novel, the renowned army which had raised Cromwell himself to power now landed on the Continent, to measure itself against the Spanish infantry, against Condé and his Frondeurs, and against the English exiles. But for Cromwell's death this new beginning might have proved a rudiment of something great. The Military State was seen to advance majestically both by sea and land, but it was secretly undermined. It had but time to make one land conquest, and then disappeared. England remained a great and active maritime Power, but abdicated the position she had newly acquired in Europe.

For us at this distance of time to enter into plans which were so imperfectly realised is not easy. We see a great maritime war with Spain; we see a second great period in the history of the English navy. As Blake succeeds to Drake, so Cromwell seems to revive the policy of Elizabeth. But, not to repeat that Elizabeth's policy was defensive, whereas Cromwell's was aggressive, this view takes account only of one half of Cromwell's policy. While Elizabeth pointedly refused, under the strongest temptations, to be drawn into continental schemes, Cromwell went out of his way to form such schemes, entered upon them with energy, had conspicuous success in them, and may be supposed to have intended to pursue them much further. He acquired Dunkirk; what would he have done with Dunkirk, had he lived ten years longer? This question may suffice to show us the wide difference between Cromwell and Elizabeth, between the Military State and the Insular State.

From the meeting of Parliament in 1656 till Cromwell's death just two years later we see the steady ripening, and then the sudden decay, of a great national and Protestant monarchy in England. It is founded on a grand war, at once national and religious, against the Spanish Monarchy, with which now, most happily for Cromwell, the Stuarts are in alliance. He has reason to hope that in this war he may rally the whole nation round him, satisfy the army, and, pending the settlement of his difficulties with Parliament, obtain money by seizing the treasure-fleets of Spain. The design may be read in his speech of September 17th, 1656, 'You are at war with Spain....The Spaniard is your enemy, naturally and providentially, by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatever is of God....If you make any peace with any State that is Popish and subject

to the rule of Rome, *you* are bound and *they* are loose. We have not now to do [i.e., we are not now in alliance] with any Popish state except France; and it is certain they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope. Spain is the root of the matter; that is the party that brings all your enemies before you; for Spain hath now espoused that interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with—Charles Stuart's interest...with whom he is fully in agreement...And truly Spain hath an interest in your bowels; for the Papists in England have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. They never regarded France; Spain was their patron.'

The war itself has two phases. As it began in the West Indies, so it continues for some time to be mainly maritime, but in the latter part of 1657 it becomes also continental. In 1658 a Puritan army stands in the Low Countries, and the Military State of England interposes between Bourbon and Habsburg as Sweden had done in Cromwell's youth.

Of the former or maritime phase the principal events are as follows:—

A fleet under Blake and Montague sailed for Cadiz. Against Spain it accomplished nothing, but it proceeded to Lisbon, and there compelled the founder of the new Portuguese Monarchy, João IV, now at the very close of his reign, to ratify his treaty with England. The understanding between England and Portugal, which was to last so long because it enabled either Power to balance Spain in the Oceanic world, begins here.

In October 1656 a squadron of this fleet, which had been left behind at Cadiz, under Captain Richard Stayner, fell in with a treasure-fleet of eight sail, and succeeded in destroying part of it and in capturing two ships with a considerable treasure.

In April 1657 Blake discovered the Spanish silver fleet in the harbour of Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe. He attacked and destroyed it, his greatest achievement and perhaps the most surprising naval achievement of that age. The Spaniards however succeeded in rescuing the silver.

Thus the fortune of the Protector did not desert him and the reputation of his government continued to rise. But Santa Cruz was Blake's last exploit. He died in August as his ship entered the harbour of Plymouth.

As 1657 is the great naval year, so is 1658 the year of victory by land, for the Military State.

How many times have English troops fought in the Low Countries in order to defend or to rescue that territory from the French! We are now to see English troops fighting in the Low Countries by the side of the French in order to partition the territory between England and France.

Three thousand soldiers under Reynolds were landed at Boulogne between May 18 and 24, were reviewed by Louis XIV at Montreuil, and joined the army of Turenne near St Quentin about June 11. On June 21 Turenne writes to Mazarin, 'I have seen the English; they are the finest troops possible.'

A great transition of European affairs was about to take place—so much was evident—but the nature of it was by no means clearly indicated by what next took place. The alliance of England and France had a great triumph in the summer of 1658, and of this triumph the most significant feature appeared to be that the British Military State, which already ruled the Ocean, now took fast hold of the European Continent. Cromwell, who went so far beyond Elizabeth, now drew our state out of that insularity to which Elizabeth had condemned it

when she submitted to the loss of Calais. The Protestant League still seemed to prosper, though it had been compelled to accept the aid of France. In concert with Sweden, courted by De Witt's government in Holland, in close intercourse with the Protestant Cantons, victorious on the Ocean, and now at last firmly planted in Flanders, Cromwell seemed a much more powerful person than Mazarin, and the triumph of 1658 seemed likely to prove the commencement of a universal ascendancy of England. But the appearance was delusive. The transition which now took place established the ascendancy not of England, but of France; it opens the 'Siècle de Louis XIV.'

Now that we are led back to continental affairs we must take note of certain great events which happened at this juncture and which hastened on the universal change.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the offensive treaty by Cromwell and Mazarin, on April 2nd, 1657, the Emperor Ferdinand III died. This was the prince who in his early days had turned the tide of the German war against Sweden and in favour of Austria by his victory of Nordlingen, and who had afterwards made the Treaty of Westphalia. The first demise of an Emperor after the Thirty Years' War was a most momentous event, and we are to observe that the vacancy continued for fifteen months. How would Cromwell, as the head of the Protestant interest, regard this vacancy? Would he not at least wish that it should not be filled by a Habsburg, the head of the Catholic interest in Germany, the cousin of his own enemy, the King of Spain? And so far the wish of Cromwell would be in agreement with the wish of Mazarin. But Mazarin would also have a positive wish. By the Treaty of Westphalia his own master Louis XIV had

taken, as guarantor, a place in the Germanic system almost equal to that held by the Austrian prince. Why should not the young king of France become a competitor with the young king of Hungary and Bohemia for the votes of the Electoral College? Why should not the Emperor Ferdinand be succeeded by the Emperor Louis?

But at least it seemed that the moment had arrived for bringing to an end the greatness of the House of Habsburg. While England and France in alliance humbled the Spanish branch in Flanders the Austrian branch might be deprived of the Imperial Crown. For a moment this latter result seemed certain to happen. Not only were France, England and Sweden opposed to the Austrian candidate, but the ecclesiastical princes of the Rhine, upon whom Austria usually depended, were at this time opposed to him. The Elector John Philip of Mainz (known later as a patron of Leibnitz) with his active minister Boineburg headed a party which favoured a purely German and more insignificant candidate, some Bavarian or Palatine prince.

It was therefore a surprising event that the Austrian candidate, Leopold Ignatius, king of Hungary, was after all elected in July, 1658, and so a new period of Austrian ascendancy in Germany began. The explanation of this is to be found in that incurable discord among the Protestant Powers which all along had grieved the soul of Cromwell. His young hero, Charles Gustavus of Sweden, disappointed his hopes. Had Charles Gustavus proved indeed a new Gustavus Adolphus, or rather had he answered to that idealised conception of Gustavus Adolphus which dwelt in the mind of Cromwell, the year 1658 might have witnessed the downfall of the House of Habsburg and the victory of the Reformation along the whole line. But

the policy of Charles Gustavus was not religious, it was purely national. Instead of resuming he deliberately abandoned the German schemes of Gustavus Adolphus. He does not concern himself about the Protestant interest in Germany or in Europe at large, but sees before him only the two ancient enemies of his House, the king of Poland (with Russia in the background) and the king of Denmark. He begins a War of the North which from 1655 to 1660 rages by the side of the war of Cromwell and Mazarin just as later Charles XII's campaigns run parallel to those of Marlborough and Eugene. But in this war he takes his own course, which by no means corresponds to the course of Cromwell. For instead of uniting he divides in a most serious manner the Protestant interest. He attacks Denmark, a Protestant state, and wins victories which alarm the Protestant Netherlands and Cromwell himself lest Sweden should succeed in closing the Baltic; at the same time his victories over Poland are most alarming and embarrassing to the other great Protestant prince of the North, the Great Elector. The latter finds himself surrounded and hemmed in by Swedish power. He seems about to exchange a nominal vassalage to Poland for a most real vassalage to the Swedish conqueror who has the Polish state, if not the whole Baltic coast, at his mercy.

Cromwell's Panevangelical system, if we may call it so, was frustrated by the fact that the Great Elector was driven into the arms of Catholic Austria by this threatening inroad from Sweden. Cromwell just lived to see the election of Leopold decided by the vote of a Protestant Elector and the ascendancy of the Austrian House in Germany secured at a most critical moment for almost another century.

Mazarin's views were somewhat different from Cromwell's. It does not appear that he had very seriously endeavoured to procure the election of the king of France, but to exclude the Austrian had seemed to him essential, because so long as the Empire was under Austrian influence it would favour and aid the Spanish Power with which he was at war. Now therefore he resorted to another measure intended to guard in another way against this danger. He became a model to that other Italian who was to guide the policy of France in a later age. He created a Confederation of the Rhine. Out of the German party by means of which he had hoped to exclude Leopold he now composed a League, the nominal object of which was to guard the Treaty of Westphalia and so to prevent a reunion of the two branches of the House of Habsburg.

The election of Leopold occurred on July 18th. The act of the Confederation of the Rhine was signed by the three ecclesiastical Electors and some other German princes on August 14th; France adhered to it on the 15th.

In the summer months of 1658 great international events were crowded together. For just before these German occurrences, viz. on June 14th, a decisive event had occurred in Flanders, and soon after them, on September 3rd, another decisive event occurred at Whitehall.

The battle of the Dunes was won by Turenne near Dunkirk on June 14th. A few days later Dunkirk surrendered. It was solemnly entered by Louis XIV, and then in accordance with the treaty handed over to the English. Colonel Lockhart took possession of it for Cromwell on June 25th. Mardyke had been in English possession since October 1657.

These military occurrences were of inexpressible importance. At the battle of the Dunes the duel of France

and Spain, which had begun twenty-three years earlier, and had been the great war of Europe for the last ten years, was decided. The Treaty of the Pyrenees was the consequence of it, and by the Treaty of the Pyrenees it may be said that the greatness of the Spanish Monarchy was brought to an end.

It was a great triumph for France, and already the age of Louis XIV begins to exhibit its splendid features. The young king appeared in all his glory to take possession of Dunkirk. It had been difficult to restrain his martial ardour while the military operations proceeded, and when they were over it was quite impossible! 'He wore a splendid military dress, and rode a noble white charger; never in the opinion of the court had he borne himself so proudly and grandly. M. de Bassecourt bowed the knee to him and said with a respectful reverence that he had but one consolation in his misfortune of having been unable to hold out longer, and that was that he had the honour of surrendering the place personally into the hands of so great a prince¹.'

Louis plays his part well, and the victory had been won by a French army commanded by Turenne. But at this moment the great man of the age was Cromwell, and it might appear that he gained more by the victory than Louis or than Mazarin.

Cromwell's arms had met with a reverse in St Domingo three years before, and his position at home might often seem extremely precarious. But now he was seen on the morrow of Blake's great naval victory taking a share in the decisive battle of the age and giving back to England by the acquisition of Dunkirk the continental position which she had lost just a century before when she lost Calais.

¹ *Gazette de France*, quoted by Bourelly (*Cromwell et Mazarin*, p. 232).

At the battle of the Dunes the English battalions, under the command of Lockhart and Morgan, had carried a dune against the Spaniards with conspicuous gallantry. A Spanish officer wrote that 'the English came on like wild beasts and that there was no resisting them'.¹ This was in itself a great triumph for Cromwell and his Military State, but he had also the satisfaction of having driven the royalist party into the arms of the enemies of England. In the motley force which was defeated at the Dunes were to be found, fighting by the side of Don Juan, not only the great Condé, but also two Stuart princes, the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester.

From the domestic point of view Cromwell's power may seem in these last months of his life to have sunk to a very low ebb. The royal Protectorate had broken down; the Other House had proved a failure. He had dissolved Parliament, apparently in the blind petulance of despair. What could he do next? It may be, it has been held, that nothing but an opportune death saved him from ignominious ruin.

But looked at from the European point of view Cromwell's power had never been so immensely great as at this very moment. A Military State can find resources in war itself, as Sweden was showing in that very age. It is possible that the Battle of the Dunes, used as Cromwell would know how to use it, would have proved a turning-point in English history, a starting-point for the Protestant and Military Monarchy of Great Britain in the House of Cromwell. But this battle was fought in June and in September occurred the death of Oliver Cromwell.

Precisely a century had passed since the death of Queen Mary. And now in 1658 the situation of foreign affairs

¹ Bourelly, *op. cit.* p. 200.

was in some respects strikingly similar to the situation in 1558. England was again concerned in a war on the coast of Flanders. The same local names were again in men's mouths. At that time there had been a battle of Gravelines, and now again Gravelines was besieged and taken. At that time a great decisive battle between France and Spain had been fought at St Quentin in which the English force had distinguished itself, and which had been speedily followed by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. Precisely parallel is the decisive battle of the Dunes, which led to the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

These resemblances put in a striking light the great difference, namely, that in 1558 England aided Spain, while now she aids France. It is indeed true that as the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis founded that great complex Spanish Monarchy of which we have traced the history in this book, so the Treaty of the Pyrenees brought it to an end, and that England played a similar part then in establishing, and now in overthrowing, it.

But we seem to see another grand difference, which however proved transitory.

The policy of Queen Mary in assisting Philip was un-English and disastrous, and the immediate result of it was the loss of Calais and humiliation for England. The policy of Cromwell in assisting Louis XIV greatly raised the reputation of England, and the immediate result of it was the acquisition of Dunkirk. And indeed had Cromwell's power at home rested on a firm basis, or had he lived to turn his triumph to good account, an age might have opened for England if not of happiness, yet of vast greatness and ascendancy.

But as the death of Cromwell followed immediately, and as his Military State speedily crumbled away, his

European policy had in the end a result not very unlike that to which the policy of Mary had led. Dunkirk was lost again, and with it went all the great possibilities that depended on its possession. And as Mary had helped to found the ascendancy of Spain, so it was soon visible that Cromwell had merely founded an ascendancy of France. England retires into her insularity, and becomes once more comparatively a peaceful Power, while from this moment the greatness of France, which had been under eclipse since 1648, shines forth again, and the Roi-Soleil enters upon his long day of glory.

It is more natural to compare Cromwell to Queen Elizabeth than to Queen Mary. Elizabeth and Cromwell round off a complete century of policy; they also stand out in strong contrast to the feeble politicians that came between them. Both confronted foreign Powers with a high courage; both gave England a high place among the Powers of Europe. And yet in one capital point they are sharply contrasted.

In Elizabeth, as we saw, action is at a *minimum*. She faces the world bravely, but she *does* as little as possible. By good fortune she enjoys a reign of forty-four years, in which all old wounds are healed, a sense of contentment and rest grows upon the minds of the people, and a deep and broad foundation is laid upon which immense things have since been built.

Cromwell is in this respect in the other extreme. He is the most audacious and original statesman we have had, but, as he began late and ended soon, too little time was allowed him. By far the greater part of his work perished with him, and yet it would not be fair to say that this fact stamps his work as unsound. Nor is it fair to charge upon

him some bad results which flowed from his policy. He laid a daring plan which he was not allowed to execute. What he left was a mere fragment, which it is not equitable to estimate as if it were a complete work.

Had five more years been granted to him, it seems possible that his triumphs abroad might have relieved him of his domestic difficulties. In this case he would have founded, as we said, a great Protestant and Military Monarchy which would have been as powerful as the Spanish Monarchy had been at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Dunkirk would have been a new starting-point for his Protestant League. There would have been new military enterprises which would have afforded occupation for his puritan army, and new triumphs which would have reconciled the people to a military domination, especially as they would have been triumphs on the one side for Protestantism, on the other side for Toleration. As Queen Christina said, he would have been the Gustavus Wasa of Great Britain.

We may most reasonably doubt whether such a result would have been in the long run happy for the country. English history would have been rolled into another course. Monarchy would have been restored on a new, a military basis, which would have given us glory and ascendancy instead of liberty and wealth. These results, good or evil, good *and* evil, would have been fairly chargeable upon Cromwell.

What actually happened was the result not of Cromwell's policy alone, but partly of that policy and partly of the policy which was substituted for it after the sudden and disastrous downfall of the Protectorate. Cromwell acted on the presumption that England had a powerful standing army, in discipline and tone the best army in the world

and also that England had a strong and determined government, which was in one way or another to be held independent of Parliament. He had been accustomed through life to leave much to Providence, but Providence, which had favoured his personal enterprises, suddenly withdrew its support. The strong Government disappeared, the strong army vanished with it. The Military State fell.

PART IV.

THE SECOND REACTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESTORATION AND CHARLES II.

THE expression 'Growth of British Policy' is intended to describe a series of changes, tentatives, or developments, through which British Policy arrived at its maturity, that is, at a fixed condition. This fixed condition may be said to have been reached about the time of Queen Anne, when by the union of England and Scotland our policy became definitely British instead of merely English, when it also assumed its predominantly commercial character, when its characteristic machinery, the Debt, the Bank, the Standing Army were in full play, and public opinion, expressed through Parliament, took the place of dynastic interest in foreign relations. From this time our policy has continued through all variation of circumstances to be the same in object and in spirit. The agency which thus brought our foreign policy to maturity was the same as

that which rendered the same service to our domestic constitution—it was the agency of William of Orange.

At the point which we have now reached, when the second of our three heroes, Oliver Cromwell, quits the scene, William, the last of the trio, is a child of eight years, and thirty years are to pass before he strikes the great stroke which is to cut so many knots at once. It remains for us to review the period between 1658 and 1688 and to cast a glance upon the new state of things which resulted gradually from the Revolution.

But as at the beginning of this Essay, when we dealt with the period before the accession of Elizabeth, so now when we come in sight of the end, we shall sketch somewhat more slightly than while we dealt with the century which is opened by Elizabeth and closed by Cromwell. The general course of development has by this time been clearly marked, and the reader will half anticipate the stages which remain to be traversed. It will be comparatively easy to show how the old state of things passed away, and as to the state of things which took its place after the Revolution, that cannot be completely described in this book. A complete description of it belongs less properly to the last chapters of a work on the seventeenth, than to the earlier chapters of a work on the eighteenth, century.

We have seen in general a dynastic policy giving way to a national. Elizabeth by refraining from marriage snaps all the dynastic threads which might have hindered the free expansion of the national interest. Then follows a reaction under the earlier Stuarts, during which a new dynastic web is woven. This again is violently broken by the establishment of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell lays on a grand scale the foundation of a national policy.

Under him the modern British Empire appears for the first time in a transient form.

Foreign writers have been more struck than English historians with this particular achievement of Cromwell. Ranke finds it to be his 'chief merit that he ruled the British kingdoms for a succession of years on a uniform principle and united their forces in common efforts.' He adds: 'it is true that this was not the final award of history; things were yet to arrange themselves in a very different fashion. But it was necessary perhaps that the main outlines should be shaped by the absolute authority of a single will, in order that in the future a free life might develop within them.' This view of Cromwell, though little familiar to English people, is so fully accepted in Germany that Mommsen in estimating the work of the Roman Sulla, which he remarks was indeed ephemeral yet a great and necessary work of unification, pronounces that 'the founder of Italian unity deserves a place below indeed, yet not much below that of Cromwell.'

Under Cromwell the union of the three kingdoms was for the moment realised, and as the country chanced to have not only a powerful fleet but also a disciplined army and a habit of war, the new Britain took the lead of all states, and seemed on the point of succeeding to the ascendancy so recently forfeited by Spain. At this moment Cromwell died, and forthwith the prospects of Britain were altered.

Before entering into detail, we can perceive at once some of the larger results of Cromwell's death, and we are now prepared roughly to interpret the well-known events of the next age so far as they bear upon British Policy.

There was after all to be no new dynasty of the Swedish type, founded upon Protestantism, directing a Protestant

League in Europe, and carrying Protestantism over all the seas and over all the American Continent. The old dynasty would be recalled.

This implied by itself a certain restoration of the dynastic system. True that the House of Cromwell also would have acquired in time dynastic interests, that its princes and princesses would have allied themselves with foreign royal houses and would have acquired foreign claims, as the House of Wasa had done, for example, in Poland. But the process would have been slow, and so for many years after 1658 England would have been as free from foreign entanglements as in the days of Queen Elizabeth. On the other hand the restored Stuarts were themselves almost Frenchmen, half Frenchmen by blood, and French too by the habits acquired in their long exile. Moreover they were likely speedily to make themselves still more foreign by marriage.

Accordingly, as we traced a dynastic reaction after the death of Elizabeth, we may expect to find a second similar reaction after the death of Oliver. And it is likely to be intenser, since the restored Stuarts were much more intensely foreign and also more tainted from the beginning with Catholicism than James I and Charles I had been.

We can also see beforehand the immense importance of that child who is growing up at the Hague. The House of Cromwell has failed to establish itself. The House of Stuart has become by this time too French and too much disposed to Catholicism to adapt itself permanently to the new national life which has been awakened in England by the Commonwealth. But the child at the Hague is also a Stuart on the mother's side, and on the father's side he is at least not French; he is the next thing to an Englishman, he is a Dutchman. And as to religion, what name

in all Europe is more proudly identified with Protestantism than that which he bears, the name of Orange? Without any supernatural gift of prophecy it might have been foretold at the time of the Restoration that the perplexities of the English question could only be solved by William of Orange. *Ille faciet*, might have been said of him, as it was said by King Charles of Sweden of the boy Gustavus Adolphus. It would have been more natural to expect too much than too little from William, for it might have seemed probable that he would found an Orange dynasty in England, to last through the eighteenth century, and to unite permanently the Netherlands to Great Britain.

This preliminary survey of the age we are now to consider shows it falling into three periods. We first see the House of Stuart superseding the House of Cromwell, and, as the restoration of Charles was effected in a peaceable manner and amid general enthusiasm, there could not but follow a period of reconciliation between the dynasty and the people. Then begins a new breach. The Stuarts adopt a new system more congenial to their French ways of thinking. Hence we have a new revolutionary period which ends with the expulsion of James II. But the English Revolution is not the brief struggle it is often represented to be. It is a long convulsion, and for ten years, from 1678 to 1688, it had almost the character of a Reign of Terror. The commencement of it however is earlier still. It may be placed in 1670, at the date of the Treaty of Dover. Thus we have three periods, the first extending from 1658 to 1670, the second from 1670 to 1688, and the third extending from the arrival of William to the consolidation of his system.

These three periods we shall now consider in a somewhat summary manner. We shall treat of the reaction

which followed the death of Cromwell, first the comparatively mild reaction of the early years of the Restoration, then the intense reaction introduced by the Treaty of Dover. We shall then consider in what way William III contrived to reconcile the ancient English Monarchy to the national system of policy which had first been founded by Cromwell upon the ruins of the ancient English Monarchy.

We know that Cromwell's system died with him, but from this we ought scarcely to infer that it was radically unsound and only practicable for a moment through the exceptional energy of a great man. The juster view seems to be that it was a system which might have become permanent, had the founder of it been allowed a few more years of life. The House of Cromwell might have reigned in Britain as long as the House of Wasa in Sweden had Oliver reached his term of threescore years and ten and been succeeded, let us say, by Henry instead of Richard. In that case we should have seen a dynasty resembling the Tudors rather than the Stuarts. We should have seen a Protestant Monarchy of a highly military and ambitious type, resting on three massive foundation-stones, the standing army, the Protestant religion, and the principle of toleration. As Oliver died and Richard could not support the burden of his succession, what alternatives were open to the country? Two forms of government had been found equally wanting. The old Monarchy, as administered by Charles I, had been found wanting, but those experiments, which had taken the name of Republic, had failed still more completely. While the Army, possessing, if not right, at least might, showed itself able to create something, the mutilated Parliament, possessing neither might nor right, afraid equally of the

people on one side and of the army on the other, had failed in '53, and now in '59 failed again.

There appeared to be only two paths by which the country could make its way back to a stable condition of things.

One lay through a restoration of the ancient system, under which the country had been glorious in the last years of Elizabeth, prosperous and happy in the first years of James. King and Parliament might now be reconciled, each being wiser and sadder than in the time of their mortal struggle, each having learned that King could not stand without Parliament nor Parliament without King.

At the same time it could not but strike Charles Stuart at least that another course was open, a course which to him personally would be preferable. Cromwell's new system had in many respects succeeded not less well than the old system of Elizabeth. It had been discovered that the country might be governed gloriously without the help of its ancient constitution. To learn the dead enchanter's spell might be difficult, but if occasion should serve, or if the other plan should fail, or threaten to fail, it was always worth while to remember how marvellous had been its operation, and it could not be forgotten that the most potent words in that spell had been 'Religious Toleration' and 'Standing Army.' We grasp perhaps the clue to the policy of the later Stuarts when we remark that they had always before their minds the splendid success of Cromwell. The Monarch of the Restoration would naturally desire to succeed to the mighty power of the Protector rather than to the feebleness of Charles I, or if he could not actually take over the position of Cromwell he would desire at least to engraft the Protectorate on the ancient Monarchy. And indeed it is the most obvious characteristic of the policy of

Charles II and James II that they try to appropriate to the Monarchy the advantages to be derived from religious toleration and from a standing army.

But while they have two rival examples for imitation, their father and the Protector, the influences and circumstances of their exile contribute more perhaps than any imitation to shape their policy. They have lived for years in dependence on foreign courts, especially the court of France. To the French court they are bound not merely by obligation but by family connexion and by the powerful influence of their mother. From the beginning she had observed English politics with the eyes of a Catholic and a daughter of Henry IV. She had seen her brother and her nephew establish absolute monarchy in conflict with turbulent factions and with Parliaments. Of this absolute monarchy the foundation had been laid by her father when he made his great recantation. Her own Catholic feeling was intensely strong. By her counsels and by their own observation of the fall of the Fronde Charles and James would be led to think of establishing rather an absolute and military than a parliamentary monarchy in England. At the same time they formed the habit of depending on the French court for money. And lastly they received a strong bias towards Catholicism.

There was one point of resemblance between Henry IV and Cromwell—religious toleration—for Henry IV was the author of the Edict of Nantes. It was natural therefore that the restored Stuarts, studying Cromwell on the one side and the Bourbon Monarchy on the other, should form a vague scheme of establishing in England a monarchy similar to that of Louis XIV by means of religious toleration. Such is the dream which floats before the mind both of Charles II and James II.

In foreign, even more than in domestic, policy the Monarchy of the Restoration must have been attracted by the example of Cromwell. He had put Great Britain in the very front rank of states, whereas under Charles I the English Government had been held in slight regard alike by Habsburg and the Bourbon. When on Cromwell's death Charles began to look forward to restoration he expected to take his seat not on his father's throne but on the first throne in Europe. But the prospect was at the moment as embarrassing as it was attractive. Cromwell's foreign policy had been wholly novel, and it had forced Charles Stuart into a position which was strange, false, and most perplexing. His family connexions attached him to France; a French alliance and a French marriage summed up the foreign policy to which both his mother and himself would have been naturally inclined. But Cromwell, reversing the foreign relations of the Commonwealth, had, as it were, taken violent possession of France. Accordingly at the moment of Cromwell's death Charles Stuart found himself on the side of Spain, residing in Spanish territory and sending his brothers and his followers into the field against the armies of the French king, his cousin Louis XIV.

From such a position it would require some agility to vault into the saddle which Cromwell now vacated, to take up Cromwell's French alliance and his war of conquest against Spain. Charles could indeed without much difficulty disentangle himself from that extremely close connexion with the Spanish cause into which he had latterly been driven; and so we see him in April, 1660, taking a somewhat hurried flight from Brussels, that is from the dominions of Philip IV, and establishing himself at Breda, from which Dutch town he issued the Declaration which was preliminary to his restoration. But altogether to

change sides, to pass over to France and to become an enemy to Spain—this was a doubtful and difficult policy. It was indeed agreeable to his own personal inclination so far as he was a Frenchman, nor could he think of inaugurating his reign by giving back Jamaica and Dunkirk to the Spaniard. At the same time war with Spain was unpopular in the commercial world of England, and Cromwell's policy as a whole was too essentially Protestant to suit a prince who had such close relations with Catholicism.

All these thoughts might have passed through the mind of Charles at the moment of receiving the news of Cromwell's death. In a year and a half from that time his position was defined by the particular manner in which his Restoration was accomplished. That he would be restored in some way had appeared extremely probable from the moment of the fall of the rival dynasty in the person of Richard. But between April, 1659, and May, 1660, it was decided by what parties and in what way he should be restored, a question upon which depended the position he would hold after his restoration.

Three modes of restoration, wholly distinct, were conceivable, besides various combinations of these three modes.

1. He might step at once into the place of Richard Cromwell, and so convert the Protectorate, which in Oliver's time had grown visibly more and more like a Monarchy, once for all into a Monarchy.

2. As the fall of Richard and the confusion which followed betrayed the failure of the whole revolutionary movement, Charles might return as a conqueror at the head of a foreign army, welcomed and supported by the whole royalist party of England, which would now force its way back to political power.

3. The Restoration might be accomplished wholly without the aid either of the party of the Protectorate or of the royalist party and of foreign Powers. It might be the work of that parliamentary party which had conducted the war with Charles I, intending only to reduce, not at all to destroy, the power of the Monarchy, and which at the moment when it seemed about to complete its work had been overwhelmed by the military insurrection.

By the first of these modes of Restoration Charles II would be a direct successor of Oliver, supplying the want of Oliver's personal genius by the legitimacy and splendour of the ancient Monarchy.

By the second he would take the place of his father, as his father would have been if immediately after the arrival of the Queen in 1644 he had won a great victory over the armies of the Parliament and so had crushed the rebellion.

By the third he would take the place of his father as his father would have been if the Treaty of Newport had been carried to a successful conclusion, with this exception that, while he would have made great concessions to the Parliament, he would at the same time have taken his seat on the throne not as a defeated but rather as a victorious Monarch.

In personal character Charles resembles his grandfather Henry IV, deducting the heroism and the inexhaustible energy. He resembles him particularly in the easy cheerful indifference to principle which had enabled Henry to be at one time leader of the Huguenots and at another to put himself at the head of the Catholic revival, while he shamed both Churches equally by his unbounded profligacy. In like manner Charles, son of the martyr of Anglicanism, had at one time taken the Covenant, and later on meditated putting himself at the head of the Catholic party.

It is not therefore impossible to conceive him succeeding Cromwell as the head of the military party, as we know that there had been at one time a serious negotiation between this party and Charles I. When in the summer of 1659 the antagonism between Parliament and Army once more showed itself, the question rose again whether the Military State might not be saved at the last moment by the aid of the ancient Monarchy. In that case Charles would have appeared as Cromwell's successor, master of a great army, inheritor of the leadership of the Protestant party in Europe, and probably no religious or moral scruples would have caused him to hesitate. It seems possible that Lambert brooded over this idea. But it was a chimera, as Cromwell himself had found it to be a chimera in 1647. Even if Charles and Lambert could have come to terms, the party behind Lambert, the army, and the party behind Charles, the royalists, the Catholics and the followers of the Queen, could never have consented to so unnatural a coalition.

That it was impossible was a most momentous fact, for it caused the fall of the Military State. If the Army could not make the Restoration in its own interest, nothing remained but that the Army should be disbanded, and England, deprived of her redoubted army, must resign at once her position at the head of the states of Europe.

While Lambert perhaps meditated the first mode, the second mode of Restoration, that by a rising of the Royalists aided by foreign troops, was rashly attempted in August, 1659. In Surrey and Sussex, in Sherwood Forest, in Lancashire and Cheshire, the royalists rose. It is important to remark how much at this moment they depended upon French aid. Turenne was prepared to carry the Duke of York over to England and to furnish him with troops

and artillery. We see here the first outline of a policy to which the House of Stuart was henceforth to accustom itself more and more. This same Duke of York, how often in later life, when he was known as James II, would he crave help from Louis XIV! And, long after both Charles II and James II and Louis XIV himself had disappeared, Stuart Pretenders were to lean on France. As Turenne meditates an invasion of England in 1659, Saxe more than eighty years later designs to bring over from the Low Countries Charles Edward, the grandson of James II.

We see from Mazarin's letters to Turenne how he regarded English affairs at this conjuncture. On September 8th he writes, 'As to the affairs of England I am in some anxiety about the possible consequences of the resolution you have thought it right to take for the reasons you give, since...prudence compels us always equally to distrust those who have ever been considered irreconcilable enemies of France (he means here the Spaniards)...It is for this reason that I have used the utmost circumspection in the answers I have been forced to give both to the Queen of England and to Mr Germain (Jermyn), Montague, and others who keep writing to beg me to induce the King to aid the King of England at this crisis. It seems to me that even if His Majesty should be convinced, as I am convinced, that a king in England would be much better than a republic, and that for other reasons we ought to concern ourselves about the justice of the said king's cause, still before committing ourselves we ought to take good care and such precautions that at least we might be assured that the King of England will be obliged to us and will be a friend to us, and especially we ought to allow time, so that there may be nothing to arrange with respect

to the conclusion of the peace between the two crowns¹ (France and Spain)'. . .

Once more special reasons, we see, prevented France from striking in at a most critical moment of English politics. All along Mazarin had favoured Monarchy in England; nevertheless he had been forced to allow the Commonwealth to come into existence, and latterly he had been led to form a close alliance with it. Now that it seems about to fall, he is hampered by the fact that Charles Stuart has become an enemy of France, and is actually living in Spanish territory as an ally of Spain. Before we can help to restore the King, he says, 'we must be sure that he will be a friend to us.' Moreover, as it chances, his hands are full. He is winding up the war of twenty-five years with Spain which he inherited from Richelieu. He is making the Treaty of the Pyrenees. An age of peace is dawning; armies are to be disbanded; it is no time for new enterprises. Least of all can any plan be entertained which might endanger or retard the pacification.

This pacification began just after the fall of Richard Cromwell by the armistice which was signed on May 8th, 1659. A preliminary treaty was signed on June 4th. Lastly on November 7th the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed in the Isle of Pheasants.

Thus the negotiation occupied the very months when the affairs of England were in the utmost confusion. One consequence of this was that England, which had had no inconsiderable share in the decisive campaign of the war, had no share in the treaty of peace, and was barely mentioned in the armistice. But another consequence was that Mazarin abstained from intervention in England. He spoke indeed warmly of the necessity of putting down

¹ Chéruel *op. cit.* III, 290.

the Republic (un exemplo tan escandaloso contra las monarquias); he received indeed most eager solicitations from Charles Stuart, who appears to have offered to himself personally, and to his heirs in perpetuity, the government of Ireland¹. At the moment when the treaty was about to be signed, and when the French and Spanish Governments had begun to regard each other as friends, Charles Stuart himself arrived at Fuentarabia, had an interview with Don Louis de Haro, and contrived that Ormond should have an interview with Mazarin. He asked only 4000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, with which he hoped to suppress a scandal equally distasteful to the King of Spain and the King of France, viz. the English Republic. But both Ministers turned a deaf ear, and Mazarin contented himself with renouncing by a secret article of the treaty his treaties of 1657 and 1658 with Cromwell.

Thus no foreign aid could be obtained for the royalist insurrection, and the insurrection itself, which had been intended to be universal, and which had broken out in Cheshire under Sir G. Booth, was put down by Lambert after a short engagement at Winnington Bridge.

Restoration in the second mode was not to take place. The third mode still remained to be tried.

A deadlock was produced in the latter months of 1659 by the opposition of the Military Power and the Parliament. The former had force but no legitimacy, the latter a certain shadow—only a shadow—of legitimacy, but no force. Cromwell had half succeeded in removing this opposition; but it had now returned and become irreconcilable. A sort of equilibrium had set in which made government impossible. But by the failure of the royalist insurrection and

¹ Valfrey, *Hugues de Lionne*, p. 312.

the inaction of foreign Powers the Commonwealth still retained one power, that of recalling Charles Stuart voluntarily, and, as it were, in its own way. Charles did not return by any kind of force nor by the action of his own adherents. The royalist party remained spectators of the Restoration. It was achieved by a combination between two sections of the party hitherto opposed to the King, the presbyterian section of the parliamentary party and the section headed by Monk of the military party. Until the last moment the King was not named, and, strangely enough, the euphemistic term, adopted by those who wished to avoid the word 'King,' was 'Parliament'; men called for 'a free Parliament.'

On the other hand the enemy vanquished at the Restoration was that political Army which had invaded English politics at Pride's Purge. The grand principle asserted by Monk in the bosom of the army itself was this, that the army must be subject to the civil power. This carried with it the whole system of legitimacy, including the Monarchy.

But the Army could not thus be vanquished without being also disbanded. If Military Government were to cease the Military State itself must fall.

Thus at the very moment when the military state was acquiring an unrivalled organisation in France,—for Turenne was made Marshal-General about this time, and about this time the whole programme of Louis XIV's age was arranged,—in England on the other hand the Military State was dissolved. Charles II, when he compared himself with his cousin at Paris, must have bitterly regretted that he was condemned to a Monarchy without an army, all the more because the army had been there, and he had himself seen it melt away.

When we consider the Restored Monarchy with respect to foreign policy, we make this remark first,

That England ceases again to be a Military State. She is indeed in the full tide of victory. She has received a mighty impulse towards colonial expansion. And she will remain a great and enterprising naval Power. But in the process of forming a great army, through which she might have given the law to Europe, she has been suddenly arrested. A dread and dislike of standing armies are henceforth deeply implanted in the English mind.

But we remark also,

That the Restored Monarchy is singularly free from foreign entanglements. A King, who in his exile had been dependent on the subsidies of foreign courts, is now unexpectedly restored without foreign aid. No foreign Power had any share in the English Restoration. 'This,' says Ranke, 'is one of the most important of all *negative events*, if such an expression may be used.' For the moment it was open to Charles II, especially as he was still unmarried, to take his own course in the European politics of the day.

As the domestic aspect of the Restoration concerns us here but indirectly, we note as briefly as possible the further developement which took place necessarily as soon as the Monarchy had been reestablished, and modified even its foreign policy. By the help of the King the Parliament, as we have seen, had quelled and at last dissolved the revolutionary army. But it could not recall the King without recalling the royalist party. Charles would not this time be a Covenanting king. The Restoration, though not made by the royalists, necessarily fell into their hands, nor could the Presbyterians, who had made it, find in it even an asylum. Intended as a reaction against the military movement of 1648, it developed into a reaction against

the movement of 1642. The Act of Uniformity was passed, the Anglican Church issued victoriously from its long struggle, and the party of Falkland, led by Chancellor Clarendon, obtained control of English policy.

This change, succeeding the fall of the army, destroyed the Protestant State along with the Military State. All sympathy with foreign Protestant Churches vanished. England returned to that middle path in religion to which she had first grown accustomed under Elizabeth. While the instrument of Cromwell's European policy, the army, disappeared, his principle, his Panevangelicalism, disappeared too.

It was involved in all this that the expediency of retaining Dunkirk was called in question.

Meanwhile, monarchy being restored, royal marriage recovered the momentous importance that belonged to it in the monarchic system. Charles Stuart entered London on his thirtieth birthday. His marriage was henceforth one of the greatest political questions of the day.

The occurrences which mark the transition of British Policy from the age of Cromwell to the second Stuart period are these two, the marriage of Charles II to Catharine of Bragança and the sale of Dunkirk to the King of France.

Considered together they mark, first, the fall of the Military State together with the maintenance of the Naval and Colonial State (for Dunkirk represents Cromwell's continental plans, and this is abandoned, while the retention of Jamaica and the alliance with Portugal indicate the adoption of Cromwell's maritime policy); secondly, an ominous revival of the dynastic system. Once more after long disuse the method is revived of attaching the foreign interests of England, her commercial communi-

cations in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, her relations with foreign Powers, to the marriages of the royal family.

This reaction after Cromwell reminds us of the reaction, which was considered above, after Elizabeth, the unmarried, childless, kinless Elizabeth. We have recognised however that the dynastic system, cautiously handled, might do little harm, and that in a few cases it had been known to produce splendid results; for had it not brought together Aragon and Castille, England and Scotland? The Bragança marriage might seem to afford a favourable specimen of the system; it remained for time to decide whether the second reaction would on the whole be harmless or even beneficial, or whether it would be mischievous, as the first had been, or even far more mischievous.

We obtain a sort of general formula for the period before us when we remark (1) that the later Stuarts were exposed by their dynastic position to a peculiar danger, that of being absorbed and lost in a French alliance, unnatural and catholicising; (2) that at the outset the danger was both manifest and easily avoidable, the Restoration having been accomplished without French aid. Thus we distinguish two phases in the period. At first the Stuart policy is on the whole independent, at particular moments energetically independent, of France, though from the outset France exerts a strong attractive power. Then comes the phase of dependence on France, during which again opposite tendencies occasionally prevail. This phase however grows at last so decided that the Stuart king himself ends by retiring to France, where he passes his latter days as a pensionary of Louis XIV. The transition from one phase to the other is pretty clearly marked by the Treaty of Dover.

In delineating these phases we may keep almost exclusively in view the relations of England and France.

As the Stuarts ended in the dependent alliance upon France against the nation, it is notable that they began with hostility to France with the nation. Cromwell's French Alliance had not been openly brought to an end, and Charles was fresh from fighting on the side of Spain against France, when the Restoration took place. And so the first steps of his policy after the Restoration indicate hostility to France. He treats the French ambassador Bordeaux rudely, and sends him notice to quit the country, which at last on July 7th, 1660, he is forced to do. It might have seemed at this moment that Charles was about to reverse the foreign policy of Cromwell, to carry England back from the side of France to that of Spain.

Such a course was indeed open to him, and there were not wanting considerations which might recommend it. If it began to appear that Dunkirk could not be kept, and was indeed, now that the Cromwellian army was disbanded, not worth keeping, ought it not to be restored to the Power from which it had been taken, that is, to Spain? Did not English interests at the same time require that in the Low Countries France should be held in check, and was there not a danger, now that Spain had been fairly vanquished in the European war, that the tide of French aggression would sweep over Flanders to the Dutch frontier? Moreover, Cromwell's war with Spain had never been popular in England, where it interfered with trade. Upon the restoration of Dunkirk then might be founded a reconciliation with Spain which the country would welcome. It was true that a restoration of Jamaica was out of the question; still England had at that moment

much to offer which Spain at that moment could scarcely afford to refuse. The Spanish Monarchy had just confessed its decline by the Peace of the Pyrenees, and that peace itself was no peace. It might justly be called *Pax infida*, for it was an arrangement under cover of which for forty years Louis XIV preyed upon and despoiled the Spanish Monarchy until he made it a possession of his family.

Had England at this moment not only restored Dunkirk but thrown her weight into the Spanish scale, that is, had Charles married into the Spanish House and guaranteed the Low Countries against further French aggression, the aggressive policy of Louis XIV would have been checked in its commencement, and a position would have been given to England which in some respects would have suited the feelings of the nation.

The surrender of Dunkirk, not to Spain but to France, and the marriage of Charles, not into the Spanish but into the Portuguese House, mark the deliberate rejection of this policy. At the same time they mark a new understanding between the French and English governments, that is, in some respects an adoption by Charles, instead of a reversal, of the policy of the Protector.

It seems to have been by his own fault that the King of Spain lost this last chance of arresting the decline of the Spanish Monarchy. Charles II might have healed the wound that Cromwell had given, and the negociation had fairly commenced. A Spanish match for Charles II was discussed in the summer of 1660, as for his father in 1623; it was broken off in much the same way. As then the Infanta Maria was refused to Charles I, and married the Emperor Ferdinand III; so now the Emperor Leopold was preferred to Charles II for the Infanta Margaret.

But, if not into the Spanish House, Charles must marry into some House hostile to Spain, and so England, instead of protecting that monarchy against French aggression, must assist France in spoiling it. For at the moment when the Infanta was refused to Charles his hand was eagerly courted by the Portuguese Court, and French marriages were also proposed to him; all these proposals alike meant ruin to Spain.

Louis XIV had promised in the Treaty of the Pyrenees to give no further assistance to the rebellion of Portugal, and he tells us that he set 'his pledged word above the greatest interests,' but he adds frankly that the case of Spain constitutes an exception. Between France and Spain there subsists a kind of permanent enmity, and so, he continues, 'whatever specious clauses may be put in treaties about union, friendship, about procuring for each other all sorts of advantages, the true sense which either party quite well understands for his own part, by the experience of so many ages, is that there shall be abstinence externally from every kind of hostility, every public display of ill will; but as to secret infractions which do not come to light, either expects them from the other by the natural principle I have mentioned, and only promises the contrary in the same sense in which the other promises it. And so it may be said that in excusing ourselves equally from the observance of treaties, we do not strictly speaking violate them, because the words of the treaties are not taken literally, although no other words can be employed, as with the language of compliment in society, which is absolutely necessary for intercourse but has a meaning which falls much short of the sound of it.' (Louis XIV, Instructions to the Dauphin.)

This passage, in which Louis probably repeats a lesson

given him by Mazarin, furnishes the clue to much which now took place. The Treaty of the Pyrenees showed Louis externally in a generous light. In Article 60 he engaged 'upon his honour, on the faith and word of a king, not to give, either directly or indirectly, to the kingdom of Portugal any aid or assistance, public or secret, in men, arms, ammunition, etc. etc.' It was this engagement which mainly tempted Spain to accept the peace. Philip IV signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees in order to recover Portugal. But the engagement, we see, was not serious; it was the intention of Mazarin and Louis that Philip should lose Portugal. And this intention produced a great effect upon the policy of Charles II. //

In our ancient system alliances, we have seen, depended mainly on royal marriages. But again the marriages themselves depended mainly upon the dowry that might be expected with the bride. This was peculiarly the case at the moment when Charles II reestablished this system among us. He was in dire want of money, and till the end of the year 1660, or so long as the Convention Parliament lasted, he felt himself in the hands of Presbyterians. He was already accustomed to depend on foreign Courts for his livelihood, and now, as a King, he felt that only foreign aid could save him the intolerable yoke of a half hostile Parliament. But at least he was now no longer a mendicant. His immediate predecessor, Richard Cromwell, had begged money of Mazarin; Charles needed not to beg, for he could offer his hand, and with his hand one of the greatest alliances in the world. The Spanish King, with Spanish Quixotism, had refused all this. There were others waiting to accept it.

In Portugal the second king of the House of Bragança, Alfonso, a minor, had been reigning since 1656. But the

monarchy was almost at its last extremity. In April 1659, about the moment of the fall of Richard Cromwell and of the first steps towards a pacification between France and Spain, a Portuguese envoy, Count de Soure, came northward to seek the aid of France and England. France could not help him, at least openly, for, as we have seen, Mazarin found himself compelled to renounce the cause of Portugal in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. At the moment that this treaty was signed, Charles Stuart began confidently to prepare for his restoration in England. A few months later he was seated on the English throne and considering how he might bestow his hand to most advantage.

We see then what was likely to be his course when Spain refused him her Infanta Margaret. A little earlier the other great bridegroom of Europe, Louis XIV, had engaged himself to the other Spanish Infanta, Maria Theresa. There remained for Charles the Portuguese Princess, Catharine, sister of King Alfonso. It was certain that the Portuguese Monarchy and nation in their extremity would purchase the hand of Charles Stuart with the largest dowry their empire could furnish. And they possessed precisely the kind of wealth which would tempt a king of England—colonies and maritime trade. In fact the very acquisitions which a Spanish Infanta might have brought, as presents from Spain, would come equally well with a Portuguese Infanta, as spoils of Spain. The Commonwealth and Cromwell had fairly launched England on the career of New World trade; to this fact Charles II always showed himself keenly alive. Nothing therefore could be more interesting to him than his relations to the New World Powers. If an advantageous alliance with Spain was not to be had, the best alternative was such an

alliance with Portugal. If the former might throw open the whole New World to English trade, the latter might at least open to it half the New World. And the latter was so far preferable that it was an alliance with a humble and necessitous, whereas the former was an alliance with an arrogant, Power.

Thus a marriage between Charles II and Catharine of Bragança would commend itself as a first-rate measure of foreign policy, as foreign policy was understood in that age. But the measure had another aspect which looked towards France. For there was no measure which would give more satisfaction to Louis XIV. He tells us himself that he was especially bent upon assisting Portugal in spite of the engagement he had taken in the Treaty. Nay he goes so far as to say, 'the very clauses by which they forbade me to assist that monarchy, as yet so insecure, proved by their unusual character, by their repetition, and by the precautions with which they were accompanied, that it had not been believed that I ought to abstain from rendering aid.' The conclusion he draws is that 'all he was bound to was only to intervene in case of necessity, with moderation and self-restraint; and this could be managed more conveniently by the interposition and under the name of the King of England, if he were once brother-in-law to the King of Portugal.' He narrates that he sent a special envoy (that is, La Bastide de la Croix) with instructions to win Clarendon by a large bribe, that the bribe was refused, but that Clarendon declared himself in favour of the Portuguese match, and that the envoy had a secret interview with the King.

The Queen-Mother of Portugal, who held the regency, hailed the proposal as life from the dead to her country, and in the winter of 1660-61 the negociation advanced

considerably. But Spain now took alarm. Perhaps Philip IV repented of his reckless arrogance. At any rate his Government now made new proposals. They offered Charles a Princess of Parma with the dowry of an Infanta.

At the same time they threatened to treat the Portuguese match, if it were concluded, as an act of war. A serious threat, for Charles had hitherto been free from foreign complications, and war with Spain could not but be most inconvenient to a trading Power! At that moment too Spain and France stood before the world united by a recent family alliance. Might not war with Spain involve war with France also?

Louis XIV says, '*I caused the offer of the Princess of Parma to be rejected,*' and after stating a new offer which Spain then substituted, he continues, '*I managed affairs in such a manner that the second proposition was rejected as well as the first, and even hastened on the arrangement I desired for Portugal and the Infanta.*' And it appears from other evidence that Charles received assurances that his Portuguese match was regarded by Louis with approval, and also very large promises of secret assistance in carrying it into effect. In May, 1661, Charles announced in Parliament his intention of marrying the Infanta of Portugal.

On the principles which have been developed in this book the marriage of Charles II is not to be regarded as a mere personal or family occurrence, but as one of the great events of English history. It belongs to a series of events of the same kind which have had an incalculable importance, from the marriage of Margaret Tudor with James of Scotland, which led to the union of the kingdoms, and that of Henry VIII with Catharine of Aragon, which led to the Reformation, to that of William and

Mary, which paved the way for the Revolution. In this series it is not indeed among the most important, nevertheless its importance is by no means slight. Like the marriage of Philip and Mary and that of William and Mary, it proved childless, accordingly it established no permanent complication of English and Portuguese affairs, created no claims upon Portugal for the English, nor claims upon England for the Portuguese, royal House. But it had the following positive results.

In the first place, Catharine being a Catholic, it carried forward into a new age the peculiar Stuart usage that England, though a Protestant state, should have a Catholic Queen. After the period of the Commonwealth, in which the Protestant feelings of the country had had free scope even in foreign affairs, it marked a considerable reaction that the restored dynasty should connect itself, not, as has since become the custom, with some Protestant House of North Germany or Scandinavia, but with a Catholic House of Southern Europe. It was a step deliberately taken in the direction of Catholicism.

But secondly, by this marriage England was committed to a comprehensive European policy. She was pledged to a new concert with France against the Spanish Monarchy. Mazarin had died on March 9th, 1661. The age of the personal government of Louis XIV had begun for France, and everything there was taking a new aspect, as England had suffered transformation in the year before. The alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin against Spain had receded into past history, when suddenly the same policy revived in a somewhat new form. This was an event of the first European importance. In 1661 the Spanish Monarchy was not so irrecoverably sunk but that a different decision on the part of England might have saved it.

Had Charles adopted the watchword 'Balance of Power' and put his sword into the Spanish scale, perhaps Portugal would have been reduced to submission, the progress of Louis would have been arrested in the Low Countries, Dunkirk would have been handed over to Spain, not to France, and the War of Devolution would never have been waged. But the Portuguese marriage of Charles II with its consequences gave the *coup de grâce* to the Spanish Monarchy. Charles bound himself to assist the Portuguese with 2,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 10 ships of war. Meanwhile Louis, evading his engagements, allowed Marshal Schomberg with 600 French officers to pass into the Portuguese service. The result was that Spain lost all that she had promised herself from the Treaty of the Pyrenees. When in 1663 their army under Don Juan took the town of Evora, and Lisbon itself was in despair, the Portuguese monarchy was saved by the victory of Almedia, won, according to one account, mainly by the valour of the English auxiliaries. In 1665 the Portuguese won the decisive battle of Villa Viciosa, and finally, in 1667, the efforts of Spain were rendered hopeless by the outbreak of a new war with France, which, now mistress of Dunkirk, threatened the Low Countries. Thus was Portugal finally lost, and with Portugal half the New World, to the Spanish Monarchy. What the alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin began was thus consummated by the concert between Charles II and Louis XIV.

We shall find great results following from this adoption, which was on the whole unexpected and accidental, of the Cromwellian system by Charles II. Meanwhile we must hasten to remark how widely that system was altered, while it was adopted, by Charles II. In the alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin, Cromwell took the lead, and he

meditated great designs of European policy. He took the lead because he controlled a military state, while Mazarin at that time was hard pressed by the Spaniards and Condé. Moreover, Cromwell was possessed by his pan-evangelical idea. Charles II had no such idea, and he had disbanded his army. If he adhered to the French alliance, we have seen what his motives were. He was tempted by the great dowry which the Infanta Catharine would bring, to take the course which, as it happened, France wished him to take. Having been thus drawn into the system of France he was led to take a further step. He sold Dunkirk to the French king. Meanwhile his sister Henrietta was married to the French king's brother, Philip Duke of Orleans. Thus he formed a relation to France which, though it was not as yet dependent, was scarcely equal.

For at this moment France underwent a new and startling transformation, which perhaps had hardly been foreseen when the restoration of Charles II took place. At that date the reign of Louis XIV, in the full sense of the phrase, had not yet begun. France was then still governed by Cardinal Mazarin. The king was almost a *roi fainéant*, and the system of government by a minister had after forty years taken such deep root that it was now doubtful whether the king could, even if he would, take the reins into his own hand, while it seemed scarcely doubtful that he would not even if he could. Louis XIV began, properly speaking, to reign in France a year later than Charles II began to reign in England, and his assumption of the government was a kind of *coup d'état*, involving the sudden, violent, and carefully prepared overthrow of the man who pretended to the succession of Mazarin, namely, Fouquet. But what made this revolution especially me-

morale was the fact that it followed so closely upon the Treaty of the Pyrenees. For that treaty, taken together with the violation of the article of it relating to Portugal, raised France to an easy superiority over the other states of Europe just when Louis XIV acquired his personal supremacy in France.

The moment of the appearance of Schomberg in Portugal, of the announcement of the marriage of Charles with Catharine of Bragança, and of the assumption of the government in France by Louis himself, marks a turning point both for France and for the Spanish monarchy, and so for the whole of Europe. Here ends once for all the ascendancy of Spain, here begins the ascendancy of France. Here and not earlier, for the earlier disasters of Spain might seem reparable. She had been brought low enough in the lifetime of Richelieu, but from that depression she had risen again at the outbreak of the Fronde, and when the great Condé seceded from the French cause and began to direct Spanish armies. Later the hostility of Cromwell outweighed by far the adhesion of Condé, and the defeat of the Dunes might be thought a final catastrophe for Spain. But Cromwell died, and the Treaty of the Pyrenees followed, which seemed at the moment rather a stroke of good than of evil fortune for Philip IV. At least he would now have leisure to recover Portugal, an easy task, apparently easy since there was at last peace in the Low Countries and since the French king, his son-in-law, had engaged not to put any hindrance in the way. Thus Spain had still a prospect.

But the last hope disappeared when this promise was seen to be hollow, when it became clear that France and England did not intend that Philip should recover Portugal. Then at last the feeling of irreparable decline, of incurable

exhaustion mastered the Spanish Government. From this date it may be said that the great Monarchy of Philip II, which began to take the lead of Europe at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, has fallen, or has ceased to be the same Power.

The moment is not less decisive in French than in Spanish history. We have remarked how closely entangled with the French the Spanish Monarchy, representing the old Burgundy, has been from the outset. We have remarked that the internal constitutional struggles of France have all along been the consequence of this entanglement with Spain. The king of Spain has all along been the head and leader of the party of the noblesse in France. Henry IV had known this to his cost, and what had been so plainly proved by the history of the League, was equally visible in the regency of Marie de Medicis. It is the characteristic of Richelieu's career that he makes war at the same time on Spain abroad and on the noblesse at home, and the explanation of it lies in the fact that these two enemies of the French Government were really one. Lastly, Mazarin had to learn the same lesson; the Fronde leant on Spain as the League had done, and Condé follows in the steps of Guise.

In 1661 the double struggle comes to an end. Now at last the Spanish Monarchy is paralysed and at the same moment all domestic opposition to the French Government comes to an end. Louis XIV is henceforth absolute at home because he has decisively overthrown Spain abroad.

As France so suddenly rises England in the department of foreign affairs descends to a lower place. Charles II as a European potentate can bear no comparison with Cromwell, not merely from personal inferiority, but from

his position and from the want of an army devoted to his person. His restoration had been up to a certain point triumphant, and he had another triumph in 1661 when a new Parliament relieved him of his presbyterian gaolers. He was now able to surround himself with his own royalist party and the reestablished Anglican Church. But he had no army, and he was dependent on a House of Commons which, though friendly to him, did not wish to see him the head of a military state. The result was that he could adopt but half of Cromwell's policy, the maritime half—he could maintain a great fleet—but Cromwell's continental schemes must be abandoned for want of an army.

Jamaica might be held; but what would now be the use of Dunkirk?

Money was his principal object; how to find ways and means independent of parliamentary votes. From this point of view his marriage had been a master-piece. It had brought him two million crusados, and to the realm acquisitions which might compare with the conquests of Cromwell, the station of Tangier on the African coast and the island of Bombay in India. Had he anything else besides his hand by which he could make money?

Cromwell had laboured under a similar difficulty; towards its close the Protectorate had seemed to be on the verge of bankruptcy. But Cromwell having an army, had possessed a resource which Charles wanted; he was impelled in the direction of conquest and spoliation. He might thrive, as the Netherlands had thriven, upon the plunder of the Spanish Monarchy. In such a system Dunkirk appeared as an important possession. It might lead to further acquisitions in the Low Countries.

All such schemes were dissipated when the Cromwellian army was dissolved. Dunkirk now appeared in an opposite light. It was a useless possession, by the sale of which a great sum might be realised. No longer valuable to the English Government, it was of the greatest value to Spain or, if not to Spain, to France. Either Power would give a great price for it, but by a sale England would realise more than this price, for she would at the same time be relieved from a great expense. When Charles by his marriage had chosen his side against Spain, France presented herself as the purchaser of Dunkirk.

By acquiring Dunkirk Louis XIV, powerful enough already, would become more dangerously powerful still. England had already aided France materially to become the first European Power; by yielding to her this new position would she not destroy the Balance of Power in favour of France and in a manner most dangerous to herself? But as in the case of the Portuguese marriage so here, the indirect consequences, however momentous, were far less considered than the immediate profit. The measure seemed to belong rather to finance than to foreign policy. We are also to consider that the danger of a French ascendancy was new, and had not yet become familiar to English politicians. To favour France, to procure advantages for her, had been the system of the Protectorate, when England advanced by the side of France and at an even greater rate. As it were automatically, the same system continued to work, though England meanwhile had ceased to be a military state.

The sale of Dunkirk was completed near the end of 1662. The French king bought it for 5,000,000 livres, and by the abandonment of it an annual expense of £120,000 was saved to the English treasury.

The new relation between the French and English Courts which grew up through this affair and the common intervention in Portugal may be considered later. At present we remark only that the dangerous ascendancy of France was thus promoted, and that from this time Charles II begins to tend towards a position of dependent alliance with respect to Louis XIV.

Bolingbroke has accused Cromwell of having unwisely nursed the French ascendancy which was soon to cause England so much anxiety and so much war. But the outline that has now been given enables us to see clearly that the alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin did not of itself lead at all necessarily to that ascendancy. It was caused by a series of occurrences of which that alliance was perhaps the first. For the first occurrence he is indeed responsible. But he is not responsible for the second, which nevertheless was equally necessary to the result, namely, his own death and the downfall of his system. Even when this had taken place, when the king had been restored, the unbounded ascendancy of France might still have been prevented. The balance might have been redressed if Charles had come to the rescue of Spain and parted with Dunkirk to Spain and not to France. The immediate cause of the French ascendancy is to be found in the position which Charles in the second year of his reign found himself compelled, chiefly by the want of money, to take up.

CHAPTER II.

THE FRENCH ASCENDENCY.

FRANCE was at length relieved from the pressure of the feudal party at home in concert with the Spanish Monarchy abroad. She had emerged from a struggle which had occupied almost a century. But she gave herself no rest. The period upon which she now entered was also a period of struggle. The transition she makes is not from war to peace but rather from defensive to aggressive war.

In the age of the Cardinals, which now lies behind us, France does indeed often appear as a conquering Power; she acquires territory both at the Treaty of Westphalia and at the Treaty of the Pyrenees. But her wars in that age had been in their origin defensive; they had been undertaken in order to shake off an oppression; they had seemed almost necessary. They had also been full of vicissitude. In Richelieu's time Paris had been threatened by the Spaniard; in Mazarin's time and long after the triumphant Treaty of Westphalia there had been battles in the heart of France and at the gates of Paris, battles in which Spain had been at least indirectly concerned.

The wars which now begin, over which Louis XIV in person presides for half a century, are of a wholly different character. They are aggressive in the fullest sense of the word on the part of France. It might perhaps be alleged that some of them had, at least in part, a national object, but it could not be alleged that they were in any degree necessary. For now at last the old standing cause of war, which Mazarin had inherited from Richelieu, and Richelieu from Henry IV, that is the oppressive ascendancy of the House of Habsburg, was removed. France was henceforth perfectly secure, or at least had nothing to apprehend from the Spanish Monarchy.

It might no doubt be argued that a satisfactory settlement had not yet been reached. Spain was indeed henceforth disabled, but she remained in possession of much of the territory which had been her basis of operations against France. She had still the bulk of the Catholic Low Countries and Franche Comté, and in the neighbourhood of this territory Lorraine still remained outside the French Monarchy and was governed by its sovereign duke. So far back as 1646 Mazarin had urged that all this territory ought to be annexed to France, since 'by this means'—so he wrote—'criminals, discontented and factious persons would lose an easy means of escape; they would also lose a convenient means of creating disturbance and forming cabals with the help of the enemy, for it is obvious to remark that all rebellious parties and all conspiracies have been usually organised in the Low Countries, Lorraine or Sedan¹.'

It certainly was a position of unstable equilibrium

¹ Mignet, *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV*, i. 178.

when these detached territories were seen to lie in the immediate neighbourhood of France, while the Power that had hitherto defended them, Spain, was in manifest decline, France herself being at the height of success and military efficiency.

But the dynastic system still prevailed. As it had been restored in England, so it was triumphant in France, where the fall not only of the Fronde but also of the Ministerial system constituted a revolution very similar to the Restoration in England. Louis XIV after the death of Mazarin and the fall of Fouquet was a restored monarch almost as much as Charles II. Accordingly French policy may be expected, like English, to turn on royal marriages rather than on national interests, or at least to cover national interests with a drapery of royal marriages. This is strikingly the case. No royal marriage, except perhaps that from which Charles V sprang, is more memorable than that which formed the principal article of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, the marriage between Louis XIV and the Spanish Infanta Maria Theresa. Not only did it give rise directly to two wars, that of 1667 between France and Spain and the mighty European war which opened the eighteenth century, but it may almost be said to dominate the whole diplomacy of Western Europe for half a century.

This marriage raised again in a new form the question which, as we have just seen, considerations of policy and ambition had already raised. If it was natural for Louis XIV to desire to annex the Low Countries and Franche Comté, this marriage gave him a dynastic interest in those very territories.

It is in the early sixties that the new dynastic web is mainly woven.

Louis XIV and the Infanta were married in the summer of 1660.

The Dauphin was born in 1661.

Charles II and Catharine of Bragança were married in 1661.

The Emperor Leopold and the Infanta Margarita; contract of marriage signed in December 1663.

Finally, Philip IV of Spain died on September 17th, 1665.

The great controversy of the Spanish Succession, which was the principal consequence of the marriage of Louis XIV though it was distinctly foreseen, nay, deliberately prepared by Mazarin himself, did not come into the foreground of European politics till a much later time. The immediate heir of the Spanish Monarchy, the child whose frail life alone held it from breaking out, lived on, contrary to all expectation, till within a month of the end of the seventeenth century. During forty years Louis XIV nursed the expectation of acquiring for his family the whole Spanish Monarchy, while at the same time he continued to regard the Spanish Monarchy as the traditional enemy of his House. It was to be attacked and dismembered province by province until the time should come when his dearest interest should lie in keeping it whole and saving it from dismemberment!

Accordingly, pending that claim upon the whole Monarchy which would not arise until the heir of Philip IV, the prince Charles, should die, he urged a claim upon certain parts of it, arising immediately on the death of Philip IV himself. As this event took place in 1665, we find that the aggressive schemes of Louis XIV and the new series of French wars take their origin from this year. The war of France and Spain, which had occupied

a quarter of a century when it was brought to a close by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, breaks out again after a short interval, during which the decline of Spain has advanced another stage through her failure in Portugal. It is now an aggressive war on the part of France, the object of which is to annex territory in the Spanish Low Countries. The policy of this war requires no explanation, but a dynastic pretext for it was considered to be also necessary. This was found in the doctrine of devolution. It was maintained that on the death of Philip IV while the bulk of the Spanish Monarchy descended to his only son, who became Charles II of Spain, some districts in the Low Countries were subject to a peculiar rule of succession and ought to descend by local custom not to Charles, who was the child of a second marriage, but to the Queen of France as the eldest child of the first marriage of Philip IV.

The legal pretext need not delay us for a moment. What concerns us is that here begins that absorption of the Spanish Monarchy, which was the great work of Louis XIV. It begins at the death of Philip IV, whose reign of forty-four years (1621—1665) witnessed the fall of the great Power which had been founded by Philip II. Hitherto its decline had neither been uninterrupted nor irretrievable; but after 1665 the Spanish Monarchy is a passive prey, supported only by the policy of the Sea Powers, and experiencing no revival until it passes into the hands of the House of Bourbon.

We are now at the crowning moment of the Bourbon Monarchy. French genius had perhaps been more original a little earlier, in the days of Descartes and the youth of Corneille and the youth of Condé. It was more universally recognised a little later, about the date of the

Treaty of Nimeguen (1678). But in the sixties, in the age of Colbert, Lionne, Molière, the youth of Racine and the maturity of Turenne, when it had not yet lost its freshness and when France had a golden moment of triumphal peace, the zenith was perhaps reached. At this moment jealousy or dread of French power was not yet awakened. She enjoyed as yet the friendship of the United Netherlands, which owed to her in a great measure their freedom, and also of England, where Charles II had revived the cordial understanding established by Cromwell.

These two Powers are now seen to advance to the foreground of politics, the Spanish Monarchy having become passive. From henceforth to the end of the century the international game lies in the West between these two and France. They are the two Sea Powers, for the total result of all her revolutions has been to leave England much greater as a Sea Power than she had been before the days of the Commonwealth. She is now equal or superior as a Sea Power to the Netherlands. The two Sea Powers, as they are not yet jealous of France, are not yet friendly to each other. Before long they will become both, and their union against France will be embodied in a person, no other than that boy who is growing up at the Hague.

What now lies immediately before us is to trace summarily how these two Powers gradually become alive to their common danger from the growth of France, and how in consequence their old discords give place to a common understanding. This is the brief formula of international history from 1665 to 1688.

We must remind ourselves that the relations of England and the Netherlands are not determined purely by national sympathies and jealousies, affinity of race, agree-

ment in religion, or rivalry in trade, but that here too the dynastic system is in operation. For the Netherlands too have a dynasty. The House of Orange has become at the same time of royal rank and closely connected with England by the marriage of which the young William is the fruit. The continual interaction of English and Dutch affairs was remarked above. It was remarked that the fall of the House of Stuart in England was speedily followed by the fall of the House of Orange in the Netherlands. The Act of Exclusion of 1654 was the crowning measure by which Cromwell put down the party adverse to him in the Netherlands after he had crushed it in England, Scotland and Ireland. From that date De Witt presided over a Dutch Commonwealth and the young William became, like his uncle, a Pretender.

But from this it follows that the Restoration in England would tend to produce a Restoration in the Netherlands, and would be incomplete without it, that the House of Stuart, reestablished itself, would seek to reestablish the House of Orange.

Within twelve years after the English Restoration England and the Netherlands waged two wars. These wars are caused in part by commercial rivalry, but in part also by dynastic influences. As the first Dutch war had arisen partly from the fact that the Stuart-Orange interest had at that time been predominant in the Netherlands while the opposite party was supreme in England, so the second and third wars now arise from a reversal of this contrast, from the restoration of the Stuarts in England following upon the fall of the Stuart-Orange interest in the Netherlands. As Cromwell in the former case had desired the establishment of a republican Government, so Charles II now desires the fall of that Government and the restoration of his nephew.

Accordingly at the moment when France establishes an ascendancy, which Spain can no longer hold in check, and which it is the true interest of the two Sea Powers to restrain, hostility breaks out between those very Sea Powers, who thus become less capable of resisting the encroachments of France. Such is the scene presented at the critical moment of the death of Philip IV, on the one side Louis making ready for a war of conquest, on the other side England and the Netherlands at war with each other.

We saw the Netherlands reduced to a sort of dependence on the English Protectorate. At the same time we saw a Government established there which was out of sympathy with the people and might therefore seem incapable of supporting itself except by foreign aid. When therefore in the autumn of 1658 the boys in Amsterdam sang that 'the devil was dead' they might seem to prophesy the fall of the Government of De Witt; and when within two years the Stuart returned to England it might seem that the restoration of the House of Orange also was close at hand. But De Witt was still to hold his own for twelve years, and, what was yet more surprising, he was to obtain for the Dutch state a commanding position, and to win for it military triumphs over England and diplomatic triumphs over France before the inevitable catastrophe, fatal both to himself and to his system, arrived.

The explanation is that the Orange party, though incomparably more popular in the country than the party of De Witt, were yet necessarily disabled so long as the Prince of Orange was a child. De Witt therefore might count upon a respite. The sixties belonged to him, as the seventies, it might already be foreseen, would belong to William. Already when the English Restoration took

place his position had been strengthened, at first by the aid of Cromwell, and between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration by a great triumph, won indeed in conjunction with England, yet so that the principal share of honour fell to the Netherlands.

We have already had some glimpses of the Northern policy both of the Netherlands and of England. Free access to the Baltic was matter of life and death to both states alike. In the first Dutch war the Dutch in alliance with Denmark had hoped to crush England by closing the Baltic to her. England after escaping this danger had guarded against a recurrence of it by forming an alliance with Sweden. From the young king of Sweden who ascended the throne at that very time Cromwell had expected much aid in his Panevangelical schemes. Charles Gustavus had indeed done great things, but not precisely the things which Cromwell wished. In the interval between Cromwell's death and the Restoration he convulsed the Baltic with military achievements which alarmed the Dutch and the English Governments equally.

It was one thing for a modest State like Denmark in concert with one of the Sea Powers to close the Baltic against the other, and quite another thing for the Baltic to become a mere lake in the dominions of a great king who might defy both Sea Powers together. Charles Gustavus now appeared as a tyrant of the whole North. He had well-nigh dissolved the Polish State, reduced the Elector Frederick William to the position almost of a vassal, and he now turned his irresistible force upon Denmark.

In these circumstances the Netherlands and England were driven to act together against him. The concert was very similar to the coalition we shall see them forming

later against Louis XIV. The object of it was to keep the Baltic open to that trade which was absolutely essential to every naval Power. In the summer of 1659 peace was imposed by force upon the king of Sweden. It was a proceeding of a new kind, which, as we shall see, speedily became a precedent. It was arranged in three acts, signed at the Hague and commonly called the First, Second, and Third Concert of the Hague. France, England, and the United Netherlands were the parties to this arrangement. But though an English fleet under Admiral Montagu appeared in the Baltic, it had retired again in consequence of the disturbed condition of England before the decisive blow was struck in November. De Ruyter's fleet and an army composed of Dutch, Danes and Brandenburgers took Nyborg with a garrison of eleven Swedish regiments. The event closed the stormy career of Charles Gustavus, who died within three months of it, and it led soon after to the pacification of the North by the Treaties of Copenhagen, Oliva and Kardis.

This energetic intervention raised the reputation of De Witt's Government just at the time when England was forfeiting the military superiority which Cromwell had given her. Thus the Dutch state was restored to the position it had held before its first war with England, and its republican Government began to take root, resting henceforth on its own success rather than on English aid. The Orange party lost as much as the republican party gained. But now followed the Restoration in England, which necessarily altered again the relation between the two countries. De Witt, who had regarded the English Government at first as a patron, and then as a friend, henceforth could not but regard it as secretly hostile. Whereas Cromwell had been the leader and patron of

De Witt's party, Charles II was henceforth the leader and patron of the Orange opposition to De Witt. A second war between the two states came into prospect, now that there was added to their old commercial rivalry a new antipathy between their governments. Henceforth the position of De Witt was evidently undermined, England having changed sides, while De Witt's adversary the Prince of Orange wanted nothing but manhood. It was however for the moment a commanding position. His fall could be predicted, but he might achieve great things before his fall.

The change produced in Dutch politics by the English Restoration is perhaps most strikingly shown by the terms of the resolution of the Estates of Holland, by which on Sept. 29th, 1660, they revoked the Act of Exclusion, on which De Witt's government had hitherto rested. On what ground do they now replace the young Prince of Orange in the position of his ancestors? They state that the exclusion of the prince had been exacted by Cromwell, but they add, 'considering that God and the English people have recalled Charles II to his kingdom, and that by this event the authority which had imposed that act is extinguished, we revoke it and regard it as cancelled.'

Such expressions show how peculiarly intimate was the connexion between the Netherlands and England, and how much closer it had been drawn by the intermarriage of the Houses of Stuart and Orange. The three Dutch wars of 1651, 1664 and 1672 mark a limited period of our history, and they are followed by a close alliance between the two states, which lasted almost a century. When we consider these wars together, we see that they are inseparable from our domestic revolutions, in which the Netherlands were concerned almost as necessarily as

Scotland. Commercial rivalry is indeed a powerful contributing cause, but in each case we can distinctly perceive a revolution in England extending to the Netherlands. The first Dutch war is an extension of the Revolution of 1648, which established a republic in England, and accordingly it establishes in the Netherlands the republican government of De Witt. The second and third Dutch wars are to be regarded as constituting one struggle, and it is an extension of the Restoration. Accordingly it ends in the downfall of the republican government of De Witt, and in the restoration in the Netherlands of the quasi-monarchical government of the House of Orange.

Altogether we see a singular revival of the monarchical principle. About 1651 monarchy seemed disappearing in all the three great states of the West, in England, in the Netherlands, and even in France, where the Fronde was then successful. Now the Stuart is restored in England, Louis XIV takes all power into his own hand in France, a little later the Prince of Orange, royal on the mother's side, is brought to the head of affairs in the Netherlands.

But in this process a dramatic entanglement is produced by the coincidence in time of the second struggle of England and the Netherlands with the first ambitious encroachment of Louis XIV in the Low Countries. If at the moment of the death of Philip IV of Spain there had been a cordial understanding between the English and Dutch governments, it would have been possible, even easy, to check the ambition of Louis XIV in its first tentative stirrings. No such understanding was possible (except for a passing moment) while Charles II reigned in England and De Witt marshalled the republican party in the Netherlands. Accordingly the ambition of Louis had

scope, and a Bourbon ascendancy began to take the place of an ascendancy of the House of Habsburg.

The War of Devolution was the first essay in aggression of Louis XIV. It could be undertaken and could succeed because of the bitter discord which just then prevailed between England and the Netherlands. The same discord still prevailing in 1672 made it possible for him to strike his second and still more alarming stroke.

But in the middle of this period (1665—1672) a new policy suddenly emerges with Temple's Triple Alliance. It appears only to vanish again, but is a sort of prelude to the system which was later to be embodied and represented by William of Orange.

The new prospect of European affairs which opened from the moment when the fall of Spain left the Netherlands and England face to face with France, and when all eyes began to turn towards the Catholic Low Countries as the probable scene of war, is best shown from a memoir by De Witt dated March, 1664. Here is a passage from it¹.

'We must assume that in any case the king of France will try to make himself master of the Low Countries, which are still subject to the king of Spain, and by that means will become a neighbour to this state, no Power in Europe being able to hinder this result. For Spain, distant and enfeebled as she is, will not be able to hinder it, since it is certain that, had France not been pleased to grant the Peace, all that remains to the king of Spain in the Low Countries would have been conquered in two campaigns, although France, exhausted of men and money after a war of twenty-four years, was at that time full of malcontents who disapproved the conduct of the First Minister, whereas now there is no one but loves and

¹ Mignet, *op. cit.* i. p. 268.

reveres the king, while His Majesty has more money than Henry IV had when he formed a much greater design than that of conquering what remained of the Low Countries; and on the other hand Spain has neither men nor money to maintain the war against France, and scarcely a man fit to command an army. The Low Countries themselves, fatigued and afflicted after so long a war, entirely Catholic, and speaking French almost everywhere, as they formerly made part of France, desire only to be reunited to her, and want nothing but rest and a prince able to maintain their religion and to defend them against all the foreign Powers that may wish to attack them.'

This was the situation which gave rise to the next chapter of international history. De Witt hoped for some time to deal with the question of the Low Countries by negotiation and to enter into peaceful arrangements both with France and England. In 1662 he concluded a treaty with the Government of Charles II, and another with that of Louis XIV. Philip IV's reign was evidently drawing to a close; what should be done with the Low Countries on his death was now debated between De Witt and the French ambassador at the Hague, d'Estrades. That knotty question of the Low Countries, which after fifty years of uncertainty and struggle was solved by giving the territory to Austria and assigning a barrier of fortresses in it to the Dutch, now for the first time comes into the foreground of diplomacy. Shall the territory be partitioned? shall an independent Catholic state be set up there? shall it pass entire to France? But in the course of 1664 a maritime war of England and the Netherlands came in prospect, and under cover of this Louis XIV might hope to settle the question of the Low Countries with a high hand in his own favour.

The second Dutch war broke out actually in 1664, though the declaration was not issued till March, 1665. It was brought to an end by the Treaty of Breda in July, 1667.

Meanwhile the death of Philip IV took place in 1665. The pretext of devolution and of the rights of the Queen was put forward, and in May, 1667, that is before the Dutch war was ended, and about the time when the Dutch ships appeared in the Medway, Louis XIV invaded the Low Countries. At the beginning of 1668 he occupied Franche Comté. In May, 1668, this war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Such is the bare outline, which in a history of the period would be filled in by a minute narrative of the maritime campaigns of the Dutch war and of the invasion of the Low Countries and of Franche Comté. An essay like the present allows room only for certain general observations on the two wars.

First let us remark how dangerous is at this time the position of the Netherlands, and how well-nigh desperate is De Witt's own position in spite of any momentary successes he may win. In considering the first Dutch war we remarked what immense damage was caused to a state which depended exclusively on maritime trade by war waged, successfully or unsuccessfully, with a maritime Power such as England. We remarked that as England grew in commercial wealth the Netherlands could not but decline. By the time of the outbreak of the second war their commercial prospect had been darkened by another cloud. In France Colbert was now developing his system. That is to say, France was now doing what England had done by the Act of Navigation. She was attacking the Dutch monopoly, she was

aspiring to be a maritime Power. She too had now her Navigation Act and her great commercial companies; she was rapidly forming a great fleet. Against such approaching dangers what measures could be taken that would have an efficacy more than temporary?

And, still more, what could De Witt do to save himself? The day of ruin for the country was evidently approaching; it would arrive about the same time as the manhood of his rival, the Prince of Orange. He himself would fall in the catastrophe of his country. The event of 1672 could already be predicted.

But, placed as the state was, its only chance lay in alliance with one of the two Powers which threatened it. With the help of France it might resist England; with the help of England it might resist France. Should England and France combine against it, what could save it from destruction?

We shall see that De Witt took a course which indeed procured him a great military triumph in 1667 and a great diplomatic triumph in 1668, but which at the same time inspired first England and then France with the bitterest animosity against his Government. He had the satisfaction of sending his fleet into the Medway and also of arresting Louis XIV in his career of encroachment, but for all this a day of reckoning could not but speedily come. It came in 1672, the transitional year of the United Provinces, when their greatness had a sudden end, when De Witt perished miserably, and the state itself, if it was saved from destruction by a third William of Orange, sank for ever to a lower level of importance among the Powers of Europe.

Looked at from the English point of view the second quarrel with the Dutch is similar to the first. It has the

same character of a quarrel between relatives. As then the English Commonwealth first offered incorporating union and then went to war, so now Charles II begins as a Dutch party-leader, demanding the appointment of his nephew to the offices formerly held by his family, and proceeds in time with reckless violence to force on a war. In both cases the war is truly national, and not a mere war of governments. England has by this time assumed the character of a Commercial State, and therefore by the side of the political dispute between Charles and De Witt there is a fierce commercial rivalry between the two peoples. The restored Stuarts have not yet set themselves in opposition to their people. The second Charles, unlike the first and unlike his grandfather, has some real grasp of the conditions of political action; he does not expect ends without means, effects without causes. In this part of his reign his policy is not wanting in vigour and is for a time enthusiastically supported. The Restoration needed to be confirmed by victory; the restored Monarchy had now drawn the nation, if we should not rather say been drawn by the nation, into a promising war; success in this would most effectually repress the disaffection which had been rising since the Act of Uniformity, when Anglicanism had so unexpectedly reaped what Presbyterianism had sown.

The war itself, though short, falls into two parts. It commences in 1664 and through the greater part of 1665 it is simply a war between England and the Netherlands. But Louis XIV was bound by his treaty of 1662 to come to the aid of the Netherlands, if attacked. Charles had hoped that this obligation would be evaded. In the course of 1665 however Louis attempted to mediate, and when his proposals were not accepted, at last declared war.

Thus in 1666 England is at war not only with the Netherlands but also with France. The Dutch also procure in this year the help of Denmark. England on the other hand is isolated.

The sudden surprise by which in 1667 the Dutch entered the Thames has left an impression upon later generations as if the debauched Government of Charles II had reduced England to a miserable condition of inefficiency, as if we were forced to make peace because we had no longer the virtue or the valour to make war. This seems quite groundless. Under Charles II the English people displayed great energy, and in this particular war naval historians find much to admire in the behaviour of the English fleets and admirals. Of three great naval battles, that in Southwold Bay (1665), the Four Days' Battle, and that off the North Foreland (1666) two were won by the English, and if the Four Days' Battle was lost, it 'increased,' in the judgment of a French critic¹, 'the glory of the English seamen, owing to the intelligent boldness of Monk and Rupert, the talents of some of the admirals and captains and the skill of the seamen and soldiers under them.'

The victory off the North Foreland, followed up by an attack upon the Dutch coast itself, reduced De Witt's Government almost to extremity. Orange plots were rife; a revolution seemed at hand. 'To provoke internal dissensions,' writes De Witt, 'is a great feature of English policy, and one which it requires dexterity to parry.' So far Charles II had success in his war. But the Plague and the Fire of London at home and the hostility of France and Denmark abroad reduced England in turn to extremity.

¹ M. Chabaud-Arnault, quoted in Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 126.

Other momentous events were evidently approaching. Philip IV was dead; Louis was preparing an invasion of the Low Countries. In these circumstances the negotiations for peace began at Breda. England certainly stood in great need of peace, but she was in no sense beaten, on the contrary she had had the advantage in the war, and the situation of the United Provinces was far more critical and dangerous than her own. But when the negotiations had begun, the English Government, in order to diminish the overwhelming expense of the war, began to lay up ships. De Witt took advantage of this, and finding the English coast undefended sent a fleet of sixty-six ships to the mouth of the Thames. The blow was as crushing as it was sudden. The English negociators at Breda were instructed to yield the points still at issue with the Republic, and peace was signed on July 31st.

In the narrow seas England had long played the tyrant, and the time was still recent when Blake had made her the greatest naval Power in the world. It was therefore indeed a most startling humiliation to her pride that a foreign fleet should dictate peace to her almost at London itself. And it might almost seem that this disgrace ruined the reign of Charles II and drove the restored Stuarts into that perverse course upon which we shall shortly see them entering.

Nevertheless the cause of it was not any national decline in valour or patriotism, but simply an unfortunate mistake of which a watchful enemy took advantage. And the causes which had led England even earlier to seek peace were principally calamities which could not have been foreseen and which might as well have happened under Cromwell as under Charles II—the Plague and the Fire.

In the peculiar circumstances of the time however

these occurrences could not but appear in a different light. The Stuart Government was judged by a public strongly influenced by Puritanic ideas, and almost as much disposed to condemn it for the Plague and the Fire, as marks of Divine anger, as for the defenceless condition of the Thames. The religious party had recently been driven from power, a king had begun to reign who embodied rather strikingly all the vices that Puritanism had protested against. Forthwith there come pestilence and fire, and the king 'flees three months before his enemies.' As Cromwell had so often pointed to his successes as evidence that his Government was 'owned of God,' these calamities, so closely crowded together, seemed a sort of visible damnation, branding the Government as reprobate and profane. There is indeed evidence that the demoralisation of the Court was diminishing the efficiency of the services; but this is not the explanation of the failure of 1667; in the second Dutch war Englishmen still fought well, and still overcame their enemies.

And accordingly though the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter won the laurel of the war, though England lost one great naval battle out of three, and though at the last moment she exposed herself to such a humiliating surprise, yet she made at Breda by no means a disadvantageous peace. On the contrary this treaty marks an important stage in the advance of her colonial dominion. New York was acquired at this time, and received its name from the prince who had commanded in the first great battle of the war. It was the greatest acquisition which had been made since the conquest of Jamaica, opening quite a new prospect to our North American colonies. Henceforth New England would be no longer separated from Virginia, and our possessions in North America acquired quite a new

character of solidity, remaining closely connected with the mother-country.

Our rival at the same time ceased to be a North American Power. Nor could De Witt derive much consolation from his achievement at the mouth of the Thames. For England could not be expected to forgive the humiliation, and yet the United Provinces could not afford at that juncture to make a mortal enemy of England.

Meanwhile a new war had begun, overlapping the war of England and the Netherlands. Louis XIV's army had already invaded the Spanish Low Countries before the Treaty of Breda was signed.

In other words the long struggle, which specially marks the middle of the seventeenth century, the struggle between France and the Spanish Monarchy, had begun again after an interval of seven years. But this time it had a new character. Spain is now almost helpless, a passive prey. In former stages of the struggle France, even when she assumed the offensive, had had an object more or less defensive; this time she makes war as an ambitious conquering state. Louis has little apprehension that Spain can withstand him, his only fear is that he may meet with opposition from other Powers jealous of French ascendancy, especially the Netherlands and England.

An extremely favourable opportunity presents itself to him just now. Philip IV dies in 1665 and thus a moment arrives which in the dynastic system of policy is proper for war. It is to be remarked that his own mother, Anne of Austria, who had favoured friendship between France and Spain, died shortly afterwards, in January 1666. And now the two Sea Powers, who might have had both the will and the power to check any advance of French power in the Low Countries, were disabled for interference by

their war. In this war France played a certain part, and was therefore able without exciting suspicion to make military preparations and to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries.

Spain herself had little power of resistance, and it was easy to paralyse her by lending aid to Portugal, which now after the victories of Almedia (1663) and Villa Viciosa (1665) required but little further support to establish her independence. And from England, now that she began to be in distress and applied to Louis for his mediation, it was easy to exact as the price of mediation neutrality in the war of France with Spain. Charles II declared in a letter to his mother which was read to Lyonne 'que je n'ai pris jusqu'ici et ne prendrai d'une année entière aucune nouvelle liaison avec aucun roi, prince, ou potentat, qui soit ou puisse être contraire à la France ou par laquelle je puisse être engagé contre ses intérêts.'

The invasion began in May, 1667. Several fortresses fell into the hands of the French. Charleroi was taken on June 2nd; then Tournai, Douai and Courtrai; then Lille. Turenne directed the occupation of the Low Countries. In February 1668 Condé occupied Franche Comté, taking Besançon and Dole.

It was by this alarming aggression, undertaken under cover of the war of England and the Netherlands on the one hand and of Spain and Portugal on the other, that the French ascendancy was first revealed to Europe. Long before, as we have seen, for example about 1646, the power of France had been alarming enough, but at that time Spain had speedily rallied and France had fallen a prey to domestic disturbances. It was now no longer possible to imagine Spain recovering herself, and the Government

of France was now settled and secure, as it had scarcely been before since the days of Francis I and Henry II.

A transition had manifestly taken place in Europe, of which it behoved politicians everywhere to take note. Ever since Charles V's time the power of the House of Habsburg, especially of the Spanish branch of it, had been the central fact of international history. This power had indeed gradually dwindled, but scarcely before the Treaty of the Pyrenees could it entirely cease to inspire anxiety. Now seven years after that chapter was closed a new chapter visibly began, the ascendancy of the House of Bourbon.

This ascendancy was to advance steadily for more than twenty years; it did not meet with a decisive check until the Sea Powers were firmly united against it by the link of a truly personal union, the Prince of Orange being at the same time Stadtholder in Holland, general and admiral to the United Provinces, and King of England, Scotland and Ireland. This firm alliance made a nucleus of opposition, to which other Continental Powers attached themselves, and so the ascendancy of France was checked by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and again still more decisively in the war of the Spanish Succession, in which William's system was maintained after William himself was gone. Such was the solution which time was to bring. In 1667-8 the problem was still new and obscure even to those who recognised that there was a problem, while to do as much as this was a proof of exceptional intelligence. It is therefore a striking fact that early in the year 1668, that is, in the very freshness of the new situation the question was grasped and the solution discovered, nay for a moment adopted, by Dutch and English diplomacy. Temple and De Witt now apply to Louis XIV the

pressure which a few years before had been applied in the same place, that is, the Hague, to Charles Gustavus of Sweden.

Between France and Sweden we remark for about a century a singular parallelism. They occupy corresponding positions, as opponents of the House of Habsburg, in the West and North. They rise together on the ruins of Habsburg greatness to ascendancy in the West and North. Usually they act in concert. Gustavus Adolphus and Richelieu, Turenne and Wrangel, Mazarin and Charles Gustavus, represent at successive periods this concert. The Treaty of Münster answers to the Treaty of Osnabrück, and in some degree also the Treaty of the Pyrenees to the Treaty of Oliva. At a much later time we still observe the same correspondence, when the Western Powers coalesce against Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession, and at the very same time the Northern Powers combine against Charles XII in the War of the North. The correspondence therefore between the concerts of the Hague which in 1659 restrained Charles Gustavus and the Convention of the Hague, followed by the Triple Alliance, which in 1668 restrained Louis XIV is only one of a series of correspondences.

The achievement of Sir William Temple, for so we are apt to conceive this affair, has been somewhat idealised. Temple is an interesting literary person, and when he appears in the midst of the unsatisfactory reign of Charles II, nay at the very moment when that reign was darkening in a most ominous manner, and guides our policy in the very direction which it was afterwards to take with so much success, it is not unnatural that we should give him credit for an insight and an influence almost prophetic. The affair is an isolated episode. It shows England and

the Netherlands acting in intelligent concert to restrain France immediately after their disastrous discord and immediately before another war between them, in which England was allied with France against the Netherlands. It is therefore in startling contrast to what preceded and what followed it, and it also stands in relief upon a dark background, for Temple was employed by the so-called Cabal. All this requires explanation, and the most obvious hypothesis is a rare personal merit in Temple, which hypothesis is confirmed by the noble style of his despatches.

It was by no means clear at that moment that the interest of England lay in checking the progress of France and in supporting the Dutch. Even Cromwell had supported the French in a campaign which might well have ended in the complete conquest of the Spanish Low Countries; and Cromwell was at least desirous of defending the Netherlands so far as it was a Protestant state. Charles II might, like Cromwell, consent to see France aggrandised in this region, on the same condition, viz., that England should have a share in the conquests made. And then Charles II cared little for the interests of Protestantism. At this very moment we begin to see Catholicism reviving at the English Court, and the very Minister with whom Temple is in correspondence, Arlington, is himself a Catholic. And naturally at that moment the strongest feeling of the English nation in general was a vindictive animosity against the Dutch. They had an insult to avenge, a disgrace to wipe out. Moreover their rivals, their enemies, in trade and on the sea, were the Dutch, not the French.

It is startling that a few months after England had received from the Dutch the most mortifying blow she

ever experienced, she should be found with, to all appearance, the most serene statesman-like forethought concerting with these very Dutch a plan for checking the encroachments of France in the Low Countries. But Temple was certainly an unusual man. His letters rise most strikingly above the average of diplomatic correspondence. He stands out among diplomatists almost as Bacon does among politicians. Are we then to credit his genius with the startling result?

Three courses were open to the Government of Charles II. It might offer aid to France. As we have just remarked, this was the Cromwellian system. It was a system by which England might acquire great gains, either a share in the spoils of the Low Countries which with her help would probably be torn entire from the Spanish Monarchy, or some advance at the expense of Spain on the sea and in the New World. It was a system which had in addition what at that moment was the very strong recommendation that it would also inflict a deadly blow on the Dutch. It would bring France and England close to the Dutch frontier, and would make De Witt feel as Charles II had felt when foreign ships entered the Medway. How naturally this course would suggest itself we shall soon see when we find it actually adopted by the English Government only four years later.

Another course was to join Spain against France. The old feeling of hatred for France and preference for Spain was by no means dead in England¹; the Commonwealth had favoured Spain until Cromwell reversed its policy, and Charles II had been on the side of Spain in the campaign of 1658. English trade felt the need of friendly relations with Spain, and the extremity of Spain was at

¹ Pepys, s. a. 1668.

that moment such that the help of England might be offered at a high price. For saving the Spanish Monarchy England might exact special trade privileges in the New World.

The third plan was that which was actually adopted, of forming a concert with the Dutch to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV. This was a new and strange system, for which there was no precedent except those concerts of the Hague of 1659. It seemed the more unnatural because in that age the Dutch were regarded as the special enemies of England, whereas the relations of England and France had been on the whole friendly, and Louis and Charles had a close family relationship. Of all the three courses this must at the time have seemed from the purely English point of view the least recommendable; if it strikes the modern reader quite otherwise this is because he looks back upon it through the vista of later history, through a century of alliance between the Sea Powers against the ambition of France. Time and experience approved the policy, so that the first adoption of it in 1668 looks now like a stroke of original genius.

If we shake off this prepossession and try to look at the situation through the eyes of Charles II himself or of his minister Arlington, we remark two things:

First, to check the advance of Louis XIV, though perhaps not necessary to the interest of England, was absolutely necessary to the Dutch. The Dutch were convinced that if the Low Countries became French, their own greatness and independence would be at an end, especially as the mouth of the Scheldt would be thrown open and Antwerp would enter speedily into competition with Amsterdam.

Secondly, a concert between England and the United Provinces to prevent this result might be regarded in two

different ways by the English Government. It might of course be regarded as a grand application of the old principle of a Balance of Power, with which the English mind was deeply imbued. And so Arlington writes to Temple, 'Generosity and the keeping the balance even between the two crowns would be points that might by witty men be talked out of doors.' And Ruvigny, who arrived in England as French Ambassador after the Peace of Breda, writes, 'Minds are so imbued with the old idea that the more feeble of the two Powers must always be supported, by maintaining the balance between France and Spain, that it is to be feared there is a general disposition to assist the Spaniards.' But we are also to bear in mind how bitter the feeling against the Dutch necessarily was at that moment in England, and that France and the United Provinces had been allied against England in the war just brought to an end. The concert proposed would have the effect of breaking this alliance. It would create hostility between Louis and the Dutch Government, so that when England should think the time come to avenge the bombardment of Sheerness her enemy would not again be aided by France, nay, might perhaps have to meet the attack of France at the same time as that of England.

This actually took place in 1672. It may seem capricious that England should in 1668 combine with the Dutch to check the ambition of Louis XIV, and four years later combine with Louis XIV to overwhelm the Dutch state. But in a scheme of vengeance upon the Dutch for the affront suffered by England in the Thames in 1667 the former of these two measures has its necessary place as much as the latter. It was necessary to isolate the Dutch before overwhelming them. Not that we are

to attribute to the English Government in general any deeply-laid Macchiavellian design. Temple at least had no ulterior objects, the English Parliament had no ulterior objects. Charles II after wavering between the three courses above described, after making proposals to Louis, at last yielded to the popular wish. Only in doing so he was probably at least as keenly sensible of the injury he inflicted on the Dutch as of the service he rendered to Europe by maintaining the Balance of Power.

In December 1667 Charles was negotiating with France and Spain at once. Through Ruvigny the new Ministers who had supplanted Clarendon offered an alliance to France, and at the same time Lord Sandwich (the Admiral, the 'My Lord' of Pepys, now transformed into an Ambassador) made proposals at Madrid for an alliance with Spain.

To France he offered assistance, or at least neutrality, in the war with Spain; in return he asked for a share in the spoils, Ostend and Nieuport, besides advantages in the New World; he asked also for French aid against the Dutch in the case of a new Dutch war.

To Spain he offered assistance against France at the price of a large money payment and a great share in the American trade.

From the latter offer much less was expected than from the former. But an alliance with France, such as would bring maritime acquisitions and could at the same time be easily turned against the Dutch, a combination in fact similar to that which was actually formed in 1672, was perhaps more agreeable to Charles himself than any other solution. He could not however obtain it from Louis, who considered that for mere neutrality—positive aid was not distinctly promised—too high a price was asked,

and who had at this time no ground for abandoning his friendly relation to the Dutch. Meanwhile English public opinion took its ordinary traditional course. It was jealous and distrustful of France; it was unwilling to see Antwerp fall into French hands. Public opinion therefore wished to see the progress of France arrested in some way. And yet a direct interference in favour of Spain was more than could be attempted, and the Spanish Government did not warmly welcome the proposals made through Lord Sandwich. Thus even at the moment when the hatred between the English and the Dutch was at the highest point a concert between them for the purpose of arresting France began to be favourably considered. It would gratify public opinion. Arlington, the Secretary, had a Dutch wife, and behind Arlington came Temple. And to Charles the Macchiavellian reflexion might occur that such a concert would indirectly ruin Holland, for it would expose her to the wrath of her great friend, Louis XIV.

The story of Temple's share in the achievement, of his first unofficial discussions with De Witt in September 1667, of his mission to the Hague in December, of his return to England, of the instructions given to him on January 1st, 1668, of his return to the Hague in a royal yacht, and the storm that delayed him, of his momentous conversations with De Witt, of his unceremonious visit late at night to the Swedish Ambassador, Count Dohna, of the contrivance by which the cumbrous constitutional forms of the United Provinces were eluded, of the concert arranged in four days, all this need not be narrated again. What is essential is that we should form a distinct conception of the concert itself and of the importance of it.

As we have seen that for the Dutch at this moment to

cross the path of Louis would be most dangerous to them, so we remark that in this treaty they carefully avoid seeming to do anything of the kind. Hence some modern writers have absolutely refused to admit that the Triple Alliance had in any degree the character or the importance which was attributed to it at the time. They remark, what is perfectly true, first, that it imposes no terms upon Louis which he had not already declared himself ready to accept, and that these terms were extremely favourable to Louis; secondly, that the Powers actually guarantee these terms to Louis and undertake to induce Spain to grant them 'by reasons and other effectual means.' In another place the treaty uses the expression 'more effectual means,' (*media majoris efficacix*) with reference, be it observed, to Spain, not to France. It is true that the ostensible treaty wears the appearance of favouring France and of securing to France the principal acquisitions made by her in the war. It imposes no restraint upon her except so far as it forbids her to make new claims, and takes out of her hands the function of enforcing any further by arms the claims advanced by her already.

So far the treaty is only remarkable as being one of the earliest examples of that system which has attained such a height in the nineteenth century, the interference of neutral Powers for the purpose of bringing a war between two European states to an end. Even so to affirm that it accomplished nothing which would not have been accomplished without it is extravagant. We have already seen that Louis held a treaty with Spain to be a mere polite formality. Had he punctually performed the engagements he had taken in the Treaty of the Pyrenees? If not, it was a most important thing that the conditions of the new treaty soon to be concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle should not

be left to his own sense of right but should be watched over and guaranteed by three neutral Powers.

But further: besides the ostensible treaty, four secret articles were signed at the Hague on the same day, that is, on January 23rd, 1668. It is the third of these secret articles that makes the Triple Alliance so remarkable, as furnishing, as it were, a programme of the age of international history then opening.

The third article runs as follows: 'But if beyond all expectation the Most Christian King should entertain such thoughts as shall induce him to refuse the promise that he will sign the treaty of peace as soon as the Spaniard shall consent to give up all those places which have been acquired by him in his last expedition, or such an equivalent as shall be agreed by mutual consent; or in case he shall not accomplish his promise, or shall disallow or reject the cautions and provisions that are expressed in the said treaty, which are so necessary to obviate the fears and jealousies that are most justly conceived of the Most Christian King's intentions to make a further progress with his victorious arms into the said Low Countries, so often already mentioned: In all these cases, and also if he should endeavour by any subterfuges or oblique practices to hinder or elude the conclusion of the peace; then England and the United Netherlands¹ shall be bound and obliged to join themselves to the king of Spain and with all their united force and power to make war against France; not only to compel him to make peace upon the conditions aforesaid; but, if God should bless the arms taken up to this end, and favour them with success, and if it should be thought expedient to the parties concerned, to continue the war till things shall be restored to that

¹ Sweden acceded to the treaty somewhat later.

condition in which they were at the time when the peace was made upon the borders of both kingdoms in the Pyrenean mountains.'

In these last words a system is sketched out similar to that which it was the work of William's life to consolidate and which he handed on to Marlborough. In this place it will suffice to note its general character; other opportunities will occur for examining it more in detail.

The result intended by this concert was attained. Louis had offered to Spain the choice of yielding the towns in the Low Countries which he had conquered or, as an equivalent, Franche Comté with some other towns. He now in February overran Franche Comté, the delay of three months which he had allowed to Spain having expired. But in May the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded between France and Spain under the mediation first of Pope Clement IX, but also 'of the Ministers of several other Kings, Potentates, Electors and Princes of the Holy Empire, who have kindly offered their endeavours and good offices to accomplish this grand affair.' By this treaty Spain yielded the places taken in the Low Countries, and Louis undertook to 'withdraw his troops from the County of Burgundy, commonly called the Franche Comté.' And thus tranquillity was restored.

But a new age of international history had opened in a most conspicuous manner. A French ascendancy stood revealed to the world, not this time a predominance of France momentarily acquired by the fortune of war, but an ambitious purpose avowed by Louis of asserting his superiority among the European states, and sustained by an evident superiority in fact. As early as 1663 we find Temple speaking of 'this great comet that is risen of late, the French king, who expects not only to be gazed at but

admired by the whole world.' Now in 1667 and 1668 the helplessness of his neighbour, the Spanish Monarchy, the rival of France for so long a time, had been made evident. And it had now become generally understood that Louis intended to claim the succession of the whole Spanish Monarchy for his House as soon as the feeble Charles II of Spain should die without heirs. Thus a startling prospect suddenly opened before the eyes of Europe. Louis XIV, who had already been king of France for fifteen years, now assumed a position which no king of France had ever held before.

We may judge from the *Consilium Aegyptiacum* of Leibnitz what an impression this new phenomenon produced. The philosopher foresees clearly the course which Louis is likely to take, and what devastating wars threaten Europe; the only remedy in his view is to divert the king's ambition to Egypt, which he represents as easily invaded and easily conquered. He sends to Louis an exhortation which was lost upon him, but was taken to heart more than a century later by Napoleon Bonaparte.

But this first war of Louis was striking chiefly by the prospect it opened. Turenne's campaign in the Low Countries was not much admired: thus Temple writes in October, 1667, 'Upon the whole never any campaign was perhaps worse managed on both sides, through default of order here and of resolution among the French.' In the same way the Triple Alliance was far more significant by what it indicated than by what it was. Much may be urged in disparagement of its importance, and, if the result which it aimed at was attained at Aix-la-Chapelle, perhaps Louis was influenced by other considerations than the dread of its threats. In English history it is damaged by the context in which it appears. Not only was it soon

abandoned for an opposite policy. It may be said indeed of Temple himself and of the English Parliament and people that they had an honest meaning in it. Temple contemplates a hearty union of the English and the Dutch, a union which is to endure and to oppose an effectual barrier to the ambition of Louis. But Charles himself sees it throughout in a different light. He has recourse to it suddenly because his offers to France have been rejected, and having thus, as it were, taught Louis a lesson, he returns to the French alliance as soon as he conveniently can. In this course we may discern that kind of indolent Macchiavellism so characteristic of him. He was aware, as we may see that De Witt was aware, that this alliance, if it were abandoned again, would almost cause the ruin of the United Provinces by making France their enemy. To Temple when he first proposed it De Witt said, 'he doubted the States would think it like to prove too sudden a change of all their interests, and that which would absolutely break them off from so old and constant a friend as France to rely wholly upon so new and uncertain a friend as England had proved.' At another time he said, what Continental statesmen have often repeated in later times, that unsteadiness of counsels in England seemed a thing fatally inherent in our constitution; he could not judge from what ground, '*mais depuis le temps de la reine Elizabeth, il n'y avait eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne pouvait jamais prendre des mesures pour deux années de temps.*'

In this particular instance these remarks proved only too true, and De Witt himself experienced it too fatally. While all the world was hailing the Triple Alliance as a masterpiece, Charles himself may have regarded it as a

masterpiece in quite a different, and a less honest sense. By means of it he succeeded in 1672 in avenging the disgrace he had suffered from the Dutch in 1667, in destroying De Witt, and almost in destroying the Dutch state.

CHAPTER III.

REVIVAL OF THE DYNASTIC SYSTEM.

EVEN before the conclusion of the Triple Alliance in January 1668 it may be said that England had entered upon a new revolution.

We are in the habit of conceiving the Revolution of 1688 too simply as a movement of constitutional resistance to the perverse bigotry of king James II. As James II only began to reign in 1685, this view of the Revolution requires us to think of it as commencing not earlier than 1685. Yet it cannot but occasionally strike us that at least the later years of Charles II are marked with all the violence and terror of revolution. The period from 1678 to 1685 makes one of the most terrible and thrilling chapters of English history. The Popish Plot, the Exclusion Bill, and the Rye-House Plot, are successive spasms in a convulsion which is almost as violent and more shocking than the Great Rebellion. And the panic which procured credence for the wild stories of Oates and Bedloe was itself the result of other occurrences that carry us several years further back, of the war with Holland and the stop of the Exchequer in 1672 and of the Treaty of Dover in 1670. Is it satisfactory to say that as there was

a revolution under James II, so there might have been and almost was *another* revolution under Charles II, he being, like his brother, perverse and only a degree less wrong-headed? Was it not rather one and the same convulsion which, beginning in the middle of Charles II's reign, passed on into the reign of James and ended in the change of Government of 1688?

The proof that the Revolution which was consummated in 1688 really began far back in the reign of Charles II, lies in the fact that the definite design which was announced and undertaken so frankly by James is identical with that which was undertaken without being announced by Charles. It was not a mere design to establish absolute government, but something much more definite, viz., a design to found a strong monarchy upon the reestablishment of Catholicism by the aid of a standing army and of a French alliance. This design was expressed as clearly in the Treaty of Dover of 1670, though that was kept secret, as in the public acts of James II. As the design was the same throughout, the opposition to it ought to be regarded as one movement, which is as much as to say that the Revolution of 1688 ought to be held to have commenced at least not later than the year 1672, when the first overt steps towards executing the design were taken, and also that the Revolution cannot be clearly treated without going still further back to the Treaty of Dover and to the occurrences which led Charles to conclude the Treaty of Dover.

The Treaty of Dover has a character as wild and startling as any act of James II. We perceive that as early as 1670 the English Monarchy has begun to desert all precedent, and is entering upon a course far more strange and portentous than had ever been deliberately

chosen by Charles I. And as soon as the country became dimly aware of this fact, that is, in 1672, English politics are visibly troubled, so that we may fairly say, 'the Revolution has begun.'

But then the question arises, What led the Monarchy in 1670 to form so wild and desperate a design? And thus we are led to take a further step backward. We must ask ourselves, what had happened between the Restoration and 1670 to drive the Monarchy into new courses. And to this question the answer presents itself readily. Evidently the fall of Clarendon in the last months of 1667 marks the fall of the original system of the Restored Monarchy. And the fall of Clarendon was evidently caused by the great disasters of 1666 and 1667, by the Dutch invasion inflicting such disgrace on the administration, and following so closely upon the Plague and the Fire of London.

These disasters make the next great epoch in our history after the Restoration. They close the prosperous period of the Restored Monarchy, and they introduce a new revolutionary period, the second English Revolution of the seventeenth century.

Thus regarded, this second revolution seems as long and difficult a labour as that which filled the reign of Charles I. It is found to occupy about twenty years.

But when compared as a whole with the first revolution it exhibits a striking difference, which is peculiarly important in this book.

The first revolution was on the whole a remarkably insular movement. Though it was watched with much interest by Continental statesmen, yet for various reasons, which have been noted above, they seldom found themselves in a condition to influence it or take a part in it.

The second revolution is in this respect in the opposite extreme. It is swayed throughout by the most potent continental influences. In truth it may be said that the leaders in it were two foreign princes. For Charles and James on the one side were alike subordinate to Louis XIV, who from the outset financed the project of his royal cousins, and who in the end interfered with fleets and armies and with the whole force of his kingdom. On the other side William Prince of Orange still more conspicuously takes the lead of the revolutionary party. And thus while the first revolution in all its crises alike, both at the fall of the Monarchy and at the Restoration of the Monarchy, left England free from foreign complications, the second revolution involved England necessarily and immediately in a great European war which lasted not less than nine years.

The disasters which marked the failure of the Clarendon system would naturally suggest the question whether the Restored Monarchy could not be put upon a wholly different basis. We remarked above that Charles II was restored by no means in the only possible way, nor yet in the way he liked best. But he was restored triumphantly, and had enjoyed some prosperous years. Now when this prosperity came to an end and the Monarchy was once more in imminent danger, those other possible systems, and especially the system which Charles himself had always secretly preferred, naturally came up for reconsideration.

What were those other systems?

There was the system which may be called Cromwellism. Cromwell had shown how the country might be governed strongly and gloriously by means of a standing army, and how on this system money might be raised

without consent of Parliament. It was a lesson which could not be thrown away on one whose *métier* it was to be a king, and Charles would remark that this form of imperialism was inseparably connected with a grand principle, which was attractive to many minds, the principle of religious toleration.

There was another system of which his mother, Henrietta Maria, was the chief representative. He might govern England by the help of France, by French subsidies and, if necessary, by French troops. This system had been inculcated upon him by the necessities of his long exile. He had grown used to the practice of it. It was indeed a humiliating system for an English king to adopt, but Charles was half a Frenchman by birth, and besides, as he saw it represented in its mother, it had a religious justification. It favoured Catholicism, and, if Catholicism was after all the true faith, duty might require an English king in spite of patriotic feelings to adopt the system.

These two systems were in themselves extremely dissimilar, but yet they might be blended together, and Charles had another example before his eyes to teach him how this might be done. His cousin Louis XIV., the great example of kingship in that age, ruled at this time on the principle of religious toleration. He had an Edict of Nantes, and the great soldier who with the title of Marshal-General was then organising the army which was to establish the European ascendancy of France, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, was himself a Protestant. The Edict of Nantes had been issued by another great soldier, the grandfather of Charles himself, Henry IV. Cromwell's toleration had not extended to Catholics, but logically it ought to do so, and now that a king reigned in England, whose mother and wife were alike

Catholic, and now that the principle of toleration had been long preached and had met with some acceptance, it might seem possible to imagine an Edict of Nantes for England which should grant toleration to Catholics as well as Dissenters. This Edict would be issued by the king personally in virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy. It would be a Declaration of Indulgence, and would place all the Dissenters of England in a direct relation to the king. They would become the king's vassals, and if then an army could gradually be formed in which they should form the preponderating element, a Monarchy would be established which would have all the force, independence and military power of that of Cromwell and would be on equal terms with that of Louis XIV across the Channel.

All this would take time. In the meanwhile for a scheme which promised so much advantage to Catholicism he might ask support from France. He had already fallen into alliance with France against Spain—here again Cromwell had been his model—the alliance suited him personally, for it was a family alliance. Louis in his schemes of ascendancy needed the countenance or at least the neutrality of England. For this, and for the interest of Catholicism, Louis must be content to pay subsidies. And thus we have a complete scheme for the regeneration of the Monarchy, enfeebled and endangered by the disasters of 1666 and 1667.

This is the programme which, adopted covertly for a moment and then partly withdrawn by Charles, caused the terrible convulsions of the latter part of his reign, adopted more openly and persistently by James, led to the Revolution of 1688. The scheme involves an abandonment of that national system of policy which the Commonwealth had introduced and which had on the whole been accepted

by Clarendon ; it involves a revival of the dynastic system, being founded on the family connexion of the sons of Henrietta Maria with Louis XIV. It is this family alliance of the two royal Houses which makes the second English revolution so much more important in international or European history than the first. From the English point of view it was this which caused the change of 1688 to be achieved by a foreign prince landing in England at the head of a foreign army and to be followed by a great war between England and France. And from the European point of view it is not difficult to see that the whole ascendancy of Louis XIV was based upon the family concert between the Bourbon and the Stuarts.

We have brought Louis upon the stage in his new character, and we have seen him receive his first check from the Triple Alliance. Even this first aggression of his, the War of Devolution, was preceded, we saw, by an engagement on the part of Charles not to interfere for a year. The Triple Alliance, we saw, though devised with so much circumspection, yet produced an immediate and profound effect, so that the nascent ascendancy might well have come to a premature end had England's policy moved steadily upon the lines laid down by Temple. But just at this moment the new family alliance was arranged, and the result was that the ambition of Louis XIV had full play in Europe for twenty years.

And what ultimately set a limit to that ambition? We are in the habit of thinking of the Revolution of 1688 as the event which saved our liberties and settled our constitution. But that event, unlike the chief occurrences of our Grand Rebellion, is not less, perhaps more, important in European than in English history. It defeated the plans of Louis XIV in Europe not less really though less

manifestly than the plans of James II in England. From that moment the tide of French encroachment began to recede, and in the course of the third war of Louis (1688—1697) it became clear to French politicians that England's change of sides had vitiated the calculations upon which their scheme of ascendancy had been based. We may say, '*Momentum fuit mutata Britannia rerum.*'

Such then in general is the second English Revolution. We have seen that it begins with a step in foreign policy, the Treaty of Dover. Shortly before this event comes the fall of Clarendon, which is to Charles II what the death of Mazarin had been to Louis XIV. It gives the king freedom to adopt a policy of his own. Hitherto he has been in the hands of the experienced statesmen who have re-established and consolidated the monarchy—Southampton, Clarendon, Monk and Ormond, statesmen who have throughout taken a national and a Protestant view of the Restoration. Southampton now dies, Monk dies a little later in 1670, Ormond is deprived of his Irish office in the spring of 1669. But Clarendon had risen to an eminence far above any of these, an eminence which can only be compared to that of Mazarin. He was father-in-law of the heir to the throne, father of the future queen, grandfather of the royal children, and besides all this leading Minister, restorer and nursing-father to the Anglican Church, and Chancellor.

In this very year 1667 the brother-in-law of Charles, Alfonso, King of Portugal, who had been brought into public contempt by his vices, was deposed by his brother, who reigned successfully under the title of Pedro II. It almost seems as if Charles for a moment apprehended a similar fate. He too had shocked public opinion by his vices, and disasters had now happened which might be

interpreted as marks of Divine displeasure. He had a Catholic wife, who brought him no children. Meanwhile his brother, the Duke of York, was a man of business, and recently in command of the fleet had defeated the Dutch; moreover he had children and an English wife; nor had he or his wife as yet broken with public opinion by publicly adopting Catholicism. The position was dangerous for Charles, the more so as the greatest statesman of the day, the master of the policy of the Restoration, was father-in-law and Mentor to this formidable brother.

Charles steered himself safely through these dangers with his usual indolent adroitness. He took advantage of the popular outcry which made Clarendon responsible for the mismanagement in which he had no share, and also of the offence he had given to large classes by his exclusive Anglicanism. The attack upon Clarendon was made in Parliament; Charles seemed only to give way, slowly and gradually, before it. But he reaped the benefit of it; his brother became less formidable when Clarendon had been driven from the country. And soon after James ceased to be formidable to him at all by adopting Catholicism, so that this particular danger passed away and was forgotten.

Relieved from Clarendon's control the king begins to display those personal preferences which hitherto had been held in abeyance. Hitherto he had been always in leading strings, like Louis XIV in the lifetime of Mazarin. He had been a Covenanting King in Scotland in 1651; in 1660 he had been restored in England mainly by Presbyterians; in 1662 Anglicanism had gained the upper hand. But it had been visible all along that this third phase of the Restored Monarchy was little more to the monarch's mind than the second had been. He did not want an intolerant Anglicanism; he wanted toleration in a form

which should confer lustre on the Crown and at the same time should include Catholics. Nor did he want Parliamentarism, whether the majority in Parliament were Anglican as since 1661 or Presbyterian as in 1660; he wanted Cromwellism, a Government founded upon military force. Lastly he did not want a national system, but a dynastic policy; he hankered after a family alliance with France.

On January 25th, 1669, Charles held a meeting of leading Catholics, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Arlington, Bellasys and Sir Thomas Clifford, in the room of the Duke of York, and there announced himself a Catholic and desired their advice on the best means of re-establishing the Catholic religion in the country. We are told that he remarked that there was no time to lose, that he expected to meet with great difficulties in the execution of his plan, and that on that account he chose to take it in hand while he, as well as his brother, were in the vigour of their age. We are told that he spoke with much spirit and with tears in his eyes.

From this time began the violent course which led to the third war with Holland and the Stop of the Exchequer. Charles had conceived and entered upon an undertaking precisely similar to that which his brother afterwards took up at the cost of his crown. But he dropped it again in 1674 without having betrayed to the public the grand secret. Suspicions had been aroused, and his brother, the heir to the throne, had declared himself a Catholic. But the design which had been formed, and which in 1670 had taken shape in the Treaty of Dover, remained unknown. It was unknown not only to that generation but to many succeeding generations, so that the unity of the whole movement, which, beginning

in 1669, resulted in the change of Government of 1688, has never been quite firmly apprehended among us.

Perhaps in all English history there is to be found nothing so wild as this design, nothing so portentous as this plot. That Charles or James or both should adopt Catholicism and feel bound to announce their conversion to the world was not in itself wonderful. Queen Christina had done so. But then Queen Christina had abdicated. The enigma is that Charles, who often gave proof of a keen intelligence, should have supposed it possible, sixty years after the Gunpowder Plot, thirty years after the Irish massacre, when aversion to Popery had become in the English mind a sort of mania, to reverse the whole drift of things and make the stream, which had long since swelled into a great river, flow backward to its source. Nor is the enigma even partially solved by remarking that he contemplated reserving certain liberties, even after the restoration of Catholicism, to the Anglican Church.

A certain blind obstinacy may explain the conduct of James, but Charles was a politician, and often showed himself an adroit politician. Even if we suppose that in his nature the Stuart alternated with the Bourbon, and that his Macchiavellian insight was interrupted at times by fits of helpless bewilderment, the hypothesis besides being difficult does not appear sufficient.

But let us remark how closely connected in his mind are these religious ideas with his family relationships. His Catholicism is not a speculative conviction, but a family bias, an inclination to the religion of his mother and of that other Henrietta, his favourite sister, and of that kindred court across the Channel which then gave the model to all courts. This observation leads us once more to think of the prodigious importance in our ancient

political system of royal marriage. Something similar had been seen in the sixteenth century when Mary Tudor, Spanish by her mother and afterwards Spanish by her husband, showed herself quite out of harmony with the people she governed. It appears that the foreign marriages of a royal family might produce, besides the direct effects we have so often had to notice, strange indirect effects upon the mind and way of thinking of royal persons.

The Stuart Kings of England had hitherto been Protestant but their Queens were always Catholic. In consequence the royal family differed from most other English families by its exceptional connexion and familiarity with Catholicism. This gave a peculiarity to its way of thinking, a peculiarity all the more dangerous because for some reasons they might be tempted to be proud of it. And in that period the peculiarity was greatly heightened by the fact that the foreign and Catholic element in the royal family greatly outshone the insular and Protestant element. While Charles I suffered captivity and death Henrietta Maria retired to France and lived as a daughter of France upon a pension granted to her by the Government. During the long exile of the sons their mother had assisted them with money, while they had grown accustomed to the habits and ways of thinking of her country. Her family on the French throne had enjoyed splendid success, and it was natural for Charles II, when he thought of his ancestors, to dwell with more complacency upon Henry IV than upon James I and to prefer the splendour and power of his cousin Louis XIV to his own position in England. France now took the lead in Europe, and Charles might be proud to feel that he was a Frenchman.

In the particular matter of religion he might easily feel himself exceptionally enlightened. While the atmo-

sphere of Catholicism in which he had always lived even in England prevented him from understanding how deeply Protestant the country was, he knew some things which most English people did not know, so that he might easily regard his subjects as insular in feeling. He knew that the current of thought in Europe was setting in the direction of Catholicism, that the Huguenot party was declining in France—the great Turenne himself recanted, as Henry IV had recanted—he may have been aware that even the severe strenuous earnestness which was the boast of Puritanism had now shown itself at Port Royal in the bosom of Catholicism. There had been a time in France too when Protestantism was powerful, a time of confusion. That confusion had passed away, and Protestantism was passing away with it. A splendid and secure Government had been founded, and how? The ultimate cause seemed to lie in this that a French king, his own grandfather, had solemnly abandoned Protestantism and made his peace with the Church.

If this chain of reasoning led Charles to a conclusion which seems to us almost insane, and which probably he himself in the course of 1673 perceived to be wholly mistaken, it becomes at least intelligible when we take account of the atmosphere of Catholicism which he had always breathed. His mother was a bigoted Catholic, his wife was a Catholic; they were surrounded by Catholics; the younger Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, was a centre of the brilliant Catholic society of France. And all this was the natural result of the system of royal marriage, which after the long interval of Elizabeth's time had been revived by James I. It had introduced a fatal misunderstanding between the royal House and the English nation.

But it introduced also the family alliance which issued

in the war of 1672 and all that flowed from it. Hence this system of royal marriage is the root not only of the second English Revolution, but also of the ascendancy of Louis XIV in Europe, which always depended upon the countenance or neutrality of England. We know how the War of the Spanish Succession resulted from the marriage of Louis XIV and the Infanta Maria Theresa. It is not less true that the War of 1672 and the whole disturbance of Europe which was not composed till 1697 resulted indirectly from the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I.

The suddenness and abruptness with which the new revolution commenced in 1670 has been concealed from view partly by the secrecy in which the king's proceedings were so long veiled, but partly also by other circumstances.

The first of these is the fact that the formation of the Triple Alliance, the most famous act of foreign policy of Charles II's reign and the most hostile to France, actually took place after the fall of Clarendon, and after the king had begun to enter upon his revolutionary course. Throughout the year 1668 Charles enjoyed the honour of the Triple Alliance; Temple represented England at the Hague; and even as late as August 1669—that is, long after Charles had expressed to Louis his passionate desire for a French alliance, and even some time after he had broached to Louis his grand project—the Triple Alliance is not only active but seems to grow more and more imperious. In that month a deputation, of which De Witt was a member, presented itself at the Hague before Pomponne, the French Ambassador, to complain in the name of the States-General, England, and Sweden, of certain infractions of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. 'This is the first time,' writes Pomponne, 'that the Triple Alliance has spoken all together.'

But we know how Charles himself regarded the Triple Alliance. To him it recommended itself as a means, and it proved a very effectual means, of making Louis, who had been a friend of the Dutch, their mortal enemy.

The other circumstance is this, that to the modern reader it appears as if Charles had at least gone to work very cautiously. We compare his secrecy with the bluff and blundering frankness of James, and draw almost unconsciously the conclusion that he only played with his grand project, or at least that he regarded it only as a distant ideal, and that he was well aware, as an intelligent man, that such a proposal as the restoration of Catholicism must be approached very circumspectly and, as it were, broken gradually to the English people. True it is that he was prudent enough, when he saw in 1673 how profound an alarm his first steps had caused, to draw back, and that from this time to the end of his reign the grand project fell into abeyance. But it is important to notice that his original plan as he announced it in 1669 was not less insane, almost more insane, than any plan of James II. He actually intended to announce himself a Catholic and to introduce Catholicism by royal authority supported by military force. There can be little doubt that such a plan was even more infatuated in 1669 than it was in 1685 when James tried to carry it into effect. In 1685 the people had had time to grow familiar with the idea, and they were also exhausted and discouraged by the reign of terror that had prevailed since the panic of the Popish Plot. How the plan would have been received in 1669 it may be difficult precisely to say, but surely the downfall of Charles himself must have followed almost instantaneously.

On November 9th, 1669 Charles said to the French

Ambassador, Colbert Croissy, to whom the secret had recently been confided—‘that he thought that after reading the papers I must have judged that he himself and those to whom I had entrusted the conduct of the affair were mad to think of reestablishing the Catholic religion in England; that indeed every person informed about the affairs of his kingdom and the temper of his peoples must have such a thought, but that nevertheless he hoped that with the support of Your Majesty the great undertaking would succeed; that the presbyterians and all the other sects hated the Anglican Church even more than the Catholics; that all these sectaries aspired only to the freedom of exercising their religion, and will not oppose his change of religion if they obtain that, which he intends to grant them; that moreover he had good troops, well disposed to him, that if his father had had as many he would have stifled in the birth the troubles which caused his ruin; that he meant to augment as much as possible his regiments and companies under the most plausible pretexts he could find; that all the arsenals were at his disposal and well supplied; and that he was assured of the principal places in England and Scotland, that the Governor of Hull was a Catholic, that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth and many other places which he named to me, among others Windsor, would never fail in the obedience they owed to him; that as to the Irish troops he hoped the Duke of Ormond, who had retained a great reputation there, would always be faithful, and if the Duke should fail in his duty, disapproving his change of religion, Lord Orrery, a Catholic at heart, and still more influential in that army, would lead it wherever he had orders; that the friendship of Your Majesty, of which he had the most obliging proofs in the world in the answers

you have made to his proposals, with which he professed himself perfectly satisfied, would also be a great support to him; lastly he said that he was forced both by his conscience and by the confusion he saw daily increasing in his kingdom, which tended to the diminution of his authority, to declare himself a Catholic, and that beside the spiritual advantage he should gain from doing so, he also considered that it was the only way of reestablishing the monarchy.'

If this is infatuation, the last clauses show that it is partly the infatuation of despair. But such was Charles' plan, and the caution which afterwards withheld him from taking this desperate course was suggested to him not by his own reflexions, but by this very Colbert Croissy and by Louis XIV, who urged that the declaration of war with the Dutch must precede the public adoption of Catholicism.

We may say then that at this moment a struggle began which was not decided till 1688, and even then was by no means ended. The period from 1669 to 1688 makes one chapter in English history. It is one in respect of the subject-matter, which is a design on the part of the Monarchy to reestablish Catholicism, one too because in the main the persons who took part in the struggle were the same under Charles II and James II. No doubt when the last act of the drama began at the accession of James some of these had been removed. Shaftesbury and Lord William Russell, as well as Charles II, had disappeared in England; Condé, Turenne, and Colbert had disappeared in France. But Louis XIV and the Prince of Orange, Monmouth, Danby, Halifax and James himself, took a prominent part in the struggle of both reigns alike, and their conduct in the second reign cannot be under-

stood but in connexion with their conduct in the first. Through the whole period prevails the same violent and overstrained complexion of politics, but certain large phases may be distinguished.

As, contrary to the original intention of Charles, secrecy was maintained on the principal point, the English people did not at once become alive to their situation. The war with Holland, in spite of the strange violence with which it was commenced, gratified some interests and feelings, and seemed a national war. But suspicion was excited; the Declaration of Indulgence raised general distrust; every one was aware of a mysterious apparition of Catholicism on the public stage. Hence a violent ferment, partially allayed in 1673 by the king's concessions and the passing of the Test Act. In King Charles the politician now awakes, and the frantic scheme is practically laid aside. But the public disquiet cannot be fully allayed so long as the family alliance with France continues, and the disgraceful terms of it cannot quite be concealed, nor can the fear of Popery subside since the heir to the throne has avowed himself a Catholic. Affairs look so wild that a terrible convulsion cannot long be avoided. It breaks out in 1678 in the form of an uncontrollable popular panic. A reign of terror, unique in English history, begins. From this time till the death of Charles, or for seven years, the condition of affairs is revolutionary, though no actual change of Government takes place.

In the short reign of James II the original scheme of 1669 is revived. A struggle begins which, as it is frank and open, is on the whole less shocking than the terror of the latter years of Charles, and a satisfactory solution is found in 1688.

The whole movement has many aspects. The religious

aspect attracts perhaps most attention, and after this the constitutional aspect. We have to deal here with a third aspect, that which it wears towards foreign policy. This is equally startling, since the scheme now launched by Charles led England into wholly new international relations and profoundly modified the whole system of Europe.

If we take account of the despair he betrays in the passage quoted above, and then recollect his habits formed in exile and the vague ideas suggested to him by Cromwell's example, the scheme, startling as it is, explains itself to us. How to get money had been from the outset his perplexity. It had led to his marriage and to the sale of Dunkirk, even in the time when he had been able to count on the help of Parliament. But the disasters of 1666-7 had undermined the whole system which Clarendon had constructed for him, and Clarendon himself was gone. He thought he saw his monarchy crumbling away, and he was forced, he the indolent and debauched, but at the same time adroit and audacious man, to devise something new, to find a new foundation for his power. He must make himself independent of Parliament; this was possible, for Cromwell had shown it to be so. A military force was needful, and for this purpose a war must be undertaken, and it must be such a war as would be acceptable to public opinion.

Two courses were open to him. He might pursue the course into which he had been led by Temple. He would thus anticipate the part afterwards played by William of Orange. In alliance with the Dutch he would oppose a bar to the encroachments of Louis XIV and defend what remained of the Spanish Monarchy in Northern Europe. This policy would gratify the English people, who had by

no means forgotten their inherited enmity to France, and who had always held it a main object to prevent France from obtaining possession of the cities of Flanders and the port of Antwerp.

But if he wanted a war in order to obtain a military force it was perhaps not clear that he would gain his end by this course. It might lead to peace, for even the young Louis XIV. at the head of his brilliant army and commanding the services of Turenne and Condé, might shrink from defying a coalition of England, the United Provinces, Sweden and the Spanish Monarchy. In any case it was opposed to all the inclinations, all the family notions of Charles. One of his strongest feelings was hatred to the Government of De Witt, by which his nephew was excluded from power, and which seemed to him like a relic of the Commonwealth. He had also a strong sense of kindred with the French royal House. If his father had been able to see nothing in the Thirty Years' War but the interest of his nephew the Elector Palatine, it was still more natural that he himself should lean in continental affairs to the side of his mother and of his favourite sister and of his splendid cousin, the great monarch of the age. And he might do so without running counter to public opinion and without startling it.

England had grown accustomed in Cromwell's time to a French alliance, and had learned to understand that by conniving at French encroachments she might purchase advantages for herself both in the Low Countries and in the New World. And if there was an inherited enmity to France there was a much keener, fresher and more intense enmity to the Dutch, our rivals in trade, and lately the invaders of the Thames and the Medway.

If Charles should now throw himself suddenly and

energetically on the side of France he might achieve not merely a success but a great and overwhelming result. For the Triple Alliance had fulfilled his sinister design, it had established a bitter animosity between Louis and the Dutch Government. All that remained for Charles was now suddenly to join France in an overwhelming attack upon the Dutch Republic. In this way he might bury their trophies of 1667 in the ruins of their state, and raise England once for all to the position of the great and sole maritime and commercial Power of the world.

So far the plan is daring and unscrupulous enough. But it would have gratified the passions and the interests of the English people; whether, thus limited, it might not have proved successful, is a curious speculation.

But this is but the lesser half of the scheme which Charles devised. The other half consists in a plan of restoring Catholicism in England. By adding this he gave a kind of revolutionary wildness to his whole policy. The name of religion however served as a decent cloak for its Macchiavellism, and gave him a pretext for demanding of Louis great sums of money. At the same time this unnecessary addition ruined in the end the whole project, ruined the Stuart family, and plunged England into Revolution and Europe into war.

But when we regard the scheme as a whole, its audacity, comprehensiveness, and ingenuity astonish us no less than the enormous miscalculation it involved. Charles II certainly does not show the feebleness of conception that had marked his father. It is true that he was indolent and effeminate. In the end he failed and sank into a position so humiliating, that we hardly give him credit for any higher gifts than a certain vivacity and adroitness. In truth he had not vital force enough to

be, like Henry IV, a great statesman and a great sensualist at the same time. He was also capable, as we see, of committing almost incredible blunders. Nevertheless he was not a mere Stuart. He was in some respects one of the great Macchiavellians of history. Statesmanship of this type, so diabolically ingenious and remorseless, has never been at home in England. It belongs rather to the country of Catharine de Medicis, Richelieu, Mirabeau and Napoleon. But even where, as in Charles II, it was marred by defects so as to prove unsuccessful, it implies certain extraordinary mental qualities. In the whole period under review, from Tudor times to William and Anne, we find no other example of this kind of statesmanship.

We have remarked that these ideas first entered English politics with Henrietta Maria. She died about this time, but her place was taken by her daughter Henrietta Anne, Duchess of Orleans. This person, the child of the reunion of Charles I and Henrietta Maria after their long separation at the beginning of the Civil War, represents most completely the preponderance of the French and Bourbon element in the royal family. Not only by her marriage but by her education and religion she belongs to France. Like Mary Queen of Scots, she was at home in French court life. Now in May, 1670, she met her brother at Dover, and the compact was arranged which remained so long unknown to the world, and even at the moment was concealed from some of the principal Ministers.

One scheme was wrapped up in another, the latter being such as could be published, such as might have succeeded and at any rate contained no germ of revolution. This consisted in an alliance with France against the Dutch. The Triple Alliance was nominally maintained, but for the future England and France were to march

together and to take vengeance on the Dutch. For this purpose Louis was to grant Charles a subsidy. Such a policy was not very unlike that of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell. The Commonwealth had made war with the Dutch, Cromwell had allied himself with France. If the subsidy would make Charles independent of Parliament and if a Declaration of Indulgence was also contemplated, Cromwell too had been independent of Parliament and he too had been tolerant.

It was in this way that Ashley Cooper and Buckingham regarded the new treaty and the new policy. The Clarendonian system being at an end, some such policy seemed the only alternative. It might arouse some opposition, but it was likely to be in the main popular, promising an advance on the one hand in trade and maritime power, on the other hand in religious toleration.

But glimpses were soon obtained of the other policy that was wrapped up in this. The Treasury, which had been in Commission since the fall of Clarendon, was now given to a strong Catholic, Sir Thomas Clifford, and in conversation the King and the Duke began to betray their Catholic opinion. The English public was as keenly sensitive on religious questions as it was indifferent about foreign policy. In these suspicions lay the germ of revolution.

Charles II may be said to have been a man of one deed. The Treaty of Dover followed by the war of 1672 was this one deed. Earlier he had been in leading-strings, and later, when he became alive to the error he had committed, he fell back into a defensive attitude, which he maintained on the whole till the end of his reign. He exhausted himself in this one grandiose and Macchiavellian

combination, which he had courage enough to take in hand but not force enough to persevere in. It is easy to condemn him from the moral point of view, and also to pronounce that in the long run he failed, but we must not overlook that immediately and as far as the ostensible part of the scheme is concerned he achieved a great success.

Did he want satisfaction for the affront done him by the Dutch ships in the Medway? Did he want to overthrow the republican Government in the United Provinces and to restore his nephew to the position held by his ancestors? Let us pass in review what took place in 1672.

It was the most startling event that had happened in Europe for a long time. Louis took the field with an army of more than a hundred thousand men, Condé commanding one division and Turenne having practically the command of the other. He avoided as much as possible the Spanish Low Countries and advanced to the Rhine chiefly through the territory of the Bishop of Liège, who was also Elector of Cologne and his ally. He then, while the Dutch expected him on the Yssel, after capturing four fortresses garrisoned by the Dutch upon the Rhine, crossed that river into Dutch territory. The Dutch taken by surprise divided their army, which united was greatly inferior to the French. The result was that they were able to make little resistance. Nimeguen and Utrecht fell into the hands of Louis, while the fortresses of the Yssel were occupied by his allies, the Bishops of Münster and Cologne.

But the United Provinces were a maritime state, the life of which lay in its seaports and its foreign trade. It seemed then to seal their doom that the other Sea-Power,

England, declared war against them at the same time, or rather without declaration of war fell suddenly upon their commercial fleets. Except in the Napoleonic age no such crushing attack has been made with such suddenness upon a great state as this combined attack upon the Dutch state by France and England. How it was resisted, we shall inquire later. Suffice it here to say that a new Prince of Orange now appears upon the scene.

The immediate result of this attack was the downfall of the system of Government which had prevailed in the state for twenty years. As early as June 21st an attempt was made to assassinate John De Witt, and four days later his brother Cornelius was also threatened with assassination. Then began an agitation for the revival of the Stadtholderate.

Orange op, Wit onder was an inscription which appeared at Dordrecht, De Witt's own town, under two flags, the higher orange-coloured, the lower white, which were exhibited on the top of a tower. In July the Prince found himself restored to the position of his ancestors.

The reaction does not stop here. Cornelius De Witt is arrested on the charge of being implicated in a plot against the Prince of Orange. In August John De Witt resigns the post of Grand Pensionary of Holland. Now takes place the trial of Cornelius. He is put to the torture. He is condemned to the loss of all his offices and dignities and to perpetual banishment from the provinces of Holland and West Friesland. The sentence is dated August 20th. John De Witt visits him in the prison and is detained there. The populace rise against the brothers, drag them out of the prison, intending to put them to death upon the scaffold. But in the street Cornelius is

murdered with daggers, hatchets and the butt ends of muskets, John with guns. He falls amid cries of 'Behold the downfall of the Perpetual Edict! You pray to God! You do not believe there is one. You have long since denied Him by your treason and your villanies.' The bodies are stripped of their clothes, hung on a gibbet, then mutilated. One man boasts, 'I bought one of John De Witt's fingers for two sous and a pot of beer.'

When we think of the share which England took in all this our minds are influenced by later events. We see a Protestant Power overwhelmed by a Catholic king, and England taking the wrong side. It is to be added that even on the wrong side she does not much distinguish herself. De Ruyter is the hero of the naval war, and at the battle of Southwold Bay he probably saved his country. The French appear to watch with pleasure the losses suffered by the English navy. At the time however the English nation thought of earlier events, which we have forgotten, and had no knowledge of that later history which influences our minds. The Dutch were then our greatest enemies and our most dangerous rivals, and we had a recent disgrace to avenge upon them. We had fought in alliance with France under Cromwell; we had not yet fully learned to regard her as an ascendant and dangerous Power, and up to that time she had usually aided the Protestant cause in Europe. Not till the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes did the religious question come into the foreground and France identify herself with Catholicism. In these circumstances the disaster of the Dutch would seem a great triumph for English policy. And indeed though they were to have another age of greatness and glory yet their decline begins

from this time, and in particular their naval power declines. As early as 1688 it is remarked that 'the Dutch navy was incalculably decreased in strength.'

To the whole English nation, it is to be feared, this decline would give unfeigned satisfaction. But to the Macchiavellian on the English throne the occurrences of 1672 must have caused unbounded exultation. He had obtained a personal victory. He had overthrown the republican Government of the United Provinces and had raised his nephew to the head of affairs. He had done this by means of that very Triple Alliance which had procured so much empty glory for the unfortunate John De Witt.

By this revolution in the United Provinces the revival of the dynastic system was consummated. Charles must have felt that now for the first time he was completely restored. What a change since 1651! In that year there had been a Republic in England, a Republic in the United Provinces, and a republican movement which seemed not unlikely to succeed in France. Now Monarchy had risen higher than ever in France, had been definitively restored in England, and entered the United Provinces in a more threatening form than ever. That quasi-monarchy which was composed of the union in one person, whose claim was grounded on his birth, of the command of the army and the fleet with the Stadtholderate was now restored. The new Stadtholder already displayed all the imperiousness and genius for Government of his ancestors. But, unlike any of his ancestors, he was a person of royal rank. The power which in them might be called a quasi-monarchy, was in his hands almost monarchy itself. And this new monarch was nephew to Charles II of England.

Thus the last remnant of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate was swept away, and the House of Stuart extended its power henceforth, in some sense, not only over the three kingdoms but over the United Provinces also. The dynastic system was completely revived.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE OF A NEW OPPOSITION.

HITHERTO we have contemplated the new policy as much as possible from the point of view of the Government which adopted it. As it appeared to those who, like Ashley Cooper and Buckingham, were privy to but half the Treaty of Dover, as it appeared to the eyes of the world in 1672, this policy might seem a return to the system of Cromwell from the system of Clarendon. A Declaration of Indulgence was issued at the same time that an aggressive alliance with France was announced. Toleration and concert with France had been characteristics of Cromwell's system.

The ulterior plans of Charles were at this time almost entirely concealed, for though the Catholics were mentioned in the Declaration, they were not put on the same footing with the Dissenters. To the latter public worship was to be allowed, to the former only private.

There was indeed one vast difference between this system and that of Cromwell. Cromwell's alliance with France had been directed against the Spanish Monarchy,

the new alliance was pointed at a Protestant Power, with which Cromwell had made peace, the United Provinces. It is to be observed however that, if not Cromwell, the Commonwealth had made war with the Dutch, and that at this moment England had a defeat and disgrace to wipe out.

Thus it might seem that by means of a successful national war, in the course of which an army would be formed, and subsidies would come in from France, the English Monarchy might acquire the principal characteristic of the Cromwellian Government, that of resting on an army and becoming independent of the Parliament. The war was commenced in 1672 during the prorogation of Parliament, and to obtain money the violent measure was adopted which is known as the Stop of the Exchequer.

Had the king launched this policy frankly in the spirit of Ashley Cooper, being himself a staunch Protestant and at the same time a sincere friend of toleration, we can imagine that it might have made way gradually in spite of the stubborn Anglicanism of the Parliament. But the ulterior scheme, though so carefully concealed, and though after a time it was practically abandoned, was from the first shrewdly suspected. Clifford was known to be a Catholic, the Duke of York, nay Charles himself, had at least not the bearing of convinced Protestants. As for Charles, even when his marriage was first discussed, it had been remarked that he was quite impatient of the thought of marrying a Protestant¹. The time had lately been when Protestants might hope to see some day a Protestant queen, for the wife of the heir to the throne was daughter to the model Anglican, Lord Clarendon. But Anne Hyde

¹ Halifax, *The Character of King Charles II.*

became a Catholic before her husband, and then died. The Duke was now to marry again; he selected a Catholic princess, who had French connexions—for her mother was one of Mazarin's nieces—Mary of Modena. In spite of opposition in Parliament this marriage was concluded in 1673, and it could not but add greatly to the alarm which began to prevail. By this time it had become known that the Duke himself was a Roman Catholic; it now appeared that in the next reign the Court would be far more intensely Romanist than in any period since Philip and Mary; and what could be expected of the next reign after that, when probably a king would be on the throne, whose mother had been Romanist by breeding and his father Romanist by conversion?

Thus in the two years of the Dutch war (1672–1674) the ostensible scheme of a national war against the great commercial rival and of a French alliance in the style of Cromwell could not hide the real scheme, which was so different. It flashed upon the English mind that the war was really against Protestantism, and that England, deserting all her traditions, was now on the wrong side, that the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary of State, perhaps even the king himself, certainly the queen and the future queen, were all alike Roman Catholics, and that the Declaration of Indulgence must therefore be intended not so much to relieve the Dissenters as to introduce Popery.

Accordingly opposition began. Charles II found himself, like his father, confronted by Parliament. His Declaration of Indulgence was treated as an infringement of the Constitution, and in order to prevent the power of Government from passing into the hands of Roman Catholics a Test Act was introduced.

And it soon became clear that Charles II had no intention of treading in the footsteps of Charles I, however he might desire to follow the example of Cromwell. He did not mean to set up a tyranny on the legal ground of the ancient rights of the Crown. When the legality of his Declaration was questioned, he first appealed from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and when the Lords declined to countenance his claim he frankly cancelled the Declaration. It also became clear that he had not inherited the blindness, the incapacity of grasping realities, which had been so fatal to his father. The hallucination that the English people might be induced to consent to the reestablishment of Popery seems to have left him. He accepted the Test Act, and in consequence the Roman Catholic Clifford resigned the Treasurership, and the Duke of York resigned the office of Admiral. Since 1669, when he had actually thought of declaring himself a Catholic, Charles had arrived in 1673 at a very different state of mind. Arlington, himself a Catholic and privy to the king's original scheme, had become alive to the great feebleness of the Catholic party in England, and there is every reason to think that from this time the scheme of changing religion was entirely laid aside. Perhaps the only occasion on which, after Parliament had declared itself, Charles betrayed his inclination to Popery was that of his brother's second marriage in 1673.

The Revolution, as we have said, had been planned in 1669 and had begun in 1670. Had it been, like the movement in Charles I's time, purely insular, it might have subsided and come to a quiet end in 1673. It was however essentially a continental movement, which had only reached England at all because the English royal family was so strongly tinged with French ideas and

feelings. That Parliament had stood firm and had passed the Test Act was therefore not sufficient to put the public mind at ease. The future king, and now the future queen, were avowed Catholics, and the strength of the Catholic cause was to be measured not by the importance of the party in England but by the power and wealth and ambition of Louis XIV himself. For Louis was not merely a foreign ally but actually entered into English politics as Philip of Spain had done in the reign of Mary. He furnished the Government with money; he began to marshal his votes in the House of Commons.

In the year 1668 Louvois effected his reorganisation of the French army, and from this time France assumed a position among European Powers wholly different from that which she had held when she had been in alliance with Cromwell. In those days England had had a disciplined army, while the French army was only in the making. But henceforward, as was revealed to all the world in the campaign of 1672, France was the greatest military Power that had appeared in modern Europe, whereas England had ceased to be a military Power. Richelieu and even Mazarin had achieved their triumphs in a great degree by diplomacy, by alliances, while they had had to contend with a strong internal opposition. Now under the personal Government of Louis XIV France entirely changed her character and became tenfold more formidable, when she attained to complete internal unity and when this tremendous military instrument was put into the hand of her Government.

But what object had France in view?

Not merely the conquest of the Spanish Low Countries, and Franche Comté, and Lorraine; not merely the establishment of her eventual claim to the Spanish succession.

It began to be perceived that she meditated another conquest.

She had acquired internal unity, and with unity ascendancy in Europe. But there remained one trace of her old disunion, all the more unsightly and incongruous because it was left alone. Now that there was no more Fronde, now that the Parliaments had been tamed, the nobles turned into courtiers, Condé himself reduced to a mere distinguished general, it seemed intolerable that there should still be Huguenots in France. The Edict of Nantes was still in force, though the circumstances that had suggested it had wholly passed away. It had been granted when the Government was weak and the Huguenots were strong, as the only means of bringing civil war to an end. But since Richelieu's time the Huguenots had quite ceased to be formidable, and now the Government was omnipotent. And public opinion in France was as decided as ever against Protestantism.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes took place in 1685, only three years before the English Revolution. But we may say of it, as of the Revolution, that it was the result of a movement which had begun many years before. It was no more the result of a caprice of omnipotence on the part of Louis XIV than the Revolution was the result of a fit of blind obstinacy in James II. The Revocation was vehemently demanded by the clergy and welcomed enthusiastically by public opinion. The tide had been visibly setting towards it for many years. It was but the last of a series of measures directed against the Huguenots; the Great Emigration of 1685 had been preceded by smaller emigrations, and as early as 1665 it can be shown that the catastrophe had been foreseen.

This movement in France becoming observable at the

time of the enormous growth of her military power was a fact of the most serious importance when the family alliance between Charles and Louis came to light and at the same time the English Government suddenly took a Catholic complexion. The movement towards Catholicism in the English royal family, so strongly French in its connexions, seemed like a ripple in the general Catholic movement of French society. A few years earlier Cromwell had said that France, if Catholic, was tolerant, and was to be favourably distinguished from Spain. It begins now to be perceived that this is no longer true. When Parliament met in the autumn of 1673, just after the marriage of James with Mary of Modena, Sir W. Coventry made a speech in which he said, 'In former days Spain was more rigorous in religion, but now France. The papal nuncio has received the order not to oppose the progress of the French arms.'

This was the France which in 1672 made an overwhelming attack upon a great Protestant Power, and did so in conjunction with England! This was the France from which Charles II received subsidies at the moment when his Treasurer was a Catholic and when the heir to his throne went over to the Catholic Church!

Taking all facts together, we see that the events of 1672 showed that a great religious crisis was at hand, in which the king of France would play the part which in former times had been played by the House of Austria, that Protestantism was threatened by the greatest Power in the world, alike in France, in the United Provinces and in England. It could be perceived that the struggle in which Charles had been baffled by the Test Act was but a preliminary affair, that the main body of the army which had to be resisted was on the Continent under the orders

of Louis XIV, that troubles were approaching for England which would not be, like her former troubles, insular, but would affect her and other Protestant states at once.

The old biographer of Shaftesbury tells us that he, who had actually supported the Dutch war and had applied to our commercial rival the words *Delenda est Carthago*, becoming aware in the course of 1672 that Charles was a Roman Catholic, 'expressed his trouble at the black cloud which, he said, was gathering over England.'

The phrase fitly described the vastness and vagueness of the danger. How to avert it? We were indeed well practised in resisting the illegal encroachments of a king. But precedents drawn from the Great Rebellion were at that moment most unacceptable, and they were also scarcely applicable. The king might be resisted in Parliament, and resistance might be pushed to civil war and the destruction of the Monarchy. But that generation had learned by experience that a civil war creates a military power and that in such circumstances a revolution leads inevitably to imperialism. They were not prepared to abolish Monarchy a second time only twelve years after they had found themselves forced penitently to reinstate it. Moreover if Parliament could withstand Charles II, could it resist Louis XIV? For it was the army of France and the treasury of France, possibly aided by the force and wealth of the other Catholic Powers, which, when the Dutch had been subdued and the Huguenot party crushed, would be placed at the service of a Catholic Government in England.

Such was the danger. On the other hand it seemed likely that time would be allowed for a system of opposition to form itself, since the indolent Charles had apparently exhausted his courage and his will in one effort. It was

now perhaps rather James than Charles that was to be feared, and as Charles in 1672 was but forty-two years old the day of James would not speedily come.

Certain outlines of the necessary plan of opposition were already visible. In the first place foreign affairs must now come into the foreground of politics. It was a first interest of England that the encroachments of France should be arrested, and that the Dutch should be saved from destruction. The rivalry of English and Dutch must cease; the two Sea Powers must combine in opposition to France. And some plan must be devised for purging the Monarchy of Catholicism without abolishing it. The Test Act must in some form be extended to the Crown.

And now as men began to turn their attention to foreign affairs they saw a great rift in the cloud which had seemed at first to cover the whole heaven. There would have been little hope for Protestantism had France with her immense power been aided in her attack on it by the other Catholic Powers. All along it had been saved by disunion among the Catholic Powers, by the singular fact that France, so steadfastly Catholic at home, had aided the Reformation in her international policy. What could save it henceforth, as this was ceasing to be the case? Nothing but an opposite change—and this actually took place at the same moment in the policy of the other Catholic Powers. The tyrannic Powers of a former age, which had been discrowned by France, the Spanish Monarchy and the Austrian Monarchy, began to favour the Protestant states just when France ceased to do so.

In August, 1673, occurred a great international event, the formation of a new coalition against France. The first coalition, the Triple Alliance, had fallen practically into abeyance by the defection of England; it was replaced

by a new one, in which the two branches of the House of Habsburg allied themselves with the Dutch.

That the House of Spain should take this step requires no explanation. Though a Protestant Power, the old enemy of Spain, had been attacked by Louis in 1672, and though France began to assume the part of an enemy of Protestantism in general, yet Spain had still more to fear from France than any other Power. The first object of France was still, as in her recent war, the acquisition of Franche Comté and the Spanish Low Countries, and her chief reason for attacking the Dutch had been that they had hindered her from making these acquisitions. Spain began to feel herself isolated and helpless in her Low Countries when in 1672 the French army swept over the Dutch territory behind her, and in 1673 she was still more directly threatened when Maestricht was taken by the French. How great her danger was may be seen by noting the final result of this war, which is somewhat misleadingly called the War of Holland. At the peace of 1678 the Dutch lost nothing, and yet France acquired more than in any other of the treaties made by Louis XIV. Her conquests were made at the expense of Spain, which ceded Franche Comté.

But the Austrian branch, which since the Peace of Westphalia had fallen into the background, now came forward again, and joined the coalition of August, 1673, against France. The Emperor Leopold acted thus after much hesitation. He, as well as Charles II, had been assailed by the active French diplomacy. He already felt himself the rival claimant to Louis for the Spanish succession, being the husband of the Infanta Margaret as Louis of the Infanta Maria Theresa. Louis had proposed to him an amicable arrangement of their claims. In January,

1668, just when Temple was so busy at the Hague, a secret Partition Treaty had been signed at Vienna—the first of many attempts to solve that portentous question of the Spanish Succession—according to which the Emperor should have Spain, the West Indies and Milan, and the French king the Netherlands, Naples and Sicily.

This treaty had been an important part of the great web of diplomacy which preceded the war of 1672, and in which first the Dutch and next Spain seemed to have been entangled. As the cooperation of England on the one side, so the neutrality of Austria on the other seemed to be secured. Nevertheless after witnessing the events of 1672 and the siege of Maestricht in 1673, after much negociation with the Great Elector, interested for Cleve, the Emperor at last presented an ultimatum to France, and in August concluded his treaty with the Dutch Republic at the Hague on the same day on which Spain also concluded a similar treaty. The object was the restoration of the former state of things. In the Spanish treaty mention was made in a secret article of a mediation between the Republic and England.

It was the second step in the resistance of Europe to Louis XIV. A maritime combination had first been formed by Temple, and now a continental coalition was formed. The former had fallen into abeyance. The latter, as we shall see, had little success. It did not prevent Louis from attaining one of his main objects, the conquest of Franche Comté, nor from rising to an ascendancy which for a time seemed irresistible. But two modes of coalition had now been shown to be possible, and there was no reason why these two modes should not be combined. After 1688 Louis found himself confronted by a system which had been formed by compounding the Triple Alliance

with the Coalition of 1673. The founder of this mighty and invincible union, which regulated the international system of Europe for the eighteenth century, was that first royal Stadtholder who had risen to the head of affairs in 1672, William III of Holland and afterwards of England.

It is rather with the alliances of 1673 than with the Triple Alliance that the more modern arrangement of Europe begins. From this time France is the aggressive Power, which it is the common interest of Protestant and Catholic Powers to hold in check, and ever since, except for about thirty years before the French Revolution, France has been thus dreaded and watched.

But there still remained at the close of 1673 one trace of the old state of things which we are about to leave behind us. England was still in active alliance with France, as she had often been before in Elizabeth's time, in Cromwell's time. The period is soon to commence when France and England will belong to opposite systems, when concert between them will begin to be extremely rare and the old rivalry of the two neighbour nations will break out again and lead to a new Hundred Years War.

Early in 1674 the first step towards this new arrangement was taken. The Treaty of Westminster was concluded between Charles II and the States-General, and England retired from a war in which she had cooperated with France against a Protestant Power and against the liberties of Europe. In this treaty, as in the treaties of August, 1673, it may perhaps be said that the most potent influence at work was that of Spain. It was indeed Spain which was most interested in opposing a barrier to French aggression and in saving that very Dutch republic against

which she had made war for eighty years. She had been able to influence the kindred Power of Austria, and now she was able to influence England. As it was a maxim in Spain that there ought always to be peace with England, so in England in those times we always remark a great reluctance to have war with Spain. For war with Spain involved the greatest possible hindrance to trade. The Dutch war had been at the outset in 1672 to a certain extent popular, though the suspicious behaviour of the Government had damped even then the public enthusiasm. The misfortunes of the Dutch, what Temple calls 'the fall of the Republic,' in that year altered the situation. Even the king might feel that one object at least was gained when he saw his nephew rise to the head of affairs and De Witt fall. And the situation was still more seriously altered when Holland gained great allies, and particularly when Spain, the great New World Power, appeared among the belligerents.

The treaty was concluded with much ease, but it makes a land-mark in the history of English policy. It is the first step towards that alliance of the two Sea Powers which became the keystone of the system of Europe in the age of William and Marlborough, which lasted on into the middle of the eighteenth century and was revived after the French Revolution. Here too begins the separation of England and France which was to have such memorable results.

With the Treaty of Westminster a certain comparative quiet is restored to English politics. The Revolution has indeed begun, and does not cease to make progress, but for four years from this date, that is, from the Treaty of Westminster to the Panic of the Popish Plot, the storm is somewhat less violent.

We have already marked some periods in Charles II's reign. There was the constitutional period, in which Clarendon is the prominent figure, and the first revolutionary period, which is commonly labelled with the unsatisfactory name of the Cabal. We have now before us a third period, which has also a prominent figure. The Cabal is now dispersed, for Clifford is dead and Shaftesbury has gone into opposition. But Thomas Osborne, made Earl of Danby, has become Lord Treasurer, and gives a character to the period, which may be called the age of Danby.

It is a new period, since the wild scheme formed in 1669 has now been laid aside, frustrated at home by the Test Act, abroad by the Treaty of Westminster. It lasts however but four years, for in 1678 the aspect of affairs changes again, when at the same time the European War is brought to an end by the Treaty of Nimeguen and at home the revolutionary storm breaks out again with the Panic. Immediately afterwards a new change is introduced by the dissolution of the Parliament, the Long Parliament of the Restoration.

Accordingly these four years have a character of their own. The king, if he had failed in much, had gained one important point, namely, the establishment of his nephew in supreme power over the Dutch. Parliament too had successfully asserted its right. The country had peace again, and might have thrown off its anxieties if it could have forgotten that the heir to the throne had now avowed himself a Catholic and had married a Catholic wife.

Nevertheless a Revolution was visibly proceeding. The Monarchy had lost the respectability which, at least as a public institution, it had maintained in the days of

Clarendon. Just as in 1659 the Commonwealth had appeared to be a failure, so now the Restoration Monarchy. New constitutional changes would after all be necessary. The country had had to acknowledge that it could not do without a king; it now began to confess that this king, or a king altogether of this kind, would not suit it either.

Charles II's own preference for Catholicism was now veiled again, and he soon began to derive a certain personal advantage from the fact that his brother was known to be a Catholic while he himself still passed for an Anglican. The Panic, which in the long run was the inevitable result of the sinister practices of 1669 and 1670, had not yet broken out. But even in this comparatively quiet interval the course of Charles II's Government was so unprincipled and treacherous that it afforded the presage of new convulsions. He had all along balanced between two opposite systems, the constitutional system of Clarendon, and a Cromwellian system which would make him independent of Parliament. He had launched a singularly audacious scheme with this latter object in 1672, but he had now abandoned it again. We find him next occupying a sort of middle position. The question is, how to obtain money. There are two paymasters to whom he may apply. The one is Parliament, the other is Louis XIV. In these years he sets himself up to auction. As the feeling against France is constantly growing in Parliament, it becomes a principle with Charles that by opposing Louis he can obtain money from Parliament, and on the other hand that on condition of restraining, thwarting or proroguing Parliament, he can obtain money from Louis. During this period Louis is contending against a great Coalition. It lies with Charles to decide the

issue of the European war, which is particularly dependent on him. He has ceased to aid France; what if he should strike in on the other side? If Louis does not wish to see this happen, Louis must pay! And so in return for the prorogation of Parliament for fifteen months which took place in November 1675, Louis pays £100,000. Again, in 1677 when Parliament presents an address 'representing the danger from French aggression and imploring the king to strengthen himself by such alliances as may secure Flanders and quiet the fears of the English people,' Parliament is prorogued again, but this time Louis has to pay £180,000. On the other hand at the beginning of 1678 when Charles demands £600,000 from Louis for a similar service and meets with a refusal, Charles begins to decide upon war and obtains a grant of £600,000 from Parliament 'for enabling his majesty to enter into actual war against the French king.'

This perhaps is the most characteristic part of the reign of Charles II. In the audacious scheme of 1669 his Macchiavellism has almost a sort of greatness, but he was unable to maintain himself at such a high point. In the last dark period of his reign he is under the pressure of danger, as in the first period he had been in leading-strings. Between 1674 and 1678 he is about at his average, unprincipled and adroit but without greatness, without indeed any definite object but to obtain money without yielding his whole prerogative to Parliament.

The Monarchy was demoralised. It had no sympathy with the nation, even on the subjects on which the nation felt most strongly, viz. the advance of Popery and the advance of French ascendancy. It had also neither honour nor honesty.

In these years the nation began to feel its way to the

solution of that dangerous problem, how to reform the Monarchy without destroying it.

The mischief lay not precisely in the individuality of Charles, in his want of principle and of morality, nor yet in any hankering after absolute power, for he did not so much want to usurp an absolute power as to prevent the power he had from being lost in the encroachments of Parliament. It lay rather in his family connexions, in the fact that he was by birth and breeding half a Frenchman and that therefore his ideas both of religion and of foreign policy were French. In one respect this made the mischief more serious. Not being personal to Charles, it would not pass away with him; on the contrary his successor would be more frankly Catholic and therefore of necessity more attached to the French connexion than himself. And by the hereditary nature of monarchy the mischief was likely to become perpetual. But in another respect there was hope in the thought that it lay in family connexion. For the royal family had other connexions that were not French and not Catholic. Even in England the family was not yet entirely Catholic. True, Charles was but nominally Anglican and the Queen was avowedly Catholic, the Duke was avowedly Catholic and his first wife had died a Catholic, while his second wife, the future Queen, was avowedly Catholic, and foreign, partly French, in her connexions. The evil had spread very far, and it was not unlikely that there would soon be a second heir to the throne who would be a Catholic from the cradle. But in the meantime the persons nearest after the Duke of York to the throne were two princesses who were Protestant and grandchildren of the great Anglican, Lord Clarendon. It was little to depend on, but such as it was the Protestant faith of these two children might

still be guarded from the influence of their father and step-mother, so long as Charles himself, intimidated by the growing agitation, desired to pass with his people for a faithful Anglican.

And among the connexions of the royal family were there no Protestants? The Houses of Bragança, Modena, Orleans were all alike Catholic, and all alike in the Bourbon interest. But there was another House, the House of Orange.

The third William in the line of Stadtholders is in this respect chiefly to be reckoned among hereditary kings that from the very marriage of his parents his whole existence was consciously planned and arranged for great public purposes. He is unlike some other great European statesmen who have passed over our scene, such as Richelieu, Cromwell and Mazarin, in this that he did not rise to greatness or make a place for himself, but found a place assigned to him from his birth so great that he proved himself a great man merely by filling it. He was not only the lineal successor of four men in whose lives almost the whole history of the Dutch state was bound up, the Liberator William, the great commander Moritz, Frederick Henry, in whose time the state had risen to its zenith of prosperity, and the second William, in De Witt's opinion the ablest of the House, who had been cut off in early manhood. He rose above all these in this that he was also of royal rank and a member of the royal family of England. If Charles was half a Frenchman, William was half an Englishman, and whereas the difference, in those days the antipathy, of the English and French races was marked, the English and Dutch felt themselves to be closely akin. We have seen how the Dutch had throughout concerned themselves as relatives

in our civil troubles, how William's father had been a kind of head of the English royalist party, how Cromwell had treated William himself in his infancy as one of the most dangerous of his antagonists. Thus as he grew up the eyes not only of the popular party in his own country but also of the royalist party in England were fixed upon him. In both countries he represented Monarchy; in Holland his rise in 1672 had been the fall of republicanism, and in England his name had been identified from the first with opposition to the Commonwealth and to Cromwell. But like all his House he was a Protestant. He stood forth at this time as the great representative of the Protestant cause in Europe.

In him therefore the royalist party in England had, as it were, a second string to its bow. If the reigning branch of the House of Stuart disappointed it through French and Catholicising notions, there was another scion of the House at the Hague, who was firmly Protestant and who was the champion of his country against French aggression. Beside the two Protestant princesses at home, Mary and Anne, they could place their hopes upon William beyond the sea.

Thus William was the hope of two nations at once. They were nations which for some time past had been divided by commercial rivalry, which had waged war three times in twenty years. But affairs now wore another aspect. These two commercial nations had begun to feel that they had a common interest in resisting the encroachments of France. They had concluded the Treaty of Westminster. Their sense of common interest drew them together more and more. And thus a still greater place was made for William. Not only did he now appear born to save the independence of Holland and to save the Monarchy in

England, but at the same time to weld the two nations together in an indissoluble alliance against France.

More than a century earlier, when Edward VI was on the English throne and the child Mary was Queen of Scotland, there had sprung up an eager desire to unite the two kingdoms for ever by a marriage between the two young sovereigns. For in those times it was by royal marriage that states were most naturally welded together. A similar process of thought would lead now to the idea of marriage between William and Mary. The Princess Mary (for the present at least) embodied the hereditary principle, and she represented Anglicanism in religion. William represented the Protestant cause in Europe and the European opposition to French ascendancy. He came of a line of Protestant heroes, and was personally the most eminent by far of the rising princes of Europe by his achievements and by the commanding firmness of his character. Could he be brought nearer to the English royal family and receive an important position in English political life he would assuredly do much to counteract that demoralisation of the Monarchy which was beginning to be so dangerous.

And such a plan would be welcome to the royal family itself. It would be positively welcome to Charles, who after the failure of his grand plot saw the necessity of giving new pledges to Protestantism. The Test Act had deprived him of his Catholic counsellors; he had now in Danby a Lord Treasurer who depended upon Anglican support; a Protestant marriage would greatly strengthen his new position. Nor would the marriage be positively unwelcome to James, who might well be alarmed at the storm of unpopularity that was rising against him. And both the brothers would re-

member that William was their nephew, that his mother had been their sister and his father a principal supporter of their cause.

The marriage, which took place in the autumn of 1677, falls in Danby's administration. That powerful, but unscrupulous and, as it were, *thick-skinned* statesman (Queen Mary afterwards described him as 'one to whom I must ever own great obligations, yet of a temper I can never like')¹ had a large share in deciding one of the greatest events in English history. But perhaps Charles himself had the largest share. For we see him in these last years of the war meditating once more a comprehensive policy. He gives forth another flash of Henry IV. He substitutes now for the wild designs of 1669 a new plan, which is also large and striking and which stands midway between the Triple Alliance and the great European policy of William in 1689. For the Family Alliance of Stuart and Bourbon he substitutes a Family Alliance of Stuart and Orange, the object of which will be to bring about by mediation a European Peace. As in the Triple Alliance, a certain gentle pressure is now to be applied to Louis, but at the same time he is to be generously treated. England is to appear as arbitrator of the European dispute, and the cause of Monarchy is to reap the benefit. An army is to be raised for a purpose which Parliament will enthusiastically approve, and this army will perhaps make Charles independent of Parliament; in the Dutch state William, who is already almost a king, will perhaps by means of his new royal connexions succeed in openly establishing a Monarchy.

And thus we arrive at one of the greatest of the royal marriages which have determined the course of inter-

¹ Doebner, *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 29.

national history. The vast results of the marriage of William and Mary were developed later. What was visible at the moment was that it afforded a solid nucleus for the gathering opposition of Europe to the ascendancy of France.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAST PHASE OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

THE Danby period closes with the restoration of peace to Europe by the Treaty of Nimeguen, which was concluded in the summer of 1678. At the end of that year occurred the exposure, which led to the fall of Danby; the dissolution of Parliament speedily followed, and this together with the Panic gave quite a new aspect to English politics. Both in the reign of Charles II and in the reign of Louis XIV, both in English and in European history a period comes to an end.

Another stage is completed in the progress of the Second Revolution, and we remark once more the peculiarity of this movement that, unlike the Great Rebellion, it is at no stage purely insular, but at every stage alike is also the English part of a European movement. As it began in 1670 with a treaty between the English and French kings, and proceeded by a joint war of those two kings upon the Dutch Republic, a war which convulsed the whole European system, so between 1674 and 1678, though England had retired from the war, the agitation which still prevails in

English politics is both caused by continental events and in great part fomented by foreign politicians. A special feature of the Danby period is the prominence of foreign affairs in the deliberations of Parliament. Since the days of the Commonwealth Parliament had acquired a new kind of permanence. There is now always a Parliament, which may be adjourned or prorogued, but which is still there and is the same Parliament. Accordingly foreign Governments begin to take account of it, to enter into dealings with it. The art of managing Parliament has been introduced by Clifford and is practised by Danby, but it is a novelty that the foreign Ambassadors now practise it also. As the grand topic is now the European war, as the standing matter of deliberation is whether England shall remain neutral or shall strike in, and if so, on which side she shall strike in, and since for the belligerent Powers everything depends on the course which England may take, these Powers make eager efforts to influence Parliament. It is not enough for Louis to bribe Charles, he must also bribe the Parliament, and on the other side Spain, which is now fighting for life, must not neglect the same means of obtaining the aid of England.

Hence there arises a wild confusion. To understand the parliamentary debates of this time you must ascertain not only the opinions nor only the party connexions of the members, you must also know what gentlemen have received gratifications and from what quarter, since there are now several paymasters, and money may be had from the French Embassy or from the Spanish Embassy as easily as from the Treasury. The confusion reaches its height in 1678 as the negotiations at Nimeguen approach their end. The chapter of our history which closes with

the Treaty of Nimeguen offers a labyrinth of mystery and secrecy similar to that which leads to the Treaty of Utrecht, and the Danby period has a certain resemblance to the famous last four years of Queen Anne. We abstain here from telling a story which could not be told shortly, and content ourselves with remarking first how exceptionally strong at this crisis are foreign influences in English politics, next how abruptly in the course of 1678 this phase of affairs gives place to another and a very dissimilar phase.

Ever since 1672 English politics have been violent and rancorous. We see the Whig and Tory parties taking shape under the leadership of Shaftesbury and Danby respectively and under the pressure of unusual alarms and disquietudes. The thoughts of men are growing revolutionary. Nevertheless as yet there has been no open disturbance. Shaftesbury indeed has had to sit in the Tower, but no party has taken arms, nor has the scaffold been set up. The Danby period, compared with the period which followed, may be reckoned to the prosperous part of Charles II's reign.

But now begins a wilder time, which, compared to the average of English history, may be called a Reign of Terror, and which ended after ten years in a change of Government, a civil war in each of the three kingdoms, and a war with France. Convulsion follows convulsion, from the Panic of the Popish Plot, through the wild agitation of the Exclusion Bill and the Rye House Plot, to the accession of a Popish King and Queen, and thence through the Rebellions of Monmouth and Argyle, and the Bloody Assize, to the expedition of William of Orange and that consummation of the Revolution, which is commonly spoken of as the Revolution.

The cause of the sudden change in 1678 is manifest enough. The religious question breaks out again. In 1672 there had been but suspicions and apprehensions, which the Test Act had been sufficient to allay. Had Charles stood alone they need never have revived. They could not be put to rest, while his brother remained heir to the throne and avowed himself a Catholic. Hence the new period opens with a wild outcry of Popery, and through the whole of it Popery is the enemy, first as giving birth to plots, next as threatening the country in the successor, then as actually forced upon the country by the king.

But in this period more than ever we are to remark that the movement is not insular. It is neither purely insular nor merely connected with the Continent by the subsidies from France which the English king receives.

The religious question had indeed first emerged in England, when Charles II made the grand proposal which led to the Treaty of Dover. At that time, that is in 1669, the settlement of religion in France had not been shaken. But now nine years later, when the Panic brought religion once more into the foreground in England, a change was taking place upon the Continent. At the moment when the Treaty of Nimeguen had established French ascendancy in the most alarming manner, the religious question began to break out in France too, and in such a manner as to make the danger in England tenfold more alarming. And then as affairs darkened here they went on darkening there. Accordingly we form no just conception of the so-called English Revolution if we confine our view to England. If we do so, we become aware merely of a perverse king whose designs are rather embarrassing than really dangerous, and who has no means of realising them,

but the money which Louis may judge it politic to grant him. On the other hand if we take a large European view we see a universal advance of the Counter-reformation threatening the final extinction of Protestantism. We are struck by the coincidence that the very year 1685, which saw a Catholic king and queen begin to reign in England, witnessed the final and appalling catastrophe of Protestantism in France. We see that if a religious war threatens England, it threatens also all Western Europe. And as Louis XIV is at the very height of his ascendancy when he thus proclaims his crusade, there is every reason to fear that the ruin of the Protestant party in France will be followed by that of the Protestant Republic. And we remark that as 1685 so 1688 marks a great event on the Continent as well as in England. As here it is the date of the Revolution, so there it is the year of the outbreak of another great European war.

On the Continent we are to note not only the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but another great occurrence, the advance of the Turks upon Vienna two years earlier. These things, the last Turkish invasion and its repulse, the downfall of Protestantism in France, the culmination of French ascendancy in the seizure of Strasburg and Luxemburg, finally the outbreak of a European war, all these things crowded into the years of the struggle with Popery in England make up a continental convulsion which is more violent than most revolutions. This convulsion is not merely simultaneous but closely connected with the movement in England. The English Revolution is but a part of a great European convulsion, as is sufficiently shown by the simple fact that it is achieved not by any Englishman but by the Dutch Stadtholder himself bringing a Dutch army to England on board a

Dutch fleet, and that it is opposed by Louis XIV with French fleets in the Channel and with French troops in Ireland.

If we enter at this late stage upon so crowded a period, our design cannot be to narrate even slightly such occurrences as the rescue of Vienna from the Turk, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the aggressions of Louis XIV and his third war, or the Revolution in the Three Kingdoms. If we review these stupendous things, it will only be to show how closely they belong together, and especially how inextricably involved is the English Revolution with the continental convulsion, how peculiarly and exceptionally at this crisis the history of England is lost in the general history of Europe.

We have before us a drama of which the scene extends from the Turkish frontier to the further limits of Scotland and Ireland. The chief actor in it is Louis XIV, whose influence is felt everywhere at once, who directs the course at one time of the king of England, at another time of the opposition in Parliament. He provokes an opposition which also is found in all countries, including England, but which is most concentrated nearest the scene of the last war. Of this opposition the most conspicuous leader is throughout William of Orange, who however is leader purely in the character which he has inherited from former Dutch Stadtholders and not in virtue of his connexion with the English royal house. But when this struggle after ten years breaks out into open war on the Rhine, it is suddenly transferred by a stratagem of William to English ground, and our islands and seas become the theatre of a decisive European conflict. William now assumes a double character, and taking advantage of his connexion by birth and marriage with the House of Stuart

unites in his own person the two Sea Powers and makes them the nucleus of a European opposition to France which proves irresistible. In this struggle the English Revolution, so memorable in constitutional history, appears but as an incident. In the eyes of the two men who directed the struggle and necessarily best understood it, William and Louis, the change in the English Government appeared but a means to an end; it was a decisive military measure, which indeed proved decisive not of one war only but of a long series of wars.

It must be our object then to draw an outline of the period as it appeared from the point of view of Louis XIV.

We have marked with some care the successive stages in the advance of French power; a new stage was completed at the Treaty of Nimeguen. An ascendancy was now manifest similar to that of Philip II about 1588 or that of the Allied House of Austria about 1628. Let us consider the elements of which it consisted.

By the Peace of Nimeguen another province, Franche Comté, that is, the Free County of Burgundy, had been taken from the Spanish Monarchy. The grandson of Louis, born at this time, afterwards Fénelon's pupil, received the title of Duke of Burgundy to mark the complete recovery of the Burgundian territory by the Crown of France. Henceforward only the Catholic Low Countries remained to the Spanish King from the inheritance of Charles the Bold. Once more fortune has declared for France in the duel of France and Spain, and the opinion begins to gain ground among Spanish politicians, which was ultimately acted upon in the matter of the Spanish Succession, that the only chance for the residue of the Monarchy would lie in the friendship

and protection of France. In reserve Louis holds the great pretension, and the reigning king of Spain was a languishing life, so that in 1678, at the opening of the period before us, it might be expected that the Dauphin would soon succeed to the whole Spanish Monarchy and bring it into a position of tutelage to France.

Next, in the Empire Louis has the position which was made for him by the Treaty of Westphalia. With Sweden he is joint-guarantor of the Treaty. This means that he has about as much influence within the Germanic Body as the Habsburg Emperor himself. For the purpose of consolidating this influence a Confederation of the Rhine has been formed. Louis has also during the late war improved his relations with Sweden, which, no longer thwarting France as in the Triple Alliance, has received subsidies from her and has drawn the sword in her quarrel. In Germany too there are prospects of succession. If the Emperor Leopold should die, who would have a better chance than Louis of being chosen as his successor?

Thirdly, if Louis may look forward to sitting on the throne of the Cæsars and to seating his son on that of the Spanish Monarchy, he has already a cousin on the throne of England. He has been able once to make use of the aid of the English King against the Protestant Republic, but the turbulent Parliament marred this plan. The neutrality of England however he finds it usually possible to secure by fomenting discord between King and Parliament. The heir to the English throne has now become a bigoted Papist; as such, he will perhaps feel compelled, once seated on the throne, to depend on French aid against the disaffection of his subjects.

Thus the constellation of 1672 is not unlikely to be seen again. The next time Louis sets his mighty power

in motion, whether to absorb the Low Countries or to consolidate his ascendancy in Germany or to crush the Protestant Republic, he may be able to obtain not merely the neutrality but the active cooperation of the king of England. And that he has such ulterior plans is not doubtful. Never, not even in the interval between the Peace of Lunéville and the Campaign of Austerlitz, has the air of Europe seemed more thunderous than in the ten years between the Treaty of Nimeguen and September 1688. The menaces and encroachments of Louis fill the whole period; but when the leaders of the European opposition, William himself or the Great Elector, forecast the catastrophe which is evidently approaching, all is seen to turn on England. Should England stand aloof their task will be extremely difficult, and that England should come to their rescue could not for a long time seem reasonably probable. But the fatal contingency, which would almost exclude hope, would be that England should strike in against them.

Thus all who on the Continent resisted the advance of Louis XIV from the Peace of Nimeguen onward felt the most anxious interest in the English party struggle which in the very year of the Peace entered upon so wild a phase. It is not in James but in Louis XIV that the danger centres which provoked the Revolution of 1688.

Louis had a position of overwhelming advantage. His claim upon Spain and the conquest he had just made from her of Franche Comté, the control of German affairs which the Treaty of Westphalia gave him, the dependence upon him of Charles II of England, and, we may add, since 1675 of the young Victor Amédée of Savoy, and his alliance with Sweden—all this, supported by the consummate organisation which Turenne and Louvois had given

to the French army and the naval, commercial, and financial reforms of Colbert, constituted his positive force, while his negative advantage lay in the want of union among his antagonists which had come to light at Nimeguen. Advised by a Richelieu or a Mazarin, he must have proved irresistible.

The statement that he was now his own Minister is not to be taken too literally. After all, the department which he reserved to himself was perhaps, as M. Rousset says, only the department of *signature*. If errors of policy were now committed, they were not the personal errors of a sovereign intoxicated with power and flattery, they were the errors of a minister, of Louvois, who stamps his character on this part of the reign almost as distinctly as Mazarin on the minority. They are the errors of a statesman who directs policy from the war-office, who cuts every knot with the sword. Under Richelieu, even under Mazarin, the army had been secondary. It is now at the height of its organisation, and the Minister who has elaborated the instrument naturally loses no opportunity of using it. The Dragonnade comes into fashion.

The diplomatic school of Mazarin seems to disappear after the Peace of Nimeguen, and French policy is henceforth, not perhaps more unscrupulous than before, but obtusely, blindly violent. The wars of 1668 and 1672 had been prepared by a masterly labour of diplomacy, which had enabled France to isolate her enemy, in the first case Spain, in the second Holland. After Nimeguen this method is abandoned; diplomacy is thrown to the winds; all Powers at once are recklessly insulted.

There is a pause at this time in the development of the Spanish question. The young Spanish king has been married. His wife indeed is of the House of Orleans, so

that the marriage may be regarded as the first step taken by Spain in her new policy of dependence on France. But the succession question is hung up until it can be known whether heirs will yet be born to the Spanish House of Habsburg. Meanwhile France turns her eyes in another direction. Since the Treaty of Westphalia, that is, now for thirty years, the French Government has concerned itself little with Germany or with Austria. It is a great turning-point in the career of Louis when after Nimeguen, he begins to threaten the Germanic Powers, and to threaten them more directly even than Spain or than Holland.

He had lately conquered Franche Comté and his troops still occupied Lorraine. It was natural for him therefore in these circumstances to take in hand the whole question of the frontier of France towards Germany and of the consolidation of her three great conquests, that is, the Three Bishoprics (conquered by the Valois Henry II), Alsace (conquered in his own minority), and Franche Comté newly conquered, and Lorraine at least occupied. But beyond this definite and necessary question of the frontier lay the vast indefinite question of the position he was to take up within the Empire. Was he ultimately to be Emperor? Was he to take immediate steps to become Roman king?

Four of the eight Electors lay close to that frontier which now engaged his attention so much, namely, the three Elector-Bishops of Cologne, Trèves and Mayence, and the Elector Palatine, who resided in the palace above Heidelberg. These four votes were probably to be won by a judicious mixture of force and conciliation. Further the protection of the Protestant interest in Germany had been placed by the Treaty of Westphalia in his hands, and by a

judicious use of this he might hope to secure the vote of the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg. Saxony also was Lutheran. There were means too, as a later age showed, of conciliating Bavaria. And thus the only electoral vote which he could not hope to obtain was that of Bohemia.

Partly in order to overawe the Rhine Electorates Louis resolved to get possession of Strasburg, which was then a free Imperial City, and Luxemburg, a fortress included in the Spanish Low Countries. Strasburg and Luxemburg, first to be acquired, then to be retained, are a principal object of the later wars of Louis XIV. Meanwhile the arrangement of the frontier, and the establishment of the absolute power of Louis in regions where by the Treaties of Münster and Nimeguen he had acquired only limited rights, proceeded steadily.

It was a task for a Richelieu or a Mazarin; it fell into the hands of Louvois. What might have been successfully achieved by negotiation and conciliation backed by overwhelming power was undertaken in quite another spirit and by wholly different means. Litigation and chicane were substituted for negotiation, and reckless violence for conciliation. At Metz for the Three Bishoprics, at Besançon for Franche Comté, at Breisach for Alsace, territorial claims were laid before the local Parliaments or before Chambers of Reunion constituted for the purpose, and the decisions so obtained were enforced at once by military occupation. Thus the whole frontier region from the Low Countries to Switzerland became indeed a Land Debateable. What was new in this policy is not so much its unscrupulousness as its obtuseness. Statesmanlike considerations are entirely neglected. Friends and enemies are trampled on alike with unceremonious violence.

For example :

The German policy of France had long been based on the alliance of Sweden. In the late war Sweden had aided Louis with an important though unsuccessful diversion against the Great Elector, and at Nimeguen the French Government had seemed deeply sensible of its obligation. But in 1681, when Charles XI of Sweden claimed the succession to the vacant duchy of Zweibrücken (Deux Ponts) and disputed it with another relative of the deceased duke, the Chamber at Metz suddenly interfered, and the duchy was declared united to the crown of France. Thus a great alliance was senselessly thrown away, and a military king, son of Charles Gustavus and father of Charles XII, alienated and embittered.

Again :

There was no person in Europe whom it was more important to conciliate than William of Orange, and Louvois himself in 1679 made extravagant offers in order to obtain the friendship of the Dutch, yet in 1680 William's principality of Orange was occupied by order of the French Government and the town dismantled.

As both Charles XI and William were Protestant leaders, these examples show how entirely the French Government had abandoned its old position of patron and protector of the Protestant interest in Europe.

A third example is found in its treatment of Strasburg.

In the treaty of Westphalia the French King appears as a champion of Germanic liberties against the Emperor. And indeed the Emperor,—King of Hungary and Bohemia and cousin of the King of Spain—was scarcely more a German than Louis XIV himself. If Louis were to supplant him, the way, so a statesman might think, would

be by winning from him the hearts of the German nation. Louvois is blind to all such considerations. He simply seizes a great Imperial City, and annexes it to the dominions of the King of France. On Sept. 30, 1681, when the French troops entered Strasburg, no German could possibly receive them as friends. It was felt everywhere that Alsace was finally lost, and that Germany was thrown open to the armies that had so lately overrun the Low Countries and Holland.

France henceforth, the France of Louvois, has a position in Europe wholly different from that of France under Richelieu. Instead of being the head of a great system of alliances, the representative of great universal interests, she begins now to be isolated, and to take a pride in overawing all Powers together by sheer superiority of military force and organisation. Considerable fragments of the old diplomatic fabric however still remain; it is still by policy that she obtains at one time the aid, at another the neutrality, of England, and the Great Elector, who in the late war had been active against her, has been disposed since the Peace of Nimeguen to seek his interest in adhesion to her.

But the French Government now takes another, and a most ill-omened step in this new course. Louis gives his authority, and Louvois the impress of his ruthless system, to a religious revolution within France itself.

About the time when the Panic of the Popish Plot broke out in England, it began to appear that an event was approaching on the Continent which would take rank in the history of Christianity with the great religious changes of the sixteenth century. What was called in France the Religion (R.P.R.—Religion Prétendue Reformée) seemed about to come to an end. The sect which, holding

its ground through thirty terrible years of civil war, had wrung from the Government an Act of Toleration under which it had since lived in security for more than half a century was drifting towards a new catastrophe.

We must distinguish the catastrophe itself, which may be said to commence in 1681 and which proved so monstrously violent, from the long and slow decline which paved the way to it. The Religion had lost its political importance in Richelieu's time. From 1629 to the death of Mazarin in 1661 it had played no important part in French politics; it had had no share in the Fronde. 'I have no complaint to make of the little flock' (*Je n'ai point à me plaindre du petit troupeau*), says Mazarin. Louis XIV, in his review of the difficulties with which he had to contend on assuming power, makes no reference to the Religion. During this period it gave to France some most distinguished names,—Turenne himself, Duquesne, Schomberg. It contributed its share to the Académie Française. In some parts of France at least its members enjoyed easy and equal intercourse with the Catholics. Nor are we to suppose that all this was suddenly changed by a stroke of omnipotence proceeding from Louis XIV. Between 1661 and 1678 the decline of Calvinism was such and so visible, and seemed so necessary a part of the great process which was making France one, that the Edict of Nantes began to seem an obsolete instrument.

Turenne himself conformed, and in an age when royal favour seemed the highest good, noblemen who were Protestant would be tempted to sacrifice their religion for it as well as their feudal independence. Meanwhile the humbler Protestants were assailed with bribes, the king establishing in 1676 a fund for the conversion of heretics (*caisse des conversions*).

Meanwhile the Catholic Church in France showed vitality enough to satisfy religious-minded men, and it even offered religion of a type similar to that of Calvin. In Richelieu's time St Cyran had introduced at Port Royal a kind of Catholic Puritanism, and in Mazarin's time the Catholic Pascal had roused a flame of moral indignation against the Jesuits. The written eloquence of Pascal had been succeeded by the pulpit oratory of Bossuet. In 1668 had been established what was called the Peace of the Church, by which the school of Port Royal was reconciled to the reigning orthodoxy, and after this Arnauld and Bossuet were seen directing at once their different styles of eloquence and different types of zeal against Calvinism. The result of all this was to convey the impression to the public that Calvinism was finally defeated, and that it must go the way of all the disintegrating influences which under the name of Fronde had now given place to the perfect unity of France under Louis XIV.

The affair was brought to a head by the war of 1672—1678. This was in the first instance a war against a Protestant state, in which Louis could not but feel that he had not the sympathy of his Protestant subjects. Moreover he wanted money, and in France the clergy had the right of voting subsidies to the Crown in their Assembly. Like all money-granting assemblies, the Assembly of the French Clergy expected something in return for their grants; and what should they ask but the suppression of heresy? This was the cause always at work, which tempted Louis, instead of allowing Calvinism to perish by gradual decay, to interfere actively for the destruction of it.

But in explaining the English Panic of 1678 ought we not to take account of this portentous drift of things in

France? Those glimpses of Charles II's design of re-establishing Popery in England were infinitely more alarming when it was perceived that it corresponded to a design, which every day became more public, of destroying Protestantism in France, and also to an overwhelming war of France against the Protestant Republic. The attack upon Protestantism in England, which by itself might seem scarcely formidable, could not be regarded by itself. Any one who took a comprehensive view must perceive, as Burnet perceived, that for all the world at once a new chapter of the Counter-reformation was about to open. The agitation in favour of Popery that had appeared in England in 1672 was not isolated; it was the faint exterior ripple of a great disturbance which had its centre in France. Protestantism might still be strong in England, but it would certainly have to meet a most dangerous attack in Holland, and it was on the point of perishing in France. Charles Stuart or his brother the Duke of York might be somewhat insignificant persecutors, but as Mary Tudor had been backed by Philip of Spain and the whole power of the House of Habsburg, so now the Catholicising Stuarts were but generals of division in the host of the Counter-reformation, of which the Commander-in-chief was Louis XIV, the greatest potentate that had been seen since Philip II.

There was here abundant material for a great panic, and panic reigned through most of the Protestant world. As early as the sixties there had been a considerable emigration of Calvinists from France, and in Holland there had been a fiery trial in 1672. England took the infection somewhat later and in a somewhat different form. Here, where the danger was considerably less, there was much more mystery. Glimpses had been obtained of the Treaty

of Dover, and of strange money dealings between the French and English courts. An open attack was not to be feared, but there was considerable reason to suspect a secret plot. And the time for raising the cry of a Popish plot arrived with the Peace of Nimeguen, for that event brought home to all the world the alarming power of Louis at the very time when the downfall of Protestantism in France began visibly to approach.

The year 1678 is an epoch for all Europe on account of the Treaty of Nimeguen, and an epoch for England by the outbreak of the Panic. The alarm of French ascendancy increases along with that of Popery. On the Continent the former is the more intense, in England the latter. For a short time English affairs now attract our attention most, since the age of Danby is succeeded by a struggle of three years which is most intense and strange, and which has left an indelible mark on English history. It is more terrible than many revolutions, though it did not actually amount to a revolution. It gave rise to a party division, which may fairly be said to have lasted half a century, and which nominally and in common belief has never since ceased to exist in England. In the whole revolutionary period between 1670 and 1688 the most intense phase except the three years of James II's reign is that between 1678 and 1681, in which the Long Parliament of the Restoration fell and two short Parliaments sat, while the great parliamentary question was the Exclusion Bill and the great popular question the Popish Plot. It left the nation divided into Whigs and Tories, and was followed by a sullen repose of five years, during which no Parliament sat. In 1681 the centre of interest is transferred again to the Continent.

We touch this memorable struggle only to remark how

closely English affairs continue to be entangled with the affairs of the Continent. The Panic itself looks to the Continent. The narrative of Oates tells of deliberation of the Jesuits at St Omer and Valladolid, of dealings with Père la Chaise and with the Pope. Coleman's correspondence also looks to the Continent. The ground alleged in the Exclusion Bill for the exclusion of James is that 'the emissaries, priests and agents of the Pope had seduced him to the communion of the Church of Rome and prevailed on him to enter into negociations with the Pope and his nuncios, and to *advance the power and greatness of the French king*, to the end that by the descent of the crown upon a papist and *by foreign alliances* they might be able to succeed in their wicked designs.' But the prevalent belief that foreign influences were at work in English politics was a small matter in comparison with the undoubted fact.

Charles II's relation to foreign Powers had altered very much since the Treaty of Dover and the War of 1672. At that time he had been more active than his cousin Louis in promoting the Family Alliance. He changed his mind towards the close of the European war. About 1677 he developed a policy wholly different. He had now another Family Alliance. The Dutch state had ceased to be a hostile Republic and had become almost a Monarchy under the rule of his nephew William. This nephew was now married to the niece who might some day become Queen of England. Charles had been awakened by the Test Act to the impossibility of reestablishing Catholicism. With the help of Danby he had framed a new policy. He now aspired to come to the aid of his nephew. He would impose peace upon France. In this plan he would be supported by Parliament, and might hope to obtain

first the one thing needful, which with him was always money, secondly the great thing desirable, that is, a pretext for keeping an army on foot.

As his former grand stroke had created a wild excitement in England in 1672, this equally reckless new system excited the Continent. Everywhere it excited the Catholic party, whose hopes Charles had so recently roused and now disappointed. Thus is explained the peculiar form which the Panic of 1678 assumed. Charles, who had deserved to be personally the object of the wild suspicions of his Protestant subjects, finds himself considered to be in danger of assassination from the Papists. He finds himself a sort of representative of Protestantism, standing between the people and his Catholic brother. He who a dozen years earlier had perhaps been somewhat afraid of that brother, henceforth enjoys a new consciousness of popularity grounded on the conviction that at least no Protestant would kill him to make James king. He, the audacious contriver of the restoration of Catholicism, now falls with easy tact into the position, which his bewildered people almost force upon him, of the bulwark of his people against Catholicism. This is the result of the fact that the Panic did not break out in 1672, when he was in alliance with France against the Dutch, but in 1678, when he had been acting in concert with William against France.

But this same change in his attitude produces another most important result. He is now opposed by Louis. In the last months of the war it is the chief object of Louis to break up Charles' concert with William and to frustrate his design of intervening to dictate a peace to France. And Louis has learnt to use against Charles the weapon of parliamentary influence. Accordingly we have to note

another foreign influence which is at work in our politics. Beside those Jesuitic machinations which excited such alarm there is another machination much more real yet which attracted much less attention. And it remained actively at work long after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nimeguen, indeed until Charles dissolved his last Parliament early in 1681. The three years we now consider contribute one of the most crowded and memorable periods to our parliamentary history. But who was the leader of Opposition in the last session of the Long Parliament, or in the two short Parliaments which followed, before the final Parliament at Oxford? Perhaps we ought to say, The leader was Louis XIV.

On the surface the object of the Opposition appears to be at first the overthrow of the Anglican Minister Danby, and the disbanding of an army which Charles was suspected of intending to use for unconstitutional purposes; then the dissolution of a Parliament which was strongly Anglican and which had been so long subjected to royal corruption that it was called the Pensioned Parliament; next, after the Panic had broken out, the Exclusion Bill. Such is the programme of Shaftesbury and his followers, and there is no doubt that in the case, for example, of Lord William Russell it had been adopted on honest conscientious conviction. But it was also the programme of Louis XIV, intended to promote his ambitious policy, and supported by his ambassador, as was long ago brought to light, with a lavish expenditure of French money. In the first place it was of great importance to Louis to overthrow Danby, the author of the Family Alliance of Charles and William, and to procure the dissolution of the Parliament which he controlled. Later, when the Peace of Nimeguen had been concluded, and Louvois' system of encroachment

had been brought into play, it was essential for French policy that the English should have their hands full. So long as the Exclusion Bill occupied the turbulent islanders, and those profound half-mystical questions concerning the Monarchy and divine right which had occupied their fathers perplexed their minds, so long the armies of Louis would have free play on the Germanic frontier, and might enter Strasburg and blockade Luxemburg and enforce the decisions of the Chambers of Reunion. For all along the condition of French ascendancy was the neutrality of England. We have memorials from the Spanish Ambassador and from the States-General in which this is pointed out, and complaint is made that the King of England is debarred by the internal dissensions of his realm 'from attending either to his own interest or to that of his allies,' that he has 'tied up his hands by dissension with his Parliament and thought proper to sacrifice the welfare of Europe for so uncertain a matter as a future succession.'

So long as Charles was disposed to act in concert with William, it was the policy of Louis to paralyse him by parliamentary attacks; but Louis might aim at a result which would suit him even better, namely, to force Charles to change sides again. For it was always open to Charles, if the Opposition pressed him too heavily, to fall back upon his earlier system, and to sell his neutrality, or even his support, to Louis at the price of a subsidy. In that case, provided only the subsidy were large enough, he might be able in an extreme case to dispense with Parliaments altogether.

The brief history of these three years is this: Charles engages in a desperate parliamentary struggle with the party headed by Shaftesbury. That party is successful in

overthrowing Danby; but it becomes divided on the question of the Exclusion Bill, and partly owing to this schism, partly owing to the king's adroitness, it suffers a disastrous defeat by the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March, 1681. But who emerges victor from the strife? Scarcely Charles II, for he must abandon the foreign policy which alone made him respectable in Europe. He is henceforth a humble dependent upon Louis XIV.

The victor is Louis XIV himself, who obtains all that he desired. He has broken up the Family Alliance of Charles and William. He can henceforth pursue his ambitious course without any fear of meeting England in his path. For three years he had held her at bay, but henceforth he need not give himself that trouble. Charles is dependent on his subsidies, and after Charles, it now appears, will come James, who, as a Catholic, will be still more absolutely dependent on him. And so for some years to come we need scarcely inquire after English policy. No such thing exists. It is time for us to ask again how Louis XIV himself is occupied on the Continent.

The year 1681 sees Louis reduce in this manner the English Government to dependence, it sees him also, as we find, adopt the system of Dragonnades in dealing with the Calvinists; it sees him on the same day occupy Strasburg in Alsace and Casale in Italy. Thus the catastrophe of Europe and of Protestantism approaches visibly nearer.

Up to this point the designs and career of Louis XIV have been comparatively easy to follow. The growth of his power has been steady and on a vast scale. He now seems to have almost within his grasp both the Empire and the Spanish Monarchy. Henceforth it is otherwise.

Something impedes him, but what the obstacle may be it is not so easy to discover. All that appears on the surface is that seven years later, in 1688, he kindles another European conflagration, which after raging for nine years leaves the relations of the Powers not much altered. The Germanic schemes of Louis fail, and what in 1681 looked like an overwhelming inundation appears to have been only a high tide, which at the date of the Peace of Ryswick (1697) is visibly on the ebb. And yet in 1681 he seemed to have everything in his favour. He had paralysed England, and the system of the Triple Alliance appeared to be dead. It is also to be remarked that since the Peace of Nimeguen he had reduced to a sort of dependence another powerful prince. The Great Elector in despair had attached himself to the French interest. What then can henceforth withstand Louis? The seizure of Strasburg and Casale, the blockade of Luxemburg, seemed but the commencement of a boundless conquest. What actually happened in the next ten years fell very far short of what might have been expected in 1681.

It is indeed evident that great events occurred in those ten years. In 1683 the Turks advanced to Vienna, and the deliverance of Christendom was wrought by the united force of Charles of Lorraine and John Sobieski, king of Poland; in 1685 occurred the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; in 1688 a new European War began, and immediately afterward occurred the Revolution in England and the entrance of England into the European War. These occurrences are indeed on a scale such as might have been expected from the situation of 1681, but they seem disconnected. It is not immediately obvious how an irruption of barbarians into Germany, an alteration in the religious settlement of France, and the fall of a king in

England can belong together or can belong to the same series of events as the successive encroachments, which we have hitherto traced, of Louis XIV.

Ever since 1673 he had had occasion to consider the best means of making war on the Austrian Habsburg, who had come to the aid of his Spanish cousin and of the Dutch. Now he could attack Austria not only directly in Alsace but also indirectly by setting in motion against him the Transylvanian Prince and the Turk. This observation at once suggests to us that it is hardly a mere coincidence if in 1683, just at the moment when he brought his force to bear more than at any previous time upon the Germanic Powers, a Turkish army of more than 200,000 men advanced upon Vienna. Nineteen years earlier when Montecuculi defeated the Turks in the great battle of St Gothard, the French auxiliaries under Coligny and La Feuillade had played a conspicuous part in the defence of Christendom. But in the war of 1672—1678 France had fomented the Hungarian rebellion against the Emperor, and that rebellion depended at the same time upon Turkish aid. Thus France and the Porte played into each other's hands. Emerich Tököly, the Transylvanian Prince, took part in the Turkish invasion of 1683 (as Zapolya had taken part in the invasion of Solyman) and Tököly had been long in the habit of receiving aid from France. Louis in his attack on the Germanic Powers calculated upon the embarrassment which they would suffer from the simultaneous attack of the Turks in their rear; and in like manner Kara Mustafa took account of the French advance upon the Rhine in planning his invasion of Austria. So much is plain even if we leave open the question of a positive understanding between Louis and the Turk.

The steady growth of French power up to 1681 has been already traced. We now see that it was favoured even after this by an event of the first magnitude. Germany did not show any great power of resistance at the time of the Peace of Nimègue, when the Great Elector was already in despair. But in the course of the year 1681 it began to be perceived that Germany was about to suffer a great invasion from the infidel. When this should happen what power of resistance to Louis would she have? The invasion took place in 1683, and proved no less formidable than could have been expected. It is true that Vienna was saved, the tide of invasion was rolled back, and a war in which the Turk had been the assailant ended in destroying for ever his ascendancy in the east of Europe. But the war lasted fourteen years, and was none the less exhausting for Germany because it proved so glorious. If Louis had been almost irresistible before it began, how could the Germanic Powers withstand him when their forces were thus year after year draughted off to their eastern frontier and into the plains of Hungary? The situation strikingly resembles that in which the Powers of Germany found themselves in their war against the French Revolution. They were paralysed on the Rhine by the fact that they had to wage war at the same time in Poland.

The result was that after 1681 Louis had still about three years of uninterrupted success. He reaches his zenith in the summer of 1684.

Germany and Austria had entered upon a new age of vigour and glory with the deliverance of Vienna. Nevertheless they were not in a condition at the moment to wage war with France while the struggle in Hungary occupied them. In such circumstances the solution

adopted was a truce. Strasburg and the territory taken from the Empire by reunion before August 1st, 1681, were to remain in the hands of Louis for twenty years. The truce was concluded at Regensburg. But at the same time Louis entered into possession of Luxemburg.

In 1682 Louis had raised the siege of this important fortress on the nominal ground that he did not choose to press his claim at the moment when a Turkish invasion of Christendom was impending. In September 1683 however, that is at the moment when Vienna was besieged by the Turks, he marched his armies into the Spanish Low Countries. Spain, in order to obtain the aid of her allies, declared formal war with France in November. But it was found impossible to revive the coalition that had been dissolved at Nimeguen. William could not induce the Dutch to take up arms; the city of Amsterdam declared that sooner than consent to war it would desert the Union. And, as we know, the Great Elector had thrown in his lot with France. The Emperor, needless to say, had his hands full. On June 4th, 1684, Luxemburg fell, and at Regensburg along with the Truce a Treaty was signed in which Louis, while he resigned some of the conquests he had made from Spain, retained Luxemburg.

Charles II in these last years of his reign remains dependent upon France. Since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament he has not the courage to summon a new one, and his only alternative is to purchase subsidies from Louis by subservience. He evades all demands for his interference in behalf of Luxemburg; he promises his guarantee for the Truce of Regensburg, and then again refuses it. This is the last scene of all in the foreign policy of Charles II; it is 'second childishness and mere oblivion.' He had opened his reign with ostentatious

independence of France, had then glided into an understanding with her; next, in 1672 he had joined her in a deadly attack upon republican Holland; then again he had separated himself and for a time had stood stoutly by his nephew's side against France. But in 1678 had begun the Panic and the Reign of Terror; from this desperate struggle he had emerged in 1681, victorious indeed but at the price of complete dependence on France. He saw Louis XIV reach his zenith; he saw Europe in dismay; but he found himself helpless.

In 1683 however he married the Princess Anne to Prince George of Denmark. It was something that this was at least a Protestant marriage. So much wisdom, we may suppose, he had learned from the Panic. He did not now, as in his own marriage or in the second marriage of his brother, prefer, as a matter of course, a Catholic House. Insignificant as Prince George personally was, considerable results followed from his marriage to one who was in due time to reign over England. They were results of a negative kind. The marriage carried with it no dangerous entanglements, either religious or political, and this was of the utmost importance in a reign which was to see Great Britain take the lead in Europe as never before. At the moment, and in the eyes of Charles, the match was eligible because the King of Denmark adhered at this time together with the Great Elector to the French party in Europe.

Charles II died at the age of 55, in February, 1685, a few months after the Truce of Regensburg, and European affairs entered almost immediately upon a new stage. Their aspect was already sufficiently portentous, and so indeed was the aspect of English affairs. Though Charles had defeated his domestic enemies, yet the Revolution

visibly raged on, and there still prevailed something like a Reign of Terror. The Popish Plot was indeed by this time discredited, but at the same time the party of Shaftesbury had been driven to the verge of rebellion. Its leader fled the country and died in exile; its most prominent members, Russell and Essex, as well as the Republican Algernon Sidney, died violent deaths. In Scotland the Terror was still more intense and unintermitted.

But in England there was a lull in the religious storm. The Panic had subsided, the Duke's daughters were safely married to Protestant princes, the King had proved his sincere intention of protecting the Anglican Church. He was not old, and the day when a Catholic would reign in England did not yet seem to be at hand.

On the Continent the ascendancy of France was indeed alarming, but here too the religious question had not yet become so prominent as to absorb all attention. The year 1685 brought in England the accession of a Catholic King, and in France the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

It seemed as if the final and decisive struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-reformation was now to begin.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STUART DYNASTY AND THE NATION.

AT the accession of James II England had long been in a revolutionary state; France on the other hand had long enjoyed a profound internal tranquillity. But now while the revolution in England and Scotland grows suddenly more intense, there commence in France too disturbances of the most terrible kind. And it is the same convulsion which spreads over both countries at once. It is a struggle of the confessions, a revival of the great religious convulsion of the sixteenth century. The Dragonnades may be said to have commenced as early as 1681, but it was in 1685 that they were practised on a grand scale. While such horrors were seen in France there was civil war on this side of the Channel, Monmouth's rebellion in England, Argyle's rebellion in Scotland. In the autumn the Bloody Assize was proceeding here, and on October 22nd the Edict revoking the Edict of Nantes was registered by a Commission of the Parliament of Paris.

It is needless to say that the catastrophe of Protestantism in France must have immeasurably enhanced the anxiety with which we saw at the same time a Catholic

King triumphantly establish himself on the throne of England. But there was also a reaction of the English event upon France. Perhaps Louis would have hesitated formally to revoke the Edict of Nantes had not England at that moment passed under the sceptre of a Catholic King. The Huguenots of France had leaned upon England in Elizabeth's time, in Charles I's time, and in the time of the Protector. Even Charles II in his last helplessness would perhaps scarcely have thought it safe to witness in silence or without some kind of intervention the cancelling of an edict so important to the whole Protestant world. But a unique crisis had arrived in England by the accession of James II, which gave Louis a free hand against his Protestant subjects.

The Revocation was not the commencement but rather the consummation of the downfall of Protestantism in France. The decline of the Religion had been proceeding for twenty years; since the Peace of Nimeguen Government had turned its attention to the subject; the number of conversions in the first half of 1685 was prodigious. An appalling proof was thus offered to the English people of the power which might be exerted by a Government controlling a military force, and this at the moment when they themselves passed under the rule of a king who, like Louis, was Catholic, whose ideas were military, and who struggled to get possession of a military force. That a religious community which was supposed to number almost two millions, which had subsisted more than a century and had lived almost a century under the protection of a special law, should be thus easily dissolved by the French Government, must have given the English people a wholly new conception of what was in the power of Government.

It might strike an English observer that the crisis of 1588 had reappeared, and that Louis was about to effect what Philip II had almost succeeded in effecting. He wielded a much greater military power than Philip, he had already in 1672 reduced the Dutch state to extremity, and since that year his power had greatly increased. The King of England was now a Papist and his cousin Louis had destroyed Protestantism within his own dominions. When next he took the field, would he not destroy it in the United Provinces, and at least enable his cousin to establish Catholicism on a solid basis in Britain? In this enterprise would he not have the enthusiastic support of all the Catholic Powers of Europe, and be hailed as Emperor by their united voice on the next vacancy?

So it might well seem from the English point of view. It might well seem that the world was passing under the dominion of Popery and arbitrary power. But we have overlooked a distinction which proved to be all-important. The religion of which Louis made himself the champion was indeed Catholic in dogma, mortally opposed to the Reformation, and as ruthless in its methods as Rome could wish. But it was not strictly Popish. Louis was at this moment the most dangerous enemy to the Roman See that had arisen in Europe for a long time. While with one hand he struck down Protestantism, with the other he dealt blows which seemed equally crushing at the Papacy. And in consequence his grand enterprise was not supported by the Pope nor by the leading Catholic Powers. Here we come upon the great impediment which began at this time to retard the progress of his ascendancy. It was a matter of course that the Revocation should unite the whole Protestant interest of Europe against him. For this

he must have been prepared. But when the moment came for him to strike the decisive blow he found himself firmly opposed by the Catholic as well as the Protestant Powers. The enterprise which was to make the world Catholic was opposed not only by William of Orange and by the Great Elector, lately a supporter of France, but also by both branches of the House of Habsburg and by the Pope himself.

The cruelties of the Dragonnades naturally remind us of many other cruelties instigated by what we call Popery. Instigated they were by a clerical power devoted to Catholic dogma, but the clergy of France at the moment when they demanded the destruction of the Religion were so strongly disaffected towards the Papacy that they seemed on the point of plunging into a new schism. The event of 1685, the Revocation, ought to be considered in conjunction with the event of 1682, which was the assertion of Gallican liberties in the Four Articles drawn by Bossuet. Opposition to the Papacy is indeed a uniform characteristic of Louis XIV, and at this conjuncture, the zenith of his reign, it is pushed so far that he seems on the point of playing the part of our Henry VIII. We may almost say that the schism was fairly begun. Louis occupied Avignon, Pope Innocent XI (Odescalchi) refused institution to a number of bishops who adhered to the Gallican principles. Had not Louis been soon after warned by his first taste of ill success we may suppose that in no long time an independent Gallican Church would have stood forth by the side of the Anglican, and that Louis XIV would have claimed an ecclesiastical supremacy similar to that which had been asserted in England by Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

It was this nascent Gallican Church, and not Popery,

which brought about the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In general an overwhelming tendency to national unity characterises France in this age. The reaction against the Fronde was sweeping away everything individual or peculiar whether in life or in thought. In this whirlpool the independence of the rights of the noblesse, the Parliaments, and Port Royal disappeared one after another. How should the Huguenots escape? But the eddy which carried them away was not a Catholic movement embracing all Christendom but a purely French movement which was adverse to the Papacy for the very same reason as to the Huguenots, that is, because it was not purely French. Not the Pope but the King profited by the Revocation, and the demand for it, which was a sincere and truly popular demand, declared that all Frenchmen ought to be of one religion, and asked whether it could be endured that there should be Frenchmen who did not approve the King's religion or whose religion the King did not approve.

But in the universal dismay that began to pervade the Protestant world in 1685 this distinction was not at first perceived. The objects of Louis and of James seemed to be identical, though indeed their language was as different as possible. They were allies in the cause of the Counter-reformation, which by us was called Popery and associated with memories of the Marian persecution. That Louis was strongly opposed to Popery in the strict sense of the word, and that James anticipated modern Liberalism in proclaiming the inalienable rights of conscience and in announcing the abandonment of all penal laws, did not prevent them from seeming allies, as indeed it did not prevent James from betraying his approval of the Revocation and from expressing to Barillon the hope that he

might be able in concert with Barillon's master to do great things for religion.

The accession of James produced in English politics a change similar to that which the ascendancy of Louvois had produced in the government of Louis. Tact and adroitness disappear with Charles II. James commences with the suppression and ruthless punishment of armed rebellion. The scaffold is set up. The Bloody Assize is contemporaneous with the Dragonnades, and the rebellions of Monmouth and Argyle are made a pretext for keeping on foot a military force. Behind the army of Hounslow Heath, which begins to be partially officered by Catholics, appears the army of Ireland, remodelled by Richard Talbot.

Louvois, who had at the outset regarded the Huguenot question with indifference, took it up in its later stages and handled it in his characteristic military fashion. The highly organised army which had given Louis his ascendancy abroad, enabled him now under Louvois' guidance to settle the religious question at home with a peremptoriness which had been quite beyond the reach of Richelieu and Mazarin. In the proud fortresses of Calvinism, La Rochelle and Montauban, where the Religion had maintained itself so firmly in former times against the government, it was now almost stamped out in a few hours. And at the very moment when this short military mode of dealing with religious questions proved so effective in France, a Catholic King in England was seen struggling to obtain possession of a standing army.

A revolution had long been in progress in England, and after the accession of James it soon began to hurry towards its consummation. But another revolution, infinitely more portentous, hung over all western and central Europe, and

with this the English Revolution was inextricably connected, from this it derived most of its greatness and its momentous importance. This connexion is the one point which we have space to deal with.

The European Revolution does not appear in history, because it was averted at the last moment; it was averted by the very fact that the English Revolution was consummated in 1688.

What was the precise danger which Europe escaped?

France had possession of Strasburg and Luxemburg and all the vast territory which it had acquired by reunion. The Truce of Regensburg had secured these acquisitions to her for a time. Meanwhile the Germanic Powers, principally the Emperor, were occupied with a war against the Porte, a war none the less burdensome because it was so glorious. The interest of Louis required that before the war should come to an end he should obtain complete and definitive possession of all this territory, that the truce should be converted into a peace. This point once gained and the conquered territory once put in full military preparation, his ascendancy would be complete. He would become master of the Spanish Low Countries even before the demise of the Spanish Crown should give him the occasion of claiming the whole Spanish Monarchy for his House. He would also acquire an influence in Germany greatly superior to that of the Emperor. But behind this territorial revolution there could be discerned also a religious revolution. He would establish himself as the head of an independent Gallican Church the limits of which would extend with the limits of his dominion. And as he had already perceived that he could only carry the Gallican clergy with him in this schism by undertaking to destroy heresy, it was likely that he would attack Cal-

vinism in the Dutch Republic as he had attacked it in France. The Dutch therefore might look forward to a renewal of the French invasion of 1672. These designs of Louis were the more alarming because his power was so vast and because his success had hitherto been uninterrupted. James in England assumed a position equally alarming as far as his own subjects were concerned. It was evident at least that he meant in some respects to set aside the constitution of the country. But his design was perhaps much less far-reaching, and it was also doubtful whether he had the means of carrying any such design into effect.

If we could separate in our minds what James attempted in England from that which Louis was attempting at the same time in Europe, it would appear perhaps not so very formidable. It does not seem that James had formed any coherent scheme, or that the obstinacy which marked his character ought to be taken for serious resolution. He intended no doubt to procure toleration for the King's religion. It seemed to him both reasonable and possible to procure the repeal of the Test Act, as it had been found possible to defeat the Exclusion Bill. But, though his subjects had every reason to resent his contempt for law, and there was much to alarm them in the military force they saw him preparing, particularly when it was considered in connexion with what was in preparation on the Continent, yet James does not seem to have contemplated giving an ascendancy to Catholicism in England, but only making room for it as a church among other churches. If his perverseness had such vast consequences, this was owing to the connexion which happened to exist between these English events and much greater events beyond the Channel. It was not so much because

he claimed a dispensing Power or because he interfered with the appointments of Magdalen College, Oxford, that he fell. It was rather because in the desperate resistance of Europe against Louis XIV the aid of England could not be spared, and yet so long as James was on the throne England would certainly not give aid, and might possibly, as formerly in 1672, intervene on the side of Louis. Hence it was that James was overthrown, not like his father by a rebellion organised by Parliament, but by the appearance of a Dutch fleet commanded by William of Orange.

In order therefore to understand the fall of James it is above all things necessary to study his foreign policy. If he could only have brought himself to take the side of Europe against Louis XIV he would not have fallen, not at least when and as he did fall. William was not king in the United Provinces. However therefore in his manifesto he might profess that he came to England in order to protect the rights of his wife endangered by the arbitrary proceedings of James, yet he could not have brought with him a Dutch fleet and army, of which he was only admiral and general, unless he had been able to convince the States that the interests of the Dutch people were concerned as well as the interests of the Princess Mary. He was able to do this because the Dutch people were threatened by Louis, and James appeared to be in concert with Louis.

Why was James, if not really in concert with Louis, yet wholly neutral and indifferent in the great crisis of Europe? It was not in the traditions of English Monarchy to regard with indifference the annexation of the Low Countries by France. Is the answer to be found in the fact that James, unlike other English kings, was a Catholic?

Precisely this consideration brings home to our minds the singularity of the course he took. It may be our first impression that, as a zealot, he would be impelled by religious enthusiasm to take the part of the destroyer of Protestantism in France, the possible destroyer of Protestantism in Holland. On closer examination however we find that a convert to the religion of the Pope was not tempted at that crisis to side with Louis. The religious policy of Louis was directed *against* the Pope. It was regarded with horror by the other Catholic Powers, and the Pope himself, Innocent XI, had to suffer almost as much from the French ascendancy of Louis XIV as Pius VI from the French Revolution or Pius VII in the latter days of Napoleon. Louis represented that very principle of royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs which James, as a convert, rejected. Another royal convert to Catholicism was living at that time, Queen Christina. How was she impressed by the Dragonnades and by the Revocation? She writes thus from Rome on February 2nd, 1686: "Nothing assuredly is more laudable than the endeavours to convert heretics and unbelievers. But the method they adopt there is very new, and since our Lord did not take this way to convert the world, it cannot be the best! I regard this zeal and this policy with astonishment and admiration, it transcends my comprehension! Indeed I am glad to think that I don't understand it. You think then that it is opportune to convert Huguenots and turn them into good Catholics at a time when there is such open rebellion in France against the respect and obedience we owe to the Roman Catholic Church. And yet I suppose that is the one foundation of our religion; only to that church has our Saviour given the glorious promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Meanwhile never has the

scandalous liberty of the Gallican Church come so close to the verge of rebellion as now. Those late Four Articles, adopted and promulgated by an assembly of French clergy, are of such a nature that they have afforded to heresy an only too manifest occasion for a song of triumph."

In these circumstances what would have been more natural for James, as a Catholic King of England, than to range himself in European politics on the same side as the House of Habsburg, the side which had the sympathy of the Pope himself? By doing so he would have given the best proof that a Catholic could be a true Englishman and that the interest of England might be safe in the hands of a Catholic king. By doing so he would have placed England in the position—which she would have liked to take and which all Europe expected her to take—of guardian of the Balance of Power. Had James stood forth to guarantee the Truce of Regensburg and to protect the Low Countries by reviving the Triple Alliance, he would assuredly not have seen his dominions invaded by a Dutch fleet. Yet it is not very easy to understand what prevented him from taking this course.

Still more perplexing is the course he took in respect to the Revocation. Why did he shock the feelings of his people by openly betraying his sympathy with the persecutor and his antipathy to the persecuted Huguenots? As we have seen, the persecution was not the act of a Popish Power, nor was it approved by the Pope; it was the act of a new Henry VIII, who desired to give proof of his dogmatic orthodoxy at the moment that he took the lead in a new national schism. As a Papist therefore James was under no obligation to countenance the Dragon-

nades and the Revocation. But further he had taken up a position in ecclesiastical policy which absolutely required him to discountenance them in the most emphatic manner; nay, he might almost have felt indebted to his cousin of France for giving him the opportunity of showing once for all how much he detested persecution. For religious toleration was the principle to which his whole reign was devoted. He was soon to stand before his people hand-in-glove with the Quaker William Penn, and his assertions of the barbarous and unchristian wickedness of all penal laws and exclusions on the ground of religion are so sweeping that they remind us of Cromwell and Milton, and might for a moment tempt us to regard him as a sincere and admirable, if too unpractical, enthusiast. Never had a royal apostle of religious toleration a better opportunity than in the year of the Dragonnades and of the Revocation, which was also the year of his own accession. And he did begin by favouring the charitable collections that were made in England for the Huguenots. But soon after (in May, 1686) he caused the book of the Huguenot Claude, in which the story of the wrongs of his community was told, to be burnt by the hangman, alleging in Council that kings were bound to stand by one another. He also contrived to defraud the Huguenot exiles of the relief which English charity had provided for them by requiring them to qualify themselves by taking the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England.

In the first year of his reign James II stood before the world as a prince who had shown such steadfast resolution and had come triumphantly through such severe trials that it was possible to regard him as a great man destined to do great things. He seemed to represent the

principle of toleration, which since Cromwell's time had taken deep root in England and was beginning to be the watchword of all intellectual men everywhere, revolted by the horrors of the Dragonnades. The Huguenot refugees could not plead their own cause without acknowledging at the same time that James had a right to claim toleration for the Catholics in England. Bayle from Rotterdam blessed the new reign in these words: "This new king's wise behaviour moderates alike the fear and the hope of the different parties. He adheres openly for his own part to the Roman Catholic Church, but at the same time promises to leave to the Anglican Church its property and rights. This is the dignified attitude of a king who follows the dictates alike of his own conscience and of justice and equity to others. Here we see courage blended with a sagacious policy." These reflexions were suggested by the event of the second Sunday after the death of Charles II, when James caused mass to be celebrated with open doors in the chapel of Whitehall. We may see that to the philosopher James seems to exhibit a striking and admirable contrast to Louis. The latter is at once intolerant and schismatic, and both in an extreme degree; the other claims for himself personally the right of belonging to the church which had the title of Catholic; but allows Anglicans to be Anglicans, as later he proposed to allow Dissenters to be Dissenters and even Quakers to be Quakers.

This was indeed the right course for James. In the strength of hereditary right he had already defeated the Exclusion Bill. He possessed another talisman in the principle of toleration, and by means of this he might have hoped in due time to repeal the Test Act. It was perhaps not impossible for him to achieve the

establishment of the Roman Catholic Church as a tolerated and influential sect in England under some general system of toleration. But the indispensable condition of success was that he should distinguish his policy sharply from that of Louis XIV and place himself at the head of the opposition to Louis in Europe. What the English people vaguely called Popery contained in reality two systems not only different but at that crisis openly hostile to each other. The one was not properly Popery at all but Gallicanism, and the head of it was Louis XIV; the head of the other might be said to be Pope Innocent XI, and the principal members of it were the Emperor and the King of Spain. This latter system was just at that moment more inclined to toleration than Popery has usually been. Let us imagine James attaching himself resolutely to the party of the Pope and the House of Habsburg. In that case he would have made it the main object of his foreign policy to maintain the cause of Christendom against the Turk, whom the Germanic Powers were at that moment engaged in driving out of Hungary. It was open to him to render a most important service to the cause of Christendom by bidding Louis desist from pushing his encroachments in the season of common danger upon the Rhine and in the Low Countries. This course would have been at the same time most agreeable to English and also to Roman Catholic feeling. It would have saved the Roman Church from a new schism and at the same time it would have saved the Protestant Republic from destruction. It would have led to a close and cordial family alliance between James and William and Mary. It would have made James necessary to the Dutch. In these circumstances even the English people would have forgiven a good many minor encroachments upon their liberties

to a sovereign who would have been the champion of the Balance of Power and the protector at the same time of the Reformation and of the Pope, the more so as, being the champion of toleration, he would have gratified their feelings by eagerly relieving and protecting the Huguenots. The downfall of James was due not simply to his being a Papist or to his openly maintaining the cause of Popery. It was due to his adopting the French system of Catholicism, which ought not to be called Popery, and to his leaning on the whole to the French side in the European struggle.

If we take the insular view of the reign of James, it falls evidently into two periods. For there is the period when he endeavours to introduce Catholicism by means of the Anglican Church, and this is followed by a period in which he breaks with the Anglican Church and tries to introduce Catholicism by means of the Dissenters and under cover of a general toleration.

In like manner if we take the European view of the reign we find it falling into two periods. There is first the period in which it seems possible that James may see his true interest and take the side of Europe and the Pope and William against Louis. This is followed by the period in which this hope is abandoned, when James is seen to favour France on the whole, and when suspicion, as was natural, goes beyond the reality and represents him as engaged in an actual conspiracy with Louis against the liberties of Europe.

It soon appeared that the obstinacy of James was not accompanied by any distinctness of views. He was not clever enough to disentangle his religious policy from the family policy to which he had grown accustomed. We are to remember that he was by birth half a Bourbon, that he

had imbibed his religious ideas in a great degree from French people, from his mother and his sister, that his brother had set him the example of endeavouring to introduce Catholicism into England by means of a French alliance, and that his brother had shown him that the way to defy public opinion was to lean on the French king. That he should abide by this system, to which he was accustomed, after his accession to the throne, shows only that he was not observant or intelligent enough to perceive that the world was altered since the days of the Treaty of Dover. Charles had been quick to perceive such things, and we can imagine that, had he lived to see the decisive struggle of Louis against Europe, he would have been found on the side of William and the House of Habsburg. James no doubt differed from Charles in being an avowed Catholic, and probably reasoned that, being committed to a struggle with his people and Parliament, he could not do without the aid of Louis. That the Roman Catholic world, headed by the Pope, was opposed to Louis, that the author of the Revocation was in reality not a good Roman Catholic but a schismatic, and that therefore, by a rare good fortune, it was open to the King of England to appear as a good Englishman and as a good Catholic at the same time, such refinements seem to have been beyond the comprehension of James. He was surrounded by Jesuits of the same school as those who were leading Louis into schism, for it is a remarkable fact that the Jesuit order in this period is found working against the Pope—and accordingly he does not succeed in making himself really a Papist, but only a sort of Gallican. It is a singular spectacle. The Pope looks on coldly and quarrels with James' representative, Lord Castlemaine, though James offers to bring England back to the fold of the Church,

just as at the same time Louis, offering French Calvinism as a sacrifice to Catholic unity, is regarded by the Pope as a most dangerous and cruel enemy of the Church.

The crisis in Europe was rapidly approaching. It might almost seem that nothing remained for Louis but to pluck the ripe fruit that hung within his reach. He had but to choose his opportunity and decide upon his pretext. He was far stronger now than in the days of Nimeguen, when he had already seemed irresistible. For now he had possession of Strasburg and Luxemburg and of the reunited territory. Now too all the military force of Germany was drawn off eastward to fight the Turks in the plains of Hungary. What shape the final crisis would take was evident enough. A new European war would begin. The armies of Louis would take the field again, and a war would commence which would leave Louis supreme in Germany, perhaps also in the Low Countries, and would reduce the Dutch to dependence.

The danger was extreme, and yet there were some signs that Louis had already allowed the favourable moment to pass by. Already he was not quite the supreme figure in Europe that he had been before 1683. Why had he allowed King John of Poland to relieve Vienna? Why had not the armies of France marched in 1683 against the infidel, as twenty years earlier they had taken a conspicuous share in Montecuculi's great victory at St Gothard? The title of Roman Emperor had been associated from of old with the defence of Christendom against the barbarian. It would have been well earned by a victory of Louis XIV over Kara Mustafa under the walls of Vienna. But now Christendom had been saved, and Louis was not there! Nor only so. Ever since 1683 the war against the Turk had proceeded, and it had pro-

duced for the first time in three centuries a series of triumphs of the Cross over the Crescent. This series, which began in 1683, was to extend over fourteen years, until by the Treaty of Carlowitz a wholly new relation was introduced between Christendom and Islam, and the decline of the Porte began. The Germanic Powers with Austria at their head achieved this great triumph. Louis XIV had no share in it, but took advantage of the war to push his encroachments on the German frontier. Practically he acted as an ally of the Turk against Christendom. At the moment before us he was entering upon this course. His power was certainly at its height, but his glory was already tarnished. An age had begun in which the great victories were not those of the king of France, but those of the Germanic Powers in Hungary.

Now came the Dragonnades and the Revocation, giving quite a new aspect to the French ascendancy. Coupled with the attack of Louis upon the Pope, which was simultaneous, they made him seem a public enemy, a scourge at once to the Protestant and to the Catholic world. One very definite effect was speedily produced. After the Peace of Nimeguen the Great Elector had been won to France. This was not very surprising at a time when Louis was still looked to by Protestant Powers as a patron. From Louis the Hohenzollern hoped for aid against Sweden, his closest enemy. But his views were changed by the Revocation. He made his country an asylum for French refugees whose influence has perhaps ever since been more perceptible at Berlin than in any other capital. He reconciled himself speedily with the Emperor, and Louis XIV lost the only great ally he still possessed—except the King of England.

The European crisis actually arrived in 1688. It is

always difficult to discern in history the events which did not happen, though they were intended to happen and seemed at the moment almost certain to happen ! What the reader sees is only that Louis, so incorrigibly ambitious, made in 1688 some new claims which led to a general war, but that at this time he was somewhat less successful than formerly, and that after nine years he made peace on terms which left the system of Europe much where it had been. This was indeed what happened, but it was far different from what was intended by Louis to happen. It is our business here to point out the chief cause of his failure.

The crisis arrived precisely in the manner that might have been expected. We have been accustomed hitherto to think of the French and Spanish Monarchies as the two great rivals in Europe. It is otherwise now. Since the Reunions France stands face to face with the Empire. The encroachments of France have been so successful that they are not likely to come to an end with the Truce of Regensburg. Louis assuredly will advance new claims, and it may be anticipated that he will advance them soon, for Austria is rising every year in power and pride, as she wins new victories over the Porte. A process begins which has often been witnessed, which has been witnessed in our own age. France and the Empire drift with a fatal rapidity towards war, and everything which either party does to prevent war has only the effect of bringing war nearer. A demise takes place in the Palatinate, which gives Louis a pretext for advancing territorial claims in behalf of his brother, the Duke of Orleans, married since the death of Henrietta Stuart to the Palatine Princess Elizabeth Charlotte. The new Elector Palatine, of a collateral branch, exerts himself to rally the Germanic

Powers in resistance to this claim. The Emperor is his son-in-law. A League of Augsburg is formed, in which some Germanic princes unite with the Emperor for this purpose. Even within the Empire it is but a partial union, for the Great Elector himself is not a member, nor does it extend beyond the Empire, since the King of Sweden, though a member, adheres to it only in respect of his Germanic possessions. But this union provokes Louis to make new aggressions, to build new fortifications, and to demand the conversion of the Truce into a definitive peace. The Empire however is no longer in fear of the Turk, and the great Hohenzollern has returned to a national policy. The Germanic Powers begin to feel that they have made concessions enough. The French demand is rejected, and war approaches visibly nearer.

Everything now depends on England, and as we have seen, James II ought, not only as King of England but even as a Catholic prince, to have stepped forward eagerly in defence of Europe against France. He did not do this, but neither does he appear to have decided upon the opposite course. He seems to have no policy adapted to the special emergency, but to abide by the policy which his brother had originally devised in 1669, when all the circumstances were different, and had fallen back upon again in 1681 simply because he could not help it. We see him still forming an army, which he officers with Catholics, in other words defying public opinion. But to defy public opinion, that is Parliament, with success he needed the support of France. And so the great continental politicians, who were anxiously preparing for the European crisis, could not but come to the conclusion that in that crisis James would not oppose France and therefore might probably assist France. An opinion grew up that Louis

and James had a close secret understanding. They judged of the coming event by the event of 1672, and believed that when the armies of France took the field the English fleet would cooperate with them.

The maxim 'He that is not with me is against me' is necessarily adopted in extreme crises. James however does not seem really to have formed any resolution or to have had any distinct intention. He continued from habit to favour France in the main, but as to the coming European crisis his mind seems to have been, if we may judge from his occasional utterances, to abstain from interference. Preoccupied with the domestic struggle upon which he had entered, he did not feel able to interfere with effect. And though he by no means regarded himself as a vassal of France, yet opposition to France seemed peculiarly impossible to him. Accordingly his action, where he is forced to action, leans to the French side, and this seemed so unnatural in an English king in the then circumstances of Europe, that the general suspicion of a secret alliance was strengthened. Thus in May, 1687, the Emperor invites him to guarantee the Truce of Regensburg. At the moment that truce was on the point of being set aside by the strained interpretations of Louis and by his new encroachments. James consults Louis on the proposal, and is told that the guarantee will be welcome provided it is given in such form as to confirm all the strained interpretations contained in the French declaration of March. He frames his answer to the Emperor accordingly; it is rejected as derisory, and conveys the impression that in the great European question of the day the King of England goes with France.

In any case it was clear that he would not oppose

France. Now the active opposition of England to French encroachment was wanted, and might fairly be counted on if only the king's influence were removed. The Great Elector had been gained already; he had been decided by the persecution of the Huguenots, and the same event had roused the English people to indignation. It was certain that any Parliament that could be summoned in England, whether it were Anglican or a Parliament of Dissenters convoked to repeal the Test Act, would call with equal ardour for resistance to France. Could but the English nation have its way, and the times of Cromwell or of Elizabeth return, it might be hoped that the danger which hung over Europe would be averted. For these aggressions of France since 1668 had been made possible only by the connivance of England; they would probably be checked as soon as that connivance should cease.

It thus became the interest of half Europe that a change of government should take place in England. For many years the condition of that country had been revolutionary, but the revolution which had begun in 1670 had from the outset received its impulse from abroad. There came now from abroad an overwhelming impulse to decide it in a particular way. The leaders of this second English revolution were not, as of the first, members of Parliament and popular agitators, but foreign statesmen. The plan of it was devised in consultations between the Dutch Stadtholder and the politicians of the States-General or the States of Holland or the town of Amsterdam, or between the Dutch Stadtholder and the Great Elector and the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the representatives of the House of Habsburg and of the Pope.

To this predicament has the English Monarchy been brought—by what cause? Not purely by the Catholicising

disposition of Charles II and James II. This disposition by itself, when it became so headstrong as it appeared in James II, would certainly have created a vast disturbance, perhaps a rebellion. But it would not by itself have brought about precisely the Revolution of 1688. For it would not by itself or necessarily have driven James to lean to the side of France in the European crisis. It might just as easily have inclined him to take the opposite side, in which case William could scarcely have made his memorable expedition.

In truth the Catholicising disposition itself was only one effect of the family atmosphere in which both Charles and James had grown up, and the same atmosphere inclined them to a family alliance with France. Thus the ultimate cause of the Second English Revolution is to be found in the marriage of Charles I to Henrietta Maria, which gave to the next generation of our kings a tinge not merely of Catholicism but of French Catholicism. From this marriage came the reaction, which, after a national policy had been sketched by Elizabeth, and established for a time under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, restored that older form of policy which we call dynastic. England sees herself approaching a European crisis, and knows perfectly well what part she ought to play and would like to play in it. But she has a government which has wholly different ideas. And these ideas, when we examine them, are found to be traceable to family influences. The royal family is intimately connected with the House of Bourbon, has imbibed its religious views, is accustomed to look to it for aid and advice. Unfortunately the time has arrived when the House of Bourbon is no longer regarded by Englishmen as in the time of Mazarin or of Henry IV. Its position in Europe has been wholly altered. Almost

all English parties, the Catholics included, now regard it with animosity. Almost all desire to see England arrayed against it in the approaching struggle.

The time has therefore arrived when the national policy and the dynastic policy are violently opposed to each other.

PART V.

WILLIAM III AND THE COMMERCIAL STATE.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION.

FOR about half a century we have found the condition of England for the most part revolutionary. Between 1638 and 1688 there had been very few years, only perhaps a year or two in the age of Clarendon, when the people could enjoy a feeling of security. A second Revolution had visibly commenced only ten years after the Restoration of the Monarchy, and between 1670 and 1688 there had been but occasional pauses in the dangerous and portentous struggle. The fickleness and turbulence of the English nation had become proverbial in Europe, and contrasted remarkably with the profound internal repose, the unity growing ever more complete, of the French. The English, says Torci, are a nation *dont la légèreté est connue ; ils changent souvent d'idées*.

This peculiarity was now to disappear. A state of things was to emerge which would be definitive. The lightness, the disposition to change, was henceforth to be

confined within strict limits, and a framework both of institutions and policy was to be devised which would remain for a very long time exempt from violent or sudden change.

It was as if the period of growth came to an end and the fixed and mature stage of national life began. In constitutional history the Revolution of 1688 is recognised as the all-important epoch. It is scarcely less so in the history of policy. The growth of policy is completed at the same time as the growth of the constitution.

It remains to us then only to mark the change produced by the Revolution upon policy, and to point out how decisive the change was, and how definitive the new state of things introduced by it.

Our thread of narrative has long been growing thinner and thinner almost in proportion as occurrences have grown more multitudinous and intricate. In the confused revolutionary history of the period between 1670 and 1688 we have fixed our eyes upon one point only, and have contented ourselves with remarking how exceptionally close throughout is the connexion between English and Continental affairs. Now that we reach the consummation of the Revolution, commonly called the Revolution itself, by the expedition of William, we renounce not only the pretension of giving a full narrative but even the attempt to give any narrative at all. This concluding part will consist simply of such observations on the change of government effected by William, and the new state of things introduced by it, as our peculiar point of view suggests.

This point of view presents to us a characteristic of the Revolution which is overlooked by those who take the constitutional point of view. How often is this second

English Revolution compared to the first, and the points of difference between them reckoned up! 'It was bloodless, it was final. It introduced a long period of prosperity. All these happy characteristics it derived from the moderation with which it was conducted and from the care with which innovation was restricted to the strictly necessary and the new was grafted on to the old.' So much we see from the insular point of view. But from the international point of view we perceive another momentous characteristic of a wholly different kind. This second Revolution involved us in a great war with France, which lasted eight years and proved the first of a long series of similar wars with France.

There is no greater transition in our whole international history than this, the last transition we shall deal with. In the long period we have traversed war between England and France, in spite of the tradition of rivalry handed down from Plantagenet times, has been extremely rare; the normal relation between the two states has been one of concert. During the same period a state of war has been on the whole unusual for England, and her wars have rarely lasted longer than a year or two. We enter now upon a different age. From this time through the whole eighteenth century and in the nineteenth down to the fall of Napoleon, England and France wage war periodically, and their wars are on a great scale and of long duration. In this age England is more usually at war than at peace, and her principal enemy is almost always France.

This transition was made at the Revolution of 1688, and was as much the effect of it as the settlement of our constitution.

In what way the Revolution could produce this effect will have been made clear to the reader by our examination

of the reign of James II. Had it been provoked simply by the inclination of James to Popery and arbitrary power its results might have been simply internal and constitutional. But we have shown that James blended together two ideas which had no natural affinity, an inclination to Popery and an adhesion to France at the very moment when the greater part of Europe was leagued together in a desperate resistance to France. The result was that the English struggle was inextricably blended with the European struggle. The change of government in England at the beginning of 1689 has therefore two wholly different aspects. Looked at from the insular point of view it seems like a happier repetition of the Great Rebellion, an assertion of English liberties made with remarkable success and with praiseworthy moderation. But look at it from the European point of view, and it makes a surprisingly different impression. It now appears to be a struggle inside a struggle. The question at issue now appears to be not the liberties of England but the liberties of Europe, not the cause of Protestantism in these islands but the cause of Protestantism all over the world. The tyrant resisted now appears to be not James II but Louis XIV, of whom James is but a subaltern. In this resistance William takes the lead not simply because he is the husband of her who claims the succession to the English crown, but because he had long been the champion of Protestantism and of the liberties of Europe against French ascendancy. And his expedition to England now appears not as the first act of an English drama, but as the second act of a European drama, as a strategic measure belonging to a universal war which had broken out two months earlier, when Louis after four years of delay struck at last the decisive blow and poured his armies into

Germany. This being perceived, we are prepared to find that the English Revolution is, not so much followed by as indistinguishable and inseparable from, a grand war between England and France.

James had probably no fixed purpose of aiding France, but in the extreme tension of all international relations at that moment it was impossible for him to maintain a middle or neutral position. He was first suspected of adhering to France, and then the suspicion itself left him no choice but to adhere to France. In his flight from England at the Christmas-tide of 1688 and again in his flight from Ireland after the Battle of the Boyne he retires to France as to his home. He attaches himself to the House of Bourbon as a poor relation. He passes his latter years and dies in France, as his mother had done before him. In the struggle against the new Government of England he plays on the whole quite a secondary part; it is against Louis rather than against James that William and Mary have to defend their crown.

How James regarded continental affairs may appear from the following passage in his Memoirs, in which he gives his reason for holding aloof from the gathering coalition: 'The King (besides the little inclination he had to fall out with a Prince his near relation and ancient friend) having the prospect of enjoying a perfect peace and free trade, when all his neighbours should be engaged in war, made him give no ear to the earnest solicitations of the Emperor's and King of Spain's ambassadors, who pressed him violently to enter into this confederacy; besides his Majesty looked upon the imagination of a universal Monarchy (with which they strove to fright him as a thing aimed at by France) as a fantastical dream, both impolitic and impracticable, as appeared by Charles V and Philip II,

but that were it otherwise, the situation of England still secured it so well against a French, or any other encroachment, that neutrality was its true interest; which made his Majesty grasp at this occasion of eating out the Dutch, the kingdom's rivals in trade, rather than to eat out his own people's bowels in the defence of that Commonwealth; which never failed to leave their allies in the lurch at the least faint appearance of advantage by it.'

Even this view is so frankly indifferent to the interest of Europe and hostile to the Dutch that it might have led the Dutch people to regard a complete change of policy in England as necessary to their safety; and accordingly James goes on to say that William 'persuaded the Emperor and the King of Spain that there was no other mode of forcing the King of England into the League, and that he had no further aim in the undertaking,' and again that 'all those fair pretences of asserting the people's liberties and securing their religion were but introductory to and a cloak to the real design of executing the ends of the confederacy in general and to serve his own ambition and insatiate thirst after empire in particular.' But in fact there were serious reasons to fear that James would not rest content with thus 'eating out the Dutch' by supplanting them in trade while they waged war with Louis, but would actually join Louis against them.

As early as the summer of 1686 a paper recommending a joint attack by England and France upon the United Provinces, such as that which had been made in 1672, was brought to the notice of James. It did indeed excite his indignation, but at least it betrayed what thoughts were passing through the minds of those who considered international affairs.

At this time too the quarrel between the royal House

of Denmark and its younger branch of Holstein-Gottorp was beginning. The question concerned the sovereignty of Schleswig. The King of Sweden, as so often in a later age, sided with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. He threatened to invade Denmark with 20,000 men. Denmark was at this time in close alliance with France, and, as we have seen, had lately allied itself by marriage with England. Sweden on the other hand was now opposed to France, and allied with the Emperor and with the Dutch Republic. It was usual for England to consider herself closely interested in these disputes, which might affect the freedom of her access to the Baltic. Hence there was talk of a joint interference of England and France in favour of Denmark. As the Dutch would be on the opposite side, this affair seemed likely to furnish the occasion for the apprehended repetition of the combined action of 1672 against the Dutch.

Many signs appeared to indicate the approach of this event. Early in 1688 James, instigated by Louis, recalled the English regiments which had remained in the Dutch service since the year of the Treaty of Nimeguen. These regiments were the only remaining vestige of that family alliance of William and Charles which in 1678 had caused so much anxiety to Louis. The recall of them seemed a significant step in the gradual process by which England was passing over to the side of France.

There must surely be a secret understanding between the two Powers! If any foreign politician, William or the Emperor or the Great Elector, still doubted it, must not his doubts have been removed when on September 9th, 1688—just as war was on the point of breaking out—D'Avaux on behalf of Louis presented at the Hague a memorial declaring that 'the bonds of friendship and

alliance were so strict between his Most Christian Majesty and the King of England that he thought himself not only obliged to assist him, but should look upon any act of hostility done either by sea or land against his Majesty of Great Britain, as a manifest rupture of the peace with his crown.' In this note, presented before William's expedition, we see the first indication of the grand war, which was approaching, between France and England. At the same time it could not but convince all Europe that, so long as James reigned, he would commit England to a policy, not of mere neutrality, but of active concert with, France. It made a revolution in England necessary to the cause of Europe. And thus William acquired quite a new and much greater position. His right to interfere in the domestic politics of England had been at the outset purely personal. It could not of course be questioned that, as a member of the English royal family and as husband to the heiress of the three kingdoms, he had a right to protest against conduct on the part of James which might endanger his wife's rights and his own, and in the extreme case to interfere by decisive action. But he was not a King in the United Provinces.

The Dutch army and the Dutch fleet were indeed under his command, but they did not belong to him. They could not be used for his personal or family objects, as the French army and fleet, for example, not only could be, but habitually were, used for the honour and glory of Louis XIV. It would seem then that if he took action in the English question he must act as Monmouth had so recently done. He must appear in England at the head of a few personal followers and trust almost entirely to the support he might receive from the English malcontents. For such an expedition the fate of Monmouth afforded an evil omen,

and Monmouth's invasion had itself furnished the King with a pretext for keeping on foot a considerable army. In the face of this army it was not so easy for the malcontents to make a successful rising. James had actually attained a position not wholly unlike that of Cromwell, whose military force raised him far above the fear of a popular insurrection.

The prospect would be different if William could enter England at the head of a considerable military force. Such a force would hold in check the army of James, compel it to assemble at a given point and detain it there. This would give room and opportunity for insurrection to break out in all parts of the country, and if in this way the country should declare itself in favour of the invader the King's army might probably take the infection of the universal feeling. How then could William obtain the control of an army and a fleet?

An army and a fleet were there, and he was already in command of them. But they belonged to the Dutch. And at this critical moment of the Republic, when it was expecting the last irresistible attack of Louis XIV, the force would scarcely be handed over to the personal use of the Stadtholder. The Dutch assuredly wanted for their own protection all and more than all their military and naval force. Yes, but the movement in England and the movement in Europe were inseparably connected; they were one and the same. The overthrow of James, so ardently desired in England, was desired by the Dutch too; nay more, it was even more urgently necessary to the Dutch than to the English. In England the tyranny of James was not unendurable, and the country had learned heartily to dislike revolutions. But in Holland it seemed indispensably necessary that James should fall; no other

event, they thought, could save them and their religion from destruction. And thus, by a marvellous coincidence, William, as an English prince and as consort of the heiress of England, desired for family reasons and for English reasons to appear in England at the head of an armed force and at the same time the United Provinces saw no hope for their independence and religion but in invading England with their fleet and army, and of this fleet and army William himself happened to be the commander.

Still great difficulties remained to be surmounted. At first it appeared that such strategy was too circuitous in such a moment of extreme need. Louis stood there, about to give marching orders to his overwhelming force. In a week or two the Rhine might be passed as in 1672 and the Provinces overrun by French armies. Ought they to find the country denuded of troops, the Dutch army and the Dutch general engaged in England and perhaps unable to make their way back? It might seem that the English expedition must be postponed, and yet to postpone it might be equivalent to giving it up.

This difficulty was removed in a manner which wore the aspect of a divine intervention, yet which is after all explicable enough. Louis, who had just made so imperious a declaration at the Hague, opened the European war in the same month, but opened it not by an attack on the Dutch but by pouring his armies across the German frontier. Though it was in his power by a single well-aimed stroke to frustrate all the designs of William, he not only did not do so, but involved himself so deeply in another war as to lose the power of acting against William. The sequel no doubt proved this step to be an irreparable blunder. But, as our narrative has shown, a

war with the Empire, and not a war with the Dutch, was the goal towards which Louis had been steadily travelling ever since the Peace of Nimeguen. This had long occupied his mind, and had been practically commenced by the Reunions and by the seizure of Strasburg. From this mighty results were to be expected, nothing less than an unbounded ascendancy of France in Central Europe; this too would not brook much delay, but must peremptorily be taken in hand before the Germanic Powers should have settled accounts with the Turk. This war too was in a ripe state of preparation, all the preliminary steps had been taken, the pretexts chosen, the legal case presented to Europe, and diplomacy was now on the point of making way for strategy. There was not only the pretension of the Duke of Orleans to a share in the succession of the Palatinate but a really important dispute about the election to the archbishopric of Cologne, a dispute so important that Louis could hardly have refrained from urging it by arms without tacitly abandoning the attitude which he had now maintained for ten years towards Germany. At that moment and from his point of view this German question could not but seem to him immeasurably larger than the question between William and James. He was indeed alive to the dangerous possibility that lay in that question, but such an unheard of event as the dethronement of an English king by a foreign invader could scarcely seem more than a possibility. In the circumstances it is almost surprising to observe not how insensible but how keenly alive to the danger Louis showed himself. He committed no oversight. He sent Bonrepaux to England in this very month of September to offer an alliance of mutual defence against the Germans and the Dutch. A little later he

offered to abandon the siege of Philippsburg, which was formed, and to throw his whole force upon Holland. Actually he declared war upon the Dutch Republic in the month of November.

The fault lay with James rather than with Louis. James came to the throne with a character for decision and firmness which gave the impression that at least he knew his own mind. He seems indeed to have persuaded himself that his brother had owed his trials and his father his ruin to their facility in making concessions. Accordingly he adopted a system of obstinacy. But behind the resolute pose which was so new in the Stuart family was concealed the same want of grasp, the same helplessness, that had marked Charles I. The indistinctness of view, which had already led him to confuse adhesion to Popery with adhesion to France, led him now at the critical moment to embarrass himself between two irreconcilable courses of action. His brother had known how to avail himself at need of France against his people or of his people against France. James tried to obtain the aid of both at once, and found himself accordingly in his extremity left without aid. He who had yielded so much to Louis, was now eager to prove himself a true English King. He took offence at D'Avaux's note, which seemed to represent him as depending on French protection, he rejected the proposal brought by Bonrepaux. He was most unseasonably bent upon proving that no secret understanding existed between himself and Louis, when matters had already gone so far that only French aid energetically given could save him. The result was that both his subjects and the Dutch acted with the energy of despair, as though they had to do with a conspiracy of the two kings, and meanwhile there was no conspiracy

but only a kind of general agreement, the habitual sympathy of relatives.

We arrive at the memorable occurrence which is commonly described as the Revolution, that is, the sailing of the Dutch fleet from Helvoetsluys at the beginning of November, its arrival in Torbay, the formation of the association at Exeter, the king's refusal to call a Parliament, his arrival in his army at Salisbury on November 19th, his retreat towards the capital, the defection of Churchill and Grafton, the universal insurrection, the decision of James to summon a Parliament for January 15th, the sending of Commissioners to negotiate with William at Hungerford about the conditions under which the new Parliament shall meet, the despair of James and his determination to take refuge, with the Queen and the Prince of Wales, in France, the flight of the Queen and Prince on December 9th, the flight of the king on December 10th, his detention and second flight, his arrival in France on Christmas-day.

This well-known story is not to be narrated again here; it comes before us only that we may consider it from the international point of view.

It is the close of that adventure into which Charles II led the House of Stuart when in 1669 he made the proposals which were embodied a year later in the Treaty of Dover. As was remarked above, the original idea of Charles was even wilder than that which James attempted with such disastrous results to carry into effect, but it was substantially the same. And between 1669 and 1688 this idea never ceased to occupy the minds of English politicians.

When we look at it from the constitutional point of view, we call it Popery and arbitrary power, and perhaps

attribute it to a certain incurable hatred of liberty which came to these kings with their Stuart blood. Perhaps in reality their views were somewhat more defensive, somewhat less aggressive, than this theory assumes. If they clutched at a military force and a dispensing power, this was perhaps rather from the extreme difficulty of retaining any power at all than from a desire for unlimited power. However that may be, the constitutional point of view only reveals to us half the phenomenon. The other half of it, equally observable at the commencement in 1669 and at the catastrophe in 1688, is the steadfast gravitation of both these kings towards France. And this bias is evidently a family feeling, which comes to them from their mother, and which carries with it an inclination to their mother's religion.

But when we survey the whole period we see that the bias towards France was one thing under Charles and quite another under James.

Charles in 1669 found that by the disasters of the Dutch war, followed by the fall of Clarendon, his monarchy had been undermined. He felt compelled by necessity to devise something new. He formed a grandiose Macchiavellian scheme, which however included one prodigious miscalculation. Now for the first time the Stuart Monarchy began to lean, as we find it still leaning in 1688, upon Louis XIV. But in 1669 Louis XIV was still comparatively at his commencements. His ascendancy in Europe was not yet universally felt; his peculiar religious policy was not yet developed; the tradition of the alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin was still recent. Charles was a keen politician, and as little troubled by principles, whether moral or religious, as his grandfather Henry IV. If he had a sincere preference for Catholicism

he had no intention of being a martyr to it; rather probably he expected to save his throne as Henry IV had done, by a great recantation. But he soon became aware of his error; the recantation is dropped; only a family alliance with France remains; and even this, when once the immediate object of crushing the republican government in the United Provinces has been attained, is readily abandoned or regarded only as a second string to the bow. If he falls back upon it in the last period of his reign, this is but an expedient of despair.

James on the other hand is the very reverse of a politician. The course he takes on his accession is not in any sense a scheme adapted to the actual condition of the country or of Europe. It is but the old scheme, though the aspect of Europe has by this time entirely changed.

In his view there is indeed one grain of common sense. He means to take advantage of the grand victory which has been won for his cause by the defeat of the Exclusion Bill. Parliament has pronounced decidedly for the hereditary principle. A Papist has been allowed to mount the throne, and without limitations imposed on his power. If a Papist may be king, surely inferior offices ought to be tenable by Papists, surely the king's religion ought to be tolerated, the king's worship ought not to remain illegal. And the courage with which the king confessed his faith before men, the frankness with which he took in hand to give it a position in the country, commanded respect. Many thinkers and philosophers all over Europe favoured him so far. He was applauded by Bayle and by William Penn.

But what had all this to do with adherence to the side of France? James blended together two things wholly distinct, to all appearance simply from habit and because

fifteen years earlier his brother had devised a plan for introducing Popery by the aid of France. His mind, we must suppose, had no penetration or grasp. It takes no hold of the stupendous things which the Continent now presented to it.

The alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin had now receded into a very dim distance. Louis XIV had now grown, chiefly by the sufferance of England, into a potentate similar to Charles V or Philip II. He seemed about to subdue with one hand the German Empire, in which the Treaty of Westphalia had given him a commanding position, and with the other the Spanish Monarchy, to which he had acquired a pretension by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. He had already given a deadly blow to the Dutch Republic, which would probably sink into complete dependence upon him as soon as the Spanish Low Countries should be swallowed up.

It was a good deal for James to ask the English people to repeal the Test Act and give toleration to the Catholic worship. But why ask them at the same time to favour, or at least not to oppose, these advances of Louis to universal monarchy? The first appeal was based upon the abstract principle of religious toleration. James professed to find all forcing of conscience manifestly and shockingly unchristian. He professed also to have no hostile designs against Protestantism. But was France a tolerant Power? The Dragonnades were taking place at this very moment, so that the ascendancy of France now appeared to involve the destruction of Protestantism on the Continent, and yet James calmly inculcates toleration as a Christian duty upon the English people and at the same time connives, and forces them to connive, at the establishment of French ascendancy abroad.

‘But he was a fanatic, and could think of but a single thing, the advancement of his religion.’ Even this statement does not adequately describe his policy, or want of policy. It was not a single thing that he thought of, but two opposite things which he thought of as one. For it must be repeated that France was at this very moment breaking up the unity of the Catholic faith, and introducing a Gallican schism. This fact was forced upon the notice of James by the bearing of the Pope himself, who, so far from rejoicing in the victory of the Church in France, as the Popes of the Counter-reformation would have done, stood before Europe in the attitude of a martyr, pointing to Louis as to the great modern tyrant of the Church and exclaiming, ‘Plead thou my cause, O God.’ If James could not see this he must at least have been aware that Innocent included *him* in the distrust and disapprobation with which he regarded Louis.

Under Charles the Stuart policy had had two factors, Popery and concert with France, but the latter in larger quantity; indeed the former had speedily disappeared. Under James Popery was made prominent again, but it was still blended with the French concert, and the mixture was this time infinitely more mischievous and monstrous. Strictly speaking, it was the French concert, and not Popery, that caused the fall of James. In one word had he but sided with the Pope, he would not have fallen, at least when and as he did. For the side of the Pope was at that crisis the side of William and the Great Elector and the Emperor and the King of Spain. It was the part of James, precisely as a Catholic King of England asserting the right of English Catholics to toleration,—it was his part to protest energetically against the Revocation and also against the treatment of the Pope, it was his part

to guarantee the Truce of Regensburg, and to prevent Louis by resolute intervention from invading Germany. In all this he might have counted on the enthusiastic support of Parliament. At the same time he would have rendered himself necessary to the leaders of the European Coalition, including William. Holding this position in Europe, a position at once truly English, and strictly Catholic, nay even Popish, he would on the one side not have been deserted by his people, so tired of revolutions, on the other side he would not have been attacked by William nor by a Dutch fleet and army.

But thus to disentangle two things which had so long been entwined together demanded a clear understanding, a firm will, even an elevated character. A person so ordinary as James alike in understanding, will and character, did not even perceive the inconsistency of sympathising at the same time with William Penn and with the author of the Dragonnades, with the Pope and the modern Philip the Fair who was trampling on the Pope, with the Emperor who was driving back the Turk and the king who was so mischievously playing into the hands of the Turk. And so he was left with scarcely a friend in the world but Louis XIV. At home the Tory Danby signed his name by the side of the names Russell and Sidney to the invitation to William: abroad Catholic and Protestant Powers agreed in desiring his fall.

This is the one point in the Revolution of 1688 which concerns us here. When we see that James was ruined mainly by his concert with Louis we perceive on the one side the unity of the whole movement from 1669 to 1688, on the other we understand why the Revolution led, as a matter of course, to a long war between England and France.

The inclination to Popery and the inclination to France both in Charles and James were but different aspects of the same family feeling, which was inbred in the sons of Henrietta Maria and the grandsons of Henry IV. And so the whole second Revolution of England may be traced to the French marriage of Charles I, and may be regarded as the resistance to a revival of dynastic policy. Alike in 1672 and in 1688 the cause of discord is fundamentally this, that the people call for a Protestant and an Anti-Gallican policy, while the king feels himself drawn by family ties to the House of Bourbon. This fact at the same time explains what followed the change of government. There is in one respect a sharp contrast between the first and the second English Revolution. In the first Revolution nothing is more remarkable—we have called attention to the fact above—than its insularity. It is indeed full of the interaction of the insular kingdoms, it is mainly a settlement of the relations of England to Scotland and Ireland. But foreign States, especially France, have on the whole remarkably little influence upon it and receive little influence from it. England has no share in the Westphalian settlement; on the other hand neither France nor any other Power contributes much to bring about the Restoration. Just the contrary in the second Revolution. From first to last this is mainly a disturbance in the foreign relations of England. It takes its rise in a treaty with France, the Treaty of Dover. It first comes to light in a war with the United Provinces. In the long parliamentary struggle which follows foreign relations are the main topic, and foreign states through their Ambassadors marshal votes against each other in the House of Commons. At last the knot is cut by a foreign prince, who crosses the Channel with a

foreign fleet, lands an army in great part foreign upon the English coast, and exhibits on his flag the words *Pro libero Parlamento et Protestante Religione*, and underneath the Orange motto, *Je maintiendrai*.

As a foreign prince heads one party in the contest, we should be prepared to find another foreign prince heading the other. For in the question at issue even William was not so decidedly the head of one party as Louis XIV was head of the other. James had fallen, as we saw, not so much in the cause of religion as in the cause of Louis XIV. Accordingly when all hope for the present is lost he does not take refuge with Dundee in Scotland or with Tyrconnel in Ireland, but he goes after wife and child to France, as to his home.

As Louis XIV had taken a leading part through his secret influence in the parliamentary struggle of Charles II's time, because the struggle in England was but a part of the European struggle, so for the same reason he must take part in the English Revolution which broke out in 1688. It is Louis who has been attacked by William in England; Louis therefore must resist him in England. And thus a war of England and France sprang by inevitable necessity out of the Revolution.

That is, it seemed necessary at the time, though the sequel may be thought to show that Louis would have provided better for his own interests if he had abstained from intervening in the English question. He had his hands already more than full on the Continent. It would have been for him a great point gained if England would but remain neutral. And he might conceivably have enjoyed that good fortune if he had not himself forced England to join the European Coalition. For the convulsion of the change of government would paralyse

England at least for a while. A reaction visibly set in when such questionable steps were taken as the dethroning of a king and the making of another king by the Act of Convention. It was most doubtful whether William could maintain himself, and so long as he had to struggle with disaffection here, he and his military force were subtracted from the total of force against which Louis had to contend abroad. He would wish no doubt to bring his new subjects to the help of his old countrymen; but so long as France afforded no pretext for war, would he not endanger his precarious throne by making the suggestion? Would not the party of reaction, the clerical party and high Tories, already full of misgiving at what had been done, make an unnecessary and uncalled for war with France a reason for totally deserting his cause?

But this is a retrospective view. At the point of view where Louis stood at the end of the year 1688 no such artful forbearance could seem possible to him.

In the first place he had pledged himself to intervene by his declaration of September. Pledges of this sort Louis was the last person to leave unredeemed. He belonged in general to an active, adventurous, undertaking school of politicians. He had of late carried this system to such a length that he had issued a separate defiance to almost every Power in Europe, to the Emperor, to the Germanic Body, to Sweden, not to speak of the Spanish Monarchy and the United Provinces, which had long since felt the full weight of his pride. He had defied the whole Catholic world by his treatment of the Pope, and then the whole Protestant world by the Dragonnade and the Revocation. Why should he make a single exception in favour of England?

Mazarin indeed had had a wholesome fear of England,

but the English army of Mazarin's day had been dissolved, and Louis himself had hitherto not found it so difficult to deal with England. It was, like Poland, torn by factions, and his experience taught that a little money judiciously distributed between the Government and the Opposition effectually disabled it for the purpose of foreign policy. There was as yet no reason to think that this disease was likely to be healed. On the contrary faction was now wilder than ever in the three kingdoms. Who could for a moment believe that the enterprise of William, so unprecedented, could succeed at least within any moderate period? Little therefore would be risked by intervening openly in favour of James. He was bound to it in honour, and to honour was added knightly compassion when a distressed queen carrying a disinherited prince appeared before his throne.

He had been at war with England before, in 1667, and had thought little of it. He had no suspicion that he was now drawing France into a series of mighty duels with her old rival, which would cover much more than a century. On the contrary he contemplated an easy, inexpensive war. For was not William already surrounded by enemies? France had but to furnish officers and a little money, as formerly in Portugal; the rank and file would be furnished by Ireland and by the clerical party in England. Moreover William could not do without a Parliament, and a Parliament would take French money.

True, these calculations were quite uncertain. It was possible no doubt that William might carry everything before him, as indeed for the moment he appeared to do. Louis might see his most resolute enemy, an experienced statesman and general, at the head of one of the greatest

states. But in that case too intervention would be politic, or rather prompt and decisive intervention would be urgently necessary. For everything ought to be hazarded in order to avert the danger of seeing English fleets and armies put at the service of the Coalition, which already included most of the Continental Powers. It could already be seen that everything depended on the course which England might take in the European question, and thus the whole fortune of Louis was staked upon the success or failure of the English Revolution.

These calculations were plausible, and such as were certain, when we consider the character of Louis XIV's government, to prevail. Nevertheless they were not just, and at the same time they were so important that they altered the whole course of European history and had a main share in determining the international character of the eighteenth century.

In one word this French intervention, intended to overthrow the Revolution, proved to be the one thing which was capable of consolidating it, and at the same time it had the effect of creating a new rivalry of England and France such as had not existed for centuries, and which was henceforth for a long time the dominant fact of international politics.

To bring England into the field against Louis was no doubt an object which from the outset had lain much nearer the heart of William than to set the English crown on his own head. Yet he had not the slightest chance of attaining this object by influence or persuasion. Had he hinted at such a thing the reaction against him would speedily have become overwhelming. The utmost he could by himself accomplish was to prevent England from joining, as under James it might have done, the side of

France. This possibility no doubt was extinguished once for all by the Revolution. But there was in England so much insular indifference, and so much natural ill-humour against William himself, there was so much to do at home in a time of revolution, that neutrality in the European struggle might seem the course England would now be most likely to adopt. A very serious probability, since in that case the European cause would simply have lost by the effect of the Revolution, at least for a long time, its ablest champion, William himself, now detained in England!

This difficulty was removed in the most obliging and effectual manner by Louis himself. Whether England would, or would not, come to the rescue of Europe, was a question which she was never called upon to decide or even to discuss. No choice was allowed her, unless she was prepared to cancel all that she had done after full deliberation, at the dictation of Louis XIV. For he did not think twice, as Mazarin had done in the first Revolution. Without hesitation he adopted the cause of James, equipped him for Ireland, and took an active share in arranging the dangerous civil war which now began.

The question was raised above what cause or causes may have checked the progress of French ascendancy, which between 1678 and 1684 had been so irresistible, and yet thirteen years later at the Peace of Ryswick appeared plainly to be an ebbing tide. Those causes begin now to appear, and we can perceive that, after James II himself, scarcely any ruler was ever more misguided than Louis XIV at the same period, while he took the advice of Louvois. The old statesmanship of the age of the Cardinals has fallen out of use at the very time when the harvest of their vast ideas falls to be reaped. Louis has

defied almost all states at once and both religions, and now at the crisis of his career, when in September 1688 he strikes the decisive blow, we can perceive signs of conscious embarrassment. He doubts whether after all he is really a match for all Europe at once! He has been led too far! He is no Richelieu, no Napoleon, and his great adviser, Louvois, is a mere military specialist.

He began a war which lasted nine years, and which almost ruined France. It is the beginning of the decline of the House of Bourbon. Probably he entered upon it in the hope of gaining his objects, both in Germany and afterwards in England, immediately and in a single campaign. He had just this chance. If he should meet with steady resistance, he must fail in the end, and his failure would be disastrous. But there was a possibility that his opponents would give way at once.

We see Europe assuming a new shape, but a shape it was to retain for a very long time. The King of Spain has altogether lost his preeminence, and has given place to the King of France, as Saturn to Jove. On the other hand the commencement of European war on a grand scale in 1688 and 1689 is remarkably similar to the commencement of the great revolutionary war in 1792 and 1793. In both cases France overruns the ecclesiastical territory on the Rhine and takes Mainz; it also advances into the Catholic Low Countries; a little later it is found also at war with England.

France is now at the height of military efficiency and reputation. For some time to come she will outshine her opponents and win victories. But this will avail her nothing unless she can speedily bring the war to an end. For her resources are overstrained, and time is against her.

And first in Germany the indications are unfavourable for France; Louis has let his opportunity slip. Forty years have passed since the Peace of Westphalia, and a still longer time since Germany was ruined and depopulated in the Thirty Years' War. As late as 1681, when Louis seized Strasburg, she had shown little power of resistance, and in 1683 the Turk had encamped before Vienna. But now there was a new Germany! She had overthrown the Turk, and won for herself and for Christendom the great victory of the age. Belgrade was captured at this very moment. Moreover the Hohenzollern was now reconciled to the Habsburg, and that internal discord which a few years earlier had paralysed her, as it paralysed her again in the age of the French Revolution, was appeased for the time.

Accordingly when the army of Louis, beginning with the capture of Philippsburg, proceeded to overrun the Palatinate, to occupy Heidelberg and Mannheim, and then, entering the ecclesiastical region, seized Mainz, Bonn and other towns, what followed? The Germans were in time to save Coblenze and Cologne, but the loss of so many important positions was a blow which a few years earlier might have inclined them to submission. Now however they exerted themselves most successfully. The Elector of Brandenburg retook Bonn with Rheinbergen and Kaiserswerth, and the Duke of Lorraine formed the siege of Mayence, and captured it with a French garrison of more than 10,000 men. It began at once to appear that the French were not prepared for resistance of this kind. The devastation of the Palatinate was a confession of weakness in the characteristic manner of Louvois. How could France find troops enough to hold so many positions, especially if she was to have a war with England too? If

she could not hold them, she could destroy them, and so Worms, Spiers, Mannheim, Heidelberg, with countless villages were reduced to ruins.

But would England resist? Here at least Louis might hope for an immediate and overwhelming success. For the country was convulsed with Revolution; it might seem impossible that it should long acquiesce in the rule of a Dutch conqueror. Ireland was already in adhesion to James, who had there an army so numerous that Schomberg did not venture in 1689 to risk a battle. An embittered struggle of Whigs and Tories took place in the Convention Parliament, so that William was obliged to dissolve it suddenly in 1690. We are to bear in mind that England was in those days so far from being mistress of the sea that she was hardly considered equal as a naval Power to France, which had recently been raised by Colbert to the highest point of naval efficiency, and which had now a most ambitious Minister of naval affairs in Colbert's son Seignelai.

Perhaps in the whole long period we have reviewed there has been no moment, not even that of the Armada, so critical for England as the summer of 1690. William went to Ireland early in June. Shortly afterwards the Battle of Beachy Head was fought. It may be regarded as the commencement of the long series of naval actions which ended at Trafalgar. But it was a victory for France. About the same time Luxemburg defeated Prince Waldeck, commander of the Dutch in William's absence, at Fleurus. What made these disasters so portentous was the fact that the new Government had taken no root in England, and that an overwhelming reaction was but too probable. Thus writes Queen Mary, 'I believe never any person was left in greater straits of all

kinds....I never wanted those who put me perpetually in fear, Lord President himself (Danby, now Caermarthen) once asking me the question the king had put to me before he went, what I would do in case of any rising or disturbance in the City, *which they both thought likely to happen....*I had prepared myself for the worst, and when the king went believed it was likely we should never meet more....I knew there was nothing for me to trust to, humanly speaking, when the king was gone. And certainly if any rising had happened upon the appearing of the French fleet, or had they landed after ours was beaten, I had been in a very bad condition.' In this situation we have only to suppose one more disaster, a defeat of William in Ireland, or his defeat and death, and a strange vista opens!

France might thus have obtained, on the side of England at least, that rapid success which, as we have seen, was necessary to her. James might have been restored, and England might have made a humiliating peace. At the same time the fall of William might have caused a revolution in the United Provinces, which might have obliged them too to make a humiliating peace.

At this moment William struck, with a directness and rapidity unusual in the military operations of that age, a stroke which, though by no means decisive of the whole war, was decisive of one part of it and restored his cause in public estimation. Landing in Ireland on June 14th, he advanced straight upon Dublin with an army of perhaps 36,000 men. James had about 23,000 men, and wished to avoid a battle. But a somewhat confused battle was fought at the passing of the Boyne, after which the Irish army was enclosed between two divisions of the English. It was impossible to maintain Dublin. James

abandoned his whole Irish enterprise, and made his way back to France. In Ireland, where shortly before the Protestant cause had so desperately maintained itself at Derry and Enniskillen, such a transformation took place that the Catholic cause was now in like manner shut up in Limerick. Little over a fortnight passed between the landing of William and the embarkation of James.

It does not appear that James fled in despair. That was the moment of the battle of Fleurus and the battle of Beachy Head. For his cause he must have been full of hope. But he wanted to be king of England, not king of Ireland, and had perhaps become dimly aware that the more his cause prospered among the native Irish population, the more his English subjects would be alienated from him.

Meanwhile this short campaign strikingly showed how little insular, how truly European, was the struggle for which our islands then furnished an arena. The Battle of the Boyne can scarcely be called an English battle. Not only did about half of the rank and file in William's army consist of foreigners, Dutchmen, Danes, French refugees, but the principal officers too were foreign. After William himself the eye rests upon Marshal Schomberg and his son Meinhard Schomberg, who executed the most important military operation; beyond these we see Count Solm, Prince Ferdinand Wilhelm of Würtemberg, and several other foreigners. On the side of James too the best troops were the French corps under Count Lauzun.

It would perhaps have been well for Louis if the Battle of the Boyne had not been half-hidden from his view by his victories of Fleurus and Beachy Head. His triumphs were a fatal will-o'-the-wisp to him. They reconciled him to a war which, whether waged successfully or

unsuccessfully, was a burden far too heavy for France to support. Mere victories were of little use to her, she needed speedy and overwhelming victories, which might give her peace. Such victories did not arrive, but for a long time they seemed about to arrive, and in the meanwhile Louis accustomed himself to a position in Europe which he had never occupied in his early prosperous days and could not maintain long without exhausting France. We have seen how his ascendancy had grown up since 1668 entirely through the connivance or neutrality of England. Now as the years passed and William did not fall, he found himself contending against the old Coalition of the last war reinforced by England.

England had not yet begun to defeat him in the field, but the mere fact that she was against him made his task hopeless. So long as England had been neutral he could throw all his force upon his northern and eastern frontier, and here he had the superiority. But now he had to employ his force on both sides at once, to ride the Channel with his fleets and to feed the Irish rebellion with troops, officers, artillery, and subsidies. So much even while he had the upper hand against England. The case would be much worse should the English naval power revive as in the days of Blake and Monk. In that case the long coast-line of France would be exposed to attack, and a great proportion of her force must be withdrawn from the Rhine and Meuse in order to guard it.

But the will-o'-the-wisp long danced before him. In 1692 it seemed almost as likely as in 1690 that William's throne would fall before a direct stroke. William's party was breaking up; the Princess Anne and her Marlborough were deserting him. He was himself absent in the Low Countries, whither the English troops were to follow him.

An army of 30,000 men under Bellefonds, convoyed over by a fleet under Tourville, would succeed as certainly as half that number of men had succeeded under William four years before. It was the frivolous fashion of the English to try experiments in government, but it had been shown in 1660 that they returned in the end to their natural king. The enterprise however did not end according to these expectations. It resulted not in a new English Restoration, but in the Battle of La Hogue.

This battle has often been called great; it has been compared to Lepanto. It was rather perhaps significant. In itself it was scarcely a more decisive defeat for the French than that of Beachy Head had been for the English. Nevertheless it proved to be a turning-point in naval history. The great maritime rivalry of France and England was now beginning. At the outset the French were the superior naval Power. They had defeated the English in the Channel, landed troops freely in Ireland; it would even seem that they ought to have prevented William from landing in Ireland in 1690. In the long period which lies behind us we have not met with a naval victory of England over France. Yet such victories recurred almost uniformly in the frequent wars of the eighteenth century. The series begins at La Hogue, and though no decided naval predominance of England can yet be spoken of, on the other hand the naval superiority of France is at an end from this time.

In order to estimate the disaster which France suffered at La Hogue we must make a remark which applies to the whole war. She lost much more by her defeats than she gained by her victories. She was the ascendant, assailant Power. Her opponents, who were fighting for life and independence, were prepared for many defeats

from a Power far superior to any of them in military efficiency and resource. To them each defeat was as a lesson which they might profit by. To Louis on the other hand anything short of a complete victory was as a loss, and a great defeat was a loss almost irreparable. Half the work of Colbert was thrown away at La Hogue; and for what purpose? For the satisfaction of restoring James II to the throne of England.

Louis suffers no such defeat by land. Luxemburg defeats William more than once in the Low Countries. In campaign after campaign France has the advantage, although she stands alone against almost all Europe. But Louis had not gone to war in order to show, while his people bled to death, that he was a match for all Europe. His object had been to convert the Truce into a Peace, and to assert his supremacy within the Empire so as utterly to eclipse the House of Habsburg. But as the war advances we can perceive that his object becomes much more modest. Long before the Peace of Ryswick he recognised that he had failed. The last campaigns are in reality defensive. He fights on only in order to secure Strasburg and Luxemburg. He has quite ceased to be the tyrant of Europe. English fleets bombard his seaports. The Duke of Savoy invades France from the south. He maintains indeed a certain superiority up to the time when the negotiations begin at Ryswick. But how? He purchased the defection of Savoy from the Coalition by yielding Casale and Pinerolo, that is, by abandoning the ascendancy in Italy which he had been at such pains to establish.

This measure, which enabled him to transfer his Italian army to the Low Countries, was indeed decisive. It brought on the Treaty of Ryswick. But by this treaty

he did not retain Strasburg and Luxemburg, but only Strasburg, and at the same time he yielded the whole point in debate between himself and England by undertaking not to aid any revolutionary movements in England.

When for liberty or independence a nation has waged for nine years an exhausting war, and then lays down its arms, impoverished perhaps and exhausted, but free, such a nation will deem itself successful. The French nation was now indeed exhausted; the economical mischief was done for which no remedy could ever be found while the House of Bourbon reigned. But for this great effort what had France to show? Simply this, that she had lost Casale, Pinerolo and Luxemburg, and that she saw England which had been an obsequious ally, henceforth a jealous rival, more than a match for her by sea.

Such was the disaster of Louis XIV's reign in the age of Louvois. The principal author of it disappeared in 1691, and we begin to perceive from this time among French politicians some at least who are touched with a profound misgiving. The splendour is fading from the reign, though not yet so manifestly that all the world can see it. Europe however breathes again. That universal catastrophe which ten years before seemed inevitable is no longer dreaded. In 1697 Europe has forgotten the feelings that tormented her in 1687.

These summary remarks on the great war have been made in order to complete our view of what has been called here the second English Revolution. For as that Revolution begins not with William's expedition in 1688 but with the Treaty of Dover in 1670, so it ends not with the flight of James in 1688 but with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. At least the struggle of twenty-

eight years between those two dates is essentially one and the same. From first to last the enemy of the English people is not so much their king as the French king, and the evil they apprehend is rather dependence on France than the growth of the prerogative or of Popery at home. In the last nine years this fact is patent. England wages war by sea and land against France; it is by French ships and troops and money that James hopes to be restored; and his restoration would have involved the dependence of England on France. But what thus became manifest in 1689 was equally the case earlier, between 1669 and 1689. It was only because they were backed by Louis that either Charles II or James II had been in the least degree formidable, and Louis, it is needless to say, backed them for his own ends.

As the attack on English liberties came really from France, so the vindication of them reacted on France, and that in the most decisive manner. We saw that it was purely through the dependence of the English Government on France that Louis became the tyrant of Europe. But for this there would have been no War of Holland, no triumphant Treaty of Nimeguen, no Reunions or seizure of Strasburg; nay more, there would have been no Dragonnades and no Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is naturally therefore not less true that the cessation of this dependence by the accession of William and Mary saved Europe not less directly than it saved England. It involved the fall of the ascendancy of Louis along with the fall of James II.

The idea of a Balance of Power was already an old English tradition. It had been boasted of Henry VIII that he held the balance between Charles V and Francis I. William now, as king of England, in a still more

effectual manner restored the European balance. Louis, attacked now on both sides at once, found his offensive speedily dwindle to a defensive; and even his defensive ruined France. He had recklessly increased the number of his enemies before 1688; he had lost the support of Sweden and of the Great Elector. But he committed his irreparable blunder when at the beginning of 1689 he actually forced England to take the field against him. From this time it was certain that, if he did not speedily crush the English Revolution, if it could but maintain itself against him, then there was an end of his ascendancy in Europe. He was henceforth overmatched.

In international history the second English Revolution is thus infinitely more important than the first. It was an event which decided the whole subsequent course of European history, and was speedily perceived to have done so. It is in this respect the unique event of the history of England. Both before and since, in Elizabeth's time and in Pitt's time, the immovable stability of England has made her serve as a breakwater to some European deluge, in the former case the Counter-reformation, in the latter the French Revolution. In this case it was not her stability but her mobility that had a decisive effect. In this one instance only the disturbance of Europe, instead of being rejected from our shores, actually overflowed into the British islands and overturned the British throne, until the decisive battle of European civilisation was fought under the leadership of Dutch, French and German warriors by an Irish river.

CHAPTER II.

THE WORK OF WILLIAM III.

To the growth of British Policy, as it is considered in this book, three persons mainly contributed, Elizabeth, Oliver, and William III.

We have found Elizabeth, not so much by her action as by abstinence from action, maintained with invincible patience and courage through a long reign, drawing England out of foreign entanglements and laying a deep foundation for the great insular and maritime state.

We have found Cromwell with restless energy and enterprise creating a state which for the moment was the most powerful in the world.

We found this state anticipating in several respects the British Empire of more recent times. But we found it necessarily ephemeral, as resting on a basis strong indeed for the moment, but, as it were, accidental, the army which had been created only for the needs of a revolutionary time.

We have now contemplated another most imposing developement, represented by a third great person.

The work of King William III in the world was on a vast scale. It is seldom contemplated as a whole, because

it embraces many countries at once, while history has the habit of considering each country separately. Here we are to consider his place in British Policy, but he has a place not less eminent in European and in Dutch policy than in British, and in justice to him we ought to mark this immense range of his activity before we concentrate our attention on that division of it which concerns us most.

He was called upon in earliest manhood to play the great part which was hereditary in his house. But he had to deal with a crisis more extreme than had tried any of his predecessors except William the Silent. The enemy, France, was a Power much greater and more energetic than Spain had been in the days of his grandfather Frederick Henry or his great-uncle Maurice. And he had to restore a spirit and an organisation which had fallen into decay during the Stadtholderless time. If we suppose that William had died at the end of his first or Dutch period, about 1678, how would he appear in history? It would be said of him that in a life of less than thirty years he had earned for himself a place among great national deliverers, and the United Provinces would reverence him as their great restorer and second founder.

In the latter part of his life he appeared as the great European statesman of his age. A great Alliance had to be founded and held together. Never had Europe seen such a great and complicated Coalition. It had to be held together in spite of many failures through nine years of war, and then four years after the Peace it had to be reconstituted and made ready for a second trial more tremendous even than the first. All this was done, and the great League went through the second ordeal with triumph. The work of William ended just when this

second struggle began, but the vast preparation for it was made by him. Marlborough wielded the weapon which William had forged, or we may say that he lived in a house which William had built. It is true that Europe has since seen coalitions still greater and more victorious, but when we compare the resistance of Europe to Louis XIV with that which was offered to the French Revolution and Napoleon we are struck by this difference, that in the later and larger struggle there is no person on the side of Europe answering to William III, no presiding statesman to hold everything together. It is impossible to find a greater achievement in international statesmanship than this of William's.

He who had ruled and saved his country in youth rules, in a sense, and saves Europe in middle age. Two such achievements in a short life! But we mention them only to dismiss them. We are concerned here with quite another aspect of this short life, and with other achievements, namely, those which he performed in Britain.

His work here too falls naturally into two parts. We all know that he settled our constitution upon a permanent basis. But it is not only our constitution, it is also our policy, our definitive position among the states of the world, that we owe in the main to him.

Now that we have traced through so long a period the gradual growth of English policy we are in a condition to describe shortly the decisive modification introduced into it by the Revolution.

A kind of disease in the body politic had made it restless ever since 1669. Monarchy had been restored, nor was there any general inclination to repeat the experiment which under the name of a Commonwealth or Protectorate had given us in reality only a Military State. There was

however a general feeling that something was terribly wrong. The evil was perceived only in partial glimpses. At one time it appeared that the Monarch aimed at arbitrary power, at another time that he was secretly inclined to Popery, and always that he leaned too much on France. Our analysis has led us to regard these as so many symptoms of an evil which lay deeper, an evil which was by no means new. Monarchy could scarcely subsist without intermarriage with other monarchies, and it had long been known that such intermarriage might have immeasurable consequences. What strange results had flowed from the marriage of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon! And still more fatal results had been on the point of following from the marriage of Philip and Mary. Accordingly the redemption of England in the sixteenth century had been achieved by a sovereign who abstained from marriage. Owing to the fact that her reign was very long, this remedy had proved sufficient. But it did not remove the evil. In general kings and queens must marry; they would be likely to marry into other royal houses; it would be their interest to select the greatest houses; and so the danger would return which had been seen in its extreme form when the Queen regnant of England had wedded the King of Naples and Sicily, who in due time succeeded to half the thrones of Europe.

The danger did return when Charles I married Henrietta Maria, but it returned more gradually and in a form less easily recognisable. The result of this marriage was that in the next generation we had two kings in succession who felt not only as foreigners but as Frenchmen, that is, as members of a race markedly different, almost antipathetic, to our own, and at the same time prodigiously influential. Their ideas of government, morality, religion, were the

ideas of the French court of the time. They leaned on the French court, as it were, instinctively, and even when on their own principles they ought not to have done so. Moreover they themselves made marriages calculated to increase the evil. Both married Catholic princesses.

And yet the evil seemed inseparable from Monarchy, and that generation was convinced that it could not dispense with Monarchy.

By a marvellous combination of circumstances it happened that the same person who had been able to save the United Provinces, and who in later years was able to marshal all Europe against French ascendancy, possessed the remedy which alone could cure the disease which troubled Britain.

Everyone knows the details, how he was married to the heiress of James II, who was at the same time English on the mother's side and a staunch Protestant, how he was himself a Stuart on the mother's side and also a staunch Protestant, and how owing to these circumstances he was able to place himself and his wife in the seat of James II. The remedy was adapted with curious nicety to the need. As nearly as possible the strict monarchical principle was respected, but at the same time the Monarchy was purged in a great degree of its alien and unnational character. Mary might be called an Englishwoman, William was partly English, and was in any case not French. Meanwhile for the first time since Queen Elizabeth the people could look up to a Monarchy, which they could feel to be staunchly Protestant, while it represented at the same time the two chief forms of Protestantism known in Britain, Mary being Anglican, William Calvinist.

It was attempted to perpetuate the reform of the

Monarchy thus introduced by a Coronation Oath. Naturally, as James II had made it his object to repeal the Test Act, the nation answered him by extending the Test Act to the Crown. But in reality it was not enough to make the Monarchy Protestant; the problem was to make it national. And when we compare the period since the Revolution with the period before it we see that the problem has been to a respectable degree solved, but not by means of the Coronation Oath. We see that in the first place the queens of England since the Revolution have been invariably Protestant, whereas before it they were, almost as a matter of course, Catholic. In the second place we see that the sovereigns of England have never since the Revolution sought wives or husbands in the greatest royal Houses of Europe, but always in those of secondary rank and Germanic or Scandinavian blood. This new system was strikingly inaugurated in the next reign. Under Queen Anne English policy was more active on the Continent than almost at any time before or since. Anne was not indeed like Queen Elizabeth unmarried, but her marriage to a younger son of the House of Denmark had no political importance, and left British policy unaffected. Under the first two kings of the House of Hanover the Monarchy was no doubt once more felt to be in a certain degree alien. Still there is a broad distinction between the Hanoverian policy of George I and George II, which was at least disavowed, denied, and kept secret, and the foreign predilections, avowed and paraded, of the Stuarts.

So far we see royal marriage curing the disease which royal marriage had caused. What had been caused by the marriage of Charles I to Henrietta Maria was cured by the marriage, first of the Princess Mary to William II

of Orange, then of another Princess Mary to William III. When the storm of the Revolution had subsided and William had been succeeded by Anne, it might be said that the Restoration was consummated. The Monarchy was now completely reconciled to the nation. Its foreign taint was purged away. Without personal ability Anne enjoyed a prosperous reign, as being an Englishwoman and a Protestant. The Monarchy was now national, until in her last years the old difficulty threatened to return (and in a modified form it *did* return) owing to the death of her children.

So far in short we see William applying to English Monarchy precisely the needful remedy. But the Revolution did not simply set things right. It modified in a most important manner, and in a manner which we cannot without qualification call beneficial, the whole position of England in the world.

This modification appeared at once when it was perceived that the Revolution had drawn us into a great European war. As it was a reaction against a foreign influence, the Revolution might perhaps have seemed likely to make us more insular and more indifferent to continental affairs than ever. It had precisely the contrary effect. It gave us a policy which was indeed Protestant and national, but at the same time far more entangled in foreign alliances and continental affairs, and therefore far more warlike, than the policy of the Stuarts. This modification might have seemed at first to be only temporary, but in fact it did not disappear at the Peace of Ryswick. When the new Government was securely established, England did not become peaceful and insular again. She entered upon a period of great wars, which lasted through and beyond the eighteenth century, and

during all this long period she was more closely connected than she had been before with the Continent.

We have seen Elizabeth extremely averse to intervention, James I peaceful, Charles I, after the short age of Buckingham, peaceful also. We found the Commonwealth and the Protectorate more warlike. Charles II appeared to have enterprising views, partially borrowed from the Protector; but we found him unable in the long run to carry them into effect. We have seen James II expressing the coldest and most complete indifference to the dangers which threatened the Continent in his time. England, he thinks, will run no risk, England will only profit by the ruin of the Dutch. The Revolution introduces a wholly new way of thinking. Henceforth intervention is neither disapproved as rash and ambitious nor approved as a spirited policy, but simply adopted under pressure of compulsion. It is not now a matter of choice but of necessity. England in self-defence makes common cause with the Continental Powers that are united in resistance to France. The struggle is severe and lasts several years. When it is over England has adapted herself, as never before, to a condition of war. And then new circumstances arise which make a second war and a second European Coalition necessary. In this way we drift into a new international system, and the eighteenth century is for England a century of great wars.

This is one of the greatest transitions, and it is the final transition discussed in this book. William may be said to have steered us through it, since he not only conducted the first of our great wars, but also made all the arrangements and preparations for the second. But a transition so irrevocable must evidently have been decided by very large causes, of which William could be

little more than the instrument. We ought now to be able to indicate these causes. In fact the connexion between the Revolution and the first great war has been indicated already. But it gradually appeared that the immense developement of France had altered permanently her relation to England.

We have traced that developement in outline. We have seen her struggling in Richelieu's time against the two allied branches of the House of Habsburg, how that struggle, originally defensive, became offensive, and ended first in a victory over the Austrian Branch in the Peace of Westphalia, then in a still more decisive victory over the Spanish Branch in the Peace of the Pyrenees. Both of these victories opened for France an immeasurable prospect. The Bourbon might wrest from the Austrian Habsburg the Empire, and he might supplant the Spanish Habsburg on the throne of Spain. But the opportunity must be patiently awaited. The first two wars of Louis, that of Devolution and that of Holland, are but preludes with which he solaces the long years of expectation. His harvest-time begins later. In the year 1688 he strikes for the Empire; again at the end of the century he takes possession for his House of the Spanish Monarchy.

After so many preliminary flourishes, after such a brilliant overture, the piece proves disappointing. In both these grand enterprises he meets with much failure. Perhaps in the war of 1688 his failure was really more complete, though he won so many victories, than in the war which witnessed the defeats of Blenheim, Turin, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. We have already analysed this failure, and have seen that the principal cause of it lay in the fact that Louis at a moment when he had all Europe on his hand, engaged also in a quarrel

with England. It was such a quarrel as England could not in honour evade or compromise. We were offered the choice of sinking into humble dependence on France or resisting her dictation, and in the circumstances to resist meant to throw ourselves with all our resources, naval, military and financial, into the European war.

It was a severe trial for us, partly because we were so much divided, partly because France was then so immensely powerful, and powerful by sea as well as by land. In order to meet it we had to make many legislative changes. If the reign of William witnessed a great internal transformation and the appearance of many new institutions,—the Army, the Bank, the National Debt—this was the effect rather of the great European War than of the Revolution itself.

But was not the war quite an exceptional occurrence? England had seen nothing similar since the days of Elizabeth. Why should anything similar be seen again, when once the dictation of France had been successfully repelled? Peace would come, and then the army would be disbanded, as at the Restoration, and the Debt would speedily be paid off. Such was the calculation, but it proved erroneous. The old state of things was never to return. The new institutions were to take root. The new aspect of the State was to become permanent, and England was to go through the whole eighteenth century with an Army, a Debt continually increasing, and a war with France almost always on hand or in prospect.

How did the temporary state of things thus change its character and become permanent?

The principal cause was this, that no sooner had Europe and England with immense effort and labour repelled the first grand attack of Louis than the time

came for him to make his second. That very year, 1697, which witnessed the Peace of Ryswick, witnessed also the clearing of the stage for the still greater drama of the Spanish Succession. This second struggle concerned England much more closely than the first. There had been indeed some cynical philosophy in the indifference with which James II had regarded the continental encroachments of Louis in 1688. The interest of England was indeed only indirectly concerned in the question whether the Truce of Regensburg should be converted into a definitive Peace. A Richelieu or a Mazarin would probably have known how to secure the neutrality of England at the crisis of 1688. Only by a blunder of the same transcendent kind as that involved in the Revocation had England been not tempted, or allowed, but actually forced to enter at that time into the continental war. It was quite otherwise when the second struggle began, just at the opening of the eighteenth century, just at the close of the life of William. The question was now not of territory on the Rhine and Neckar or of influence in North Germany, but of the Spanish Monarchy, that is, not of the Continent, but of the Ocean, the scene and home of all English commerce, enterprise or ambition. When the House of Bourbon took possession of the throne of Spain, as it did in November 1700, Louis seemed practically to enter into possession of Antwerp and the Low Countries, and to be about to obtain Spain for France, and to exclude England from the American trade. In other words, on the succession in Spain depended the whole commercial future of England.

It had been by an almost inconceivable good fortune that William had been able to bring England into the first war. And when that war was over the principal

topic of Toryism and Jacobitism was the expense and bloodshed that had been brought on the nation by William and his Revolution through the European war. Now in his last days William had to bring England into another and still greater war. He succeeded again, though with difficulty. Or rather England again resolved upon war, for in both cases William could only *laissez faire, laissez passer*. In the first case honour and self-respect, in the second case interest, left her no choice.

But the effect was that the new war-institutions, the Debt and the Army, had to be maintained for another term of years, and the country grew yet more accustomed to war with France. Military glory was now acquired, victories were won such as had been unknown to England in the seventeenth century. But, as the House of Bourbon after all retained possession of Spain and the Indies, that is, of the maritime region, even at the end of this second war, the spirit of rivalry between England and France that animated it was by no means allayed. France appeared henceforth drawing Spain in tow. The two Bourbon states had a family alliance, as the two Habsburg states had had in the seventeenth century. But that alliance had been continental, the Bourbon family alliance was mainly maritime, and for that reason it pressed far more uncomfortably upon England. And in this way the hostility of England and France, which had been accumulated during two great wars, was not allowed to die away, but lasted on and became a cause of periodical wars through the whole eighteenth century.

In international history the grand difference between the seventeenth century and the eighteenth is this, that, whereas in the former France and the Spanish Monarchy are standing enemies, so that, as Louis XIV himself told

us, no treaties between them can have any force, in the latter on the other hand France and Spain belong together, so that discord between them is quite exceptional and their normal relation is a family alliance. But this standing concert, since Spain is a maritime and oceanic Power, creates between France and England a chronic discord, so that, whereas in the seventeenth century France and England had been for the most part friendly, in the eighteenth—except in the time of Fleury and Walpole—their constantly recurring wars convulse the world.

These are the large causes, independent of the personality of William, which brought about the transition. But it was owing mainly to William that the transition was effected so successfully as to make England under the new system strong and triumphant, so that she was able in the long duel of the eighteenth century to hold her own against France. We have seen her in her extreme danger and feebleness at the time of the Battle of Beachy Head. How could a country so torn with faction and so unprepared for war resist the commanding unity and military efficiency of France? But the country adapted itself, though slowly, to the new conditions. In the second war, though not in the first, it was able to defeat France in the field, and thenceforward throughout the eighteenth century it exhibited a solidity, a stability, an uninterrupted prosperity, which carried it through all the vicissitudes of the duel. A fixed state of things succeeded when once the storm of the Revolution itself had subsided. After this, except in the last four years of Queen Anne, when a new experiment in succession gave for the moment a revolutionary tinge to our politics, there are scarcely any more violent fluctuations. The period of growth in policy seems to be over.

Such solid, permanent results remind us of those achieved by Queen Elizabeth. That a foreigner, who brought a mind preoccupied with continental ideas, whose taste, training and knowledge qualified him for Dutch rather than English affairs, and who had little sympathy with English people, should leave a mark so absolutely indelible upon English history, is very surprising.

His birth and marriage, as we have seen, enabled him, and him alone, to heal the disease which afflicted English Monarchy. He had another immense felicity. We have traced through a long period the relations of the English and the Dutch, remarking how exceptionally close they were and how that very closeness sometimes introduced discord. The Dutch had asked Elizabeth to be their sovereign. The English Commonwealth had offered to the Dutch an incorporating union. Charles II had scarcely regarded his restoration as complete until the republican government could be overthrown in the United Provinces too. Two such nations were made to be linked together in personal union, and, so linked, they would gain vastly in international influence. Just at the moment when it became their interest to unite against Louis they found themselves also united in the person of William of Orange. He who was almost a king to the Dutch became quite a king to ourselves. Thus the alliance of the Sea Powers was cemented in the firmest manner and the military policy of the two states lay thenceforward in the same hand. Sir William Temple saw the union of which he had sown the seed become a mighty tree, and round this nucleus grew the Great Alliance which in Marlborough's days gave the law to Europe. It is a curious speculation what would have happened had William and Mary left a son. But in fact the union thus established

lasted more than half a century. Much later another Prince of Orange married another English princess, and in another war with France between 1744 and 1748 England and Holland stand side by side.

It is easy to see how many advantages William gained from his birth and his marriage. He was born to be the saviour of his own country, he was born and married to be the saviour of England and of the English Monarchy and to unite the Sea Powers in an indissoluble alliance. So much was done for him by fortune. His personal merit consisted in this, that he did not mar his great opportunities by superfluous action, while he always had energy and promptitude enough to avail himself of them. He was rapid and decisive in his English expedition, rapid and decisive in his Irish campaign. But the main reason why his work has proved so strangely durable is that it was never excessive. He had that wise parsimony in action of which we found so striking an example in Queen Elizabeth.

We see in Louis XIV how difficult it is to husband wisely a great inheritance of political power. Why indeed should he be sparing who possesses so much? The great King fancied himself omnipotent. Hence those prodigious blunders, the Revocation, the intervention in England. How easy, how almost inevitable, might it seem for William to misunderstand his position on the throne of England! For though we identify his name with liberty, he had hitherto seemed to himself and to his countrymen the great representative of the monarchical principle. His rise in 1672 had been the fall of a republican system, he had frequently been spoken of as a tyrant, and under him the stadtholderate had become scarcely distinguishable from monarchy, the more so as he was himself of

royal birth. Now that he was king indeed, and needed all the force of England for his European war, how natural would it have been for him to aspire to a sort of Cromwellian monarchy, a monarchy at once military and protestant! His training had been military; he had commanded armies when he was but twenty-two years old. And the cause was that of religion, and there was in England, he might know, a fund of pent-up Protestant feeling.

What was not done, easily escapes notice; and yet the masterpieces of the statesman's art are for the most part not acts but abstinence from action. William abstained from the policy of Cromwell. He did not attempt to inspire the English people with his own ideas, or to lead them upon a Protestant crusade. Though he took the royal office with a determination that it should lose no power in his hands, yet he allowed it to lose a certain degree of power. He did not force England into war, but allowed her of her own will and for her own interest to enter into war. In his reign that National Policy which had long been an ideal, which had been realised for a time in the latter years of Elizabeth and partially realised under the Commonwealth, but had hitherto seemed scarcely compatible in ordinary circumstances with Monarchy, was brought finally within the sphere of practical politics.

Under William there was far more war than under the Stuarts. He conducted to the end one mighty war, and made all the preparations for a second. These wars suited his views, they were the fulfilment of all his wishes. Yet it cannot seriously be maintained that by some high-handed exercise of royal prerogative or royal influence he drew the country into them. He never had a position

which could enable him to do this. Regarded coldly as a foreigner, dependent upon Parliament by the very circumstances of his accession, malignantly watched by a vast adverse party, he was condemned in this matter to wait upon public opinion. It would have been fatal to him to take the initiative. In both cases the war was made necessary by the conduct of Louis XIV, and was freely accepted by the people. In both cases the merit of William consisted in reserve and self-restraint. He did not mar his good fortune by needless or precipitate action.

He had the bearing and behaviour of one who lays solid and durable foundations. A man who has received this mission commonly feels himself an instrument, and shows a certain impassiveness, a certain fatalism. William was taciturn, phlegmatic, dry in his manner. In his pose he offered a marked contrast to his rival Louis XIV. He thought not so much of himself as of the forces which worked in and through him. His chief study seemed to be not to do or to say too much, not 'to do anything good or bad of his own mind.' He was the *pious Aeneas*, who bears the weight of destiny, but as the hero of a poem may perhaps create disappointment.

We may perceive however that his training had peculiarly fitted him for the part he had to play on the throne of England. His continual struggle with parties in the country he had saved may be depressing in history, but it was not new to him, or essentially unlike the struggle he had maintained all his life among the Dutch. It has been said of him that 'he was king in Holland and Stadtholder in England,' and the latter half of this description contains an important truth. He took up in England much the same position that he had held, and

that his ancestors had held before him, in Holland. But that position was after all royal, only the royalty was rational and political, not feudal. Among the Dutch a monarchy had gradually grown up, evolved by a natural process and meeting a practical need. It was a sort of hereditary guardianship of the country against the foreign enemy, for the main function of the Prince of Orange was that of general and admiral, rather than that, which gave him his ordinary title, of Stadtholder. Accordingly when the United Provinces were at peace, the Prince of Orange, as we remarked in 1648, found his occupation gone, and as soon as war broke out again, as in 1672, he returns to power.

It had been the good fortune of William in 1672 to assume the guardianship of the country in a war which was undoubtedly defensive and necessary. He had not made the war, but he conducted it. It was also an immense good fortune for him when he found himself King of England that this country too had to fight for its independence. Had William had a peaceful reign in England, it is difficult to imagine that he could have had much success, and yet in those days the normal condition of England was peace. The House of Orange did not understand peace; their specialty was war. Throughout his life William lived and breathed in war. When he was not commanding armies in the field, he was negotiating great military alliances. But as it was the pleasure of Louis XIV that England in 1689 should fight for her independence, William at once found himself in his element. Where a war of independence was waged there a Prince of Orange was at home. For eight years this war continued, and gave William an ample opportunity of displaying all his great qualities, that is a kind of

defensive heroism, invincible constancy, inexhaustible patience, a statesmanship firmly based on grand and simple ideas.

Between 1689 and 1697 William does for England what between 1672 and 1678 he had done for his native country. He presides over a war of independence, in which he bears up manfully against defeat and attains his end at last. He repeats for the benefit of England the performance for which the princes of the House of Orange were celebrated. He does once more what had been done by William the Silent, by Maurice, by Frederick Henry and by himself. Had not Louis afforded him an opportunity of playing this part, had the Revolution of 1688 been followed in England by a period of insular peace, the Monarchy under William must have sunk very low and perhaps he would have been unable to maintain his position.

This reign has a very unique character in international history. It is wholly occupied with international events of the most momentous character, first the great war, then from 1697 to 1700 an unparalleled negotiation, in which England and France undertake to transform the whole map of Europe, lastly the preparation of a new European war. In fact the European system is undergoing transformation. Great Britain is now a mature and stable Power with a national policy, adapted for war by new military and financial institutions, and she takes up a position of direct rivalry to France such as she had not occupied under the Stuarts.

The reader is by this time familiar with the expression the second Revolution and with the view that this was not a single occurrence belonging to the year 1688, but a long development beginning many years before and

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ending considerably later than 1688. We have laid it down that the end of it cannot be placed before the Treaty of Ryswick, that is before 1697. But we have laid it down also that with the second Revolution ends the period of growth in British Policy, after which there opens a fixed condition of affairs, the policy of the mature British Empire. If however we try to define this transition we shall perhaps find that it cannot be said to have been completed even so early as 1697. It is time therefore to state more particularly in what precise sense it may be said that about that time and as a result of the Second Revolution the period of growth gave place to an adult or fixed condition. 1697 is the year in which the revolutionary throne of William was established by the cessation of the enmity of France, and when the war with France which had grown necessarily out of the change of government made in 1688 came to an end. This may be called the close of the second Revolution so far as that was throughout determined by France and her relations to England. On the other hand it is by no means the date of a complete change in policy, of the completion of a great period. It was followed within five years by another war, a war with France and so far a war of the Revolution that it was in a great degree occasioned by Louis XIV's recognition of the Pretender. We must look on a few years further, when we shall indeed find a decisive turning-point, the commencement of a fixed condition, when our policy was established in its main outlines almost for the whole eighteenth century. First, it is evident that the accession of the House of Brunswick in 1714 constitutes a sort of Revolution which must be regarded as supplementary to that of 1688 and equally necessary to the establishment of the monarchy in

its revolutionary form. Next the Union with Scotland in 1707 settled one of those larger internal questions concerning the mutual relation of the insular Kingdoms which from the outset of our troubles had been closely involved with the question of constitutional liberty. Further still the war of the Spanish Succession leading up to the Barrier Treaty and to the Treaties of Utrecht was necessary to settle those foreign controversies which had caused the wars of the later Stuarts, and to fix our relations with France and our maritime and colonial relations with Spain as well as our highly important relations to the Power which since the sixteenth century had interested us so closely, the United Provinces. It is to be added that the settlement of the Irish question in a manner which was to satisfy the eighteenth century was also effected by Acts of Parliament, some of which fall later than the reign of Anne. But when Anne had been peaceably succeeded by George I, a most comprehensive settlement of all affairs which come under the head of policy had certainly been arrived at. Not only was Dynastic Policy at an end, but it had been abandoned with full conservation of monarchical government, so that a dynasty had begun to reign to which the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were to belong. The two parts of Britain had also been united in a manner which was to prove permanent. Ireland had found a settlement which, however unsatisfactory, was to last without fundamental change for nearly eighty years. Accounts had also been settled with the House of Habsburg and the House of Bourbon. The Protestant interest had been successfully maintained. For the first time Protestant Powers had taken the lead in a great settlement of Europe. It might be said that the Counter-reformation had run its course

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and the great Power which all along had represented the Counter-reformation, Spain, had passed under the rule of the House of Bourbon.

To Britain the result of all this was in one respect unsatisfactory. She had advanced greatly in internal union and liberty, in wealth, in maritime and colonial power, even in military strength. But her policy became more warlike than it had been in former times. Under William and Anne she had taken a leading part in vast European wars. She had fought battles in the heart of Spain and in the valley of the Danube. Nor could she henceforth quit this path. Her standing army could not be a second time disbanded. The eighteenth century was to be for her a period of wars, and the scene of those wars, more remote than ever, would sometimes be the banks of the Ganges or of the St Lawrence. A new financial problem would occupy her statesmen, the problem of paying for wars so vast and distant and of dealing with an unheard-of debt.

But, if more warlike, our policy is henceforth fixed and uniform, or, as we say, the period of growth is over. On the surface of the eighteenth century the steadfast tranquillity of British affairs is apparent. Henceforth no more revolutions, no more reigns of terror such as between 1678 and 1688. We are no longer the turbulent nation of Europe, the nation *dont la légèreté est connue*. All the great questions seem to have been settled; religion itself has become so rational and sensible that it loses its awful character and looks like an exhausted volcano. The surface is so smooth that perhaps few people in George I's reign could foresee that England had still before her a Roman career and that she was to become the centre of a boundless dominion.

This essay does not deal with that further development. It closes where the agitations of the seventeenth century subside. It does not look at all beyond the arrival of the dynasty of Brunswick, and it discusses even the reigns of William and Anne only so far as may be necessary to show how the afterswell of the second Revolution led naturally to the decisive turning-point in policy, the close of the period of growth which has been described. For this purpose it is desirable to consider for a moment how much was absolutely involved in the Revolution itself which nevertheless could not be accomplished but after a good many years.

The Revolution is usually considered only from the constitutional point of view as an assertion of liberty against absolutist pretensions. We, regarding it internationally, have laid more stress upon the opposition which was involved in it to French ascendancy. We have treated it as an assertion of national against dynastic policy, in which however the monarchical principle was carefully maintained. Even this formula however is by no means comprehensive enough. The change had still other aspects and involved several other minor changes.

To proclaim the throne vacant and then to place William and Mary upon it was indeed much in a generation so possessed with the mystical view of monarchy and so unwilling to repeat the error of those who overthrew Charles I. It was much also for a state that was no longer military to defend the new settlement in a war of eight years against France. But much more remained to be done. In the first place it was not enough to make a new king or a new queen. Monarchy required not merely a king but an assured succession of kings. For the moment we had been fortunate enough to obtain for our

king the ablest statesman in Europe, who was already quasi-king in a state which had an exceptionally close connexion with our own. But it soon appeared that he was not to have children. Accordingly only one succession could be clearly foreseen. The Princess Anne had indeed children, sixteen or seventeen. But when all these died in succession, it began to seem as if half the work of 1688 was to do again. Parliament must again engage in the questionable enterprise of making a king, and this time it must break even more decidedly than before with the mystical school which had such an ascendancy over the English mind. It appeared that another revolution must be made in order to ratify the revolution of 1688. Another prince must cross the sea and receive the crown of England. The change of 1714 appeared to be necessarily involved in that of 1688.

But the second Revolution had again another and a wholly different aspect by which it strikingly reminds us of the first Revolution. For it had not been a mere resistance of the English people to tyranny and popery but a resistance of three insular states at once, of the English, Scotch and Irish, to the common sovereign who had pursued the same innovating policy in all alike. Throughout the seventeenth century our civil troubles had been complicated by this triple character of the insular community. Especially in the first Revolution had the interaction of the three communities been incessant and striking, so that we even ventured to lay it down that that disturbance had really its origin in the necessity of revising their mutual relations. The second Revolution is not indeed in this respect wholly similar to the first. It looks far more towards France and less towards Scotland and Ireland. Nevertheless, it also is by no means a mere

English revolution, but British, or more even than British—a revolution of the British Isles. As far back as the controversy about the Exclusion Bill it had been a serious matter for consideration that James, even if excluded from the English, could not by an English Act be excluded from the Scottish throne. And when the struggle actually began the scene of it was rather in Scotland and Ireland than in England. The naval part of this civil war was indeed English, but by land the battles are Scotch and Irish, at Killiecrankie and Dunkeld, at Enniskillen and Derry, at the Boyne, at Limerick and Aghrim. Politically too the Second Revolution involved a complete reconstruction not only in England but separately in Scotland and in Ireland. It is one evidence of the immense extent of William's performance that he marks a great turning-point in Scotch and in Irish as well as in English history. This is still more visible if we contemplate the reigns of William and Anne together, as indeed they belong together. The reign of Anne finished in general what that of William began, and even Marlborough is in statesmanship as it were a pupil of William. But in these two reigns Scotch and Irish affairs took the definitive shape which they were to keep through most of the eighteenth century. Ireland received the penal code. Scotland obtained her ecclesiastical settlement and finally that Union upon which her modern prosperity has been based, and if we examine the circumstances which made the Union possible we shall find that they arose directly out of the Revolution itself.

The second Revolution has still another aspect. It is not merely a rebellion, even a triple rebellion, against Popery and arbitrary power; it is also in its very nature and origin, as we have shown, a resistance to French

ascendancy. The British movement cannot be separated or considered apart from the European movement, nor can William's policy as king be separated from his policy as Stadtholder. Thus in the first place the European war rose by necessity out of the English event of 1688. But we are now also to observe that a second and greater war was equally unavoidable. This second war began within five years of the peace of Ryswick. It was the War of the Spanish Succession, and England took an even more leading part in it than she had taken in the War of the Revolution. Though when the second war began William was no more, it bears his stamp, and especially in this that it is based upon that close alliance of the two Sea Powers which he had created and, as it were, impersonated. Both Sea Powers were equally interested in this Spanish question which had impended over Europe for forty years. Their interests were bound together in the person of William and in his revolutionary throne. Accordingly if we would contemplate the Revolution as a whole we must embrace in it this second war not less than the first, the war which followed upon the death of James II and the recognition of his son as English king by Louis not less than the war which arose out of his deposition and his flight to France.

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Summing up all that has been said, we would see in the second Revolution a great transition in English affairs which, beginning in 1669 and culminating in 1688, is not fairly concluded till the accession of George I, a transition by which not only our constitution was settled but the Scotch Union was established, a new system of Irish affairs introduced and at the same time our relations with the United Provinces, France and Spain rearranged in a definitive manner. All these relations together have been be-

fore us from the beginning of this essay. Under Elizabeth we considered chiefly those with the Spanish Monarchy and the United Provinces. Then we watched the rise of the House of Bourbon and the transformation of France by Richelieu; then the transformation of England and of the relations of the insular kingdoms in the first Revolution and in the age of Oliver. Then came a reaction and later a second Revolution, of the origin, nature and extent of which we have found so much to say. Regarded thus comprehensively this second Revolution brings us within the eighteenth century, where we come in sight of quite a new development and see the country entering upon a series of wars and expanding into a World-Empire. What has hitherto given unity to this long review has been the opposition between two systems of policy, the dynastic and the national. We began at a point where the former system seemed inseparable from monarchy, where the Habsburg system was everywhere supreme and all international history turned on royal marriages and royal births. We have seen however after many vicissitudes the two things separated, monarchy preserved and at the same time a national policy established. The difficulty however was too closely inherent in monarchy not to show itself again. The revolutionary monarchy was short lived. A supplementary revolution had to be made, and this put on the throne a foreigner, one of the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly in that eighteenth century period which lies beyond our limits the old dispute was revived. Under George I and George II no question of foreign policy was more warmly or perpetually discussed than the alleged postponement of British to Hanoverian interests.

We do not discuss this, nor do we even find room here

to inquire how far the policy of William and Anne might be held to be, though not dynastic, yet at times not wisely national. The question is how to bring this essay to an end, and we desire to do no more than to characterise broadly the results of the second Revolution. It closed a great period and opened a new period. Now that a national interest is established in foreign policy it would be satisfactory if we could state with some distinctness in what that national interest was supposed to consist. Hitherto we have had occasional glimpses of such a national interest, for instance the panevangelical idea of Oliver or the necessity of preserving access to the Baltic, but now that it begins to rule our policy a time has come when it must be more clearly and fully defined.

Throughout we have seen that it falls into two distinct halves. Considered as a state among other states England looks on one side at the great continental states, on the other at Scotland and Ireland. She cannot arrive at a definitive condition merely by holding in check the Bourbon and the Habsburg; she must also—and this seems even more difficult—devise a satisfactory system for the two islands, create a Great Britain out of England and Scotland, and fix the relation of Great Britain to Ireland. Elizabeth, we saw, commenced this work by laying a foundation of Protestantism upon which a union of Scotland and England could be built. A common monarchy has since been added to a common religion. But even now that the Second Revolution is far advanced the insular settlement is still as far from being completed as the settlement of the position of England among the European Powers. The fundamental conditions of a Britannic Union are by no means fully realised. After the struggles of the seventeenth century even Scotland and England remain distinct in religion, the

one Presbyterian, the other Episcopalian, while Ireland is divided from Britain by the whole difference between Catholicism and the Reformation. Thus disunited the three communities are called upon first to make a common revolution upon the basis of religion. Catholic Ireland has to expel a monarch because he is Catholic, and Presbyterian Scotland has to cooperate with Anglicanism. And then the three communities thus undermined by religious discord have to fight side by side against the two branches of the House of Bourbon.

It is this incredibly difficult transition that was made under William and Anne. We had astonishing success in our war against the two crowns and at the same time we dealt also with the Scotch and Irish problems. With the first successfully, so that almost at the same moment that by the victory of Ramillies we tore the Low Countries from the House of Bourbon we also created Great Britain, and the fabric has proved much more solid and satisfactory than such political combinations usually prove. The Irish problem proved far too difficult for us under William and Anne, being complicated with Popery and with dire memories of massacre and confiscation, as it had been too difficult for Elizabeth and Cromwell, and yet even this was dealt with after a fashion.

If we continue to look at the transition as a whole we shall perhaps discover a certain unity in it. We shall find, that is, that the national interest which has emerged after all the struggles of the seventeenth century has a distinct character, and that British policy, which now takes the place of English policy, has its own definite object. It is the object which from the course of development in the seventeenth century we might anticipate. For underneath all the fluctuations of the first and second revolutions we have

perceived that our state has been gradually assuming a peculiar type. Ever since the struggle of Elizabeth with Spain it has been growing more maritime and more commercial. It has advanced in this course side by side with the United Provinces and at the expense of the Spanish Monarchy. Under Elizabeth it established itself as a kind of piratical state on the oceans which then belonged to Spain. Under James it founded colonies in America. While the first Revolution was proceeding it became a leading maritime Power. With the Navigation Act it became an aggressive commercial rival of the other Sea Power. And now in its second Revolution it arrives at a critical point in this development. For with William the peculiar relation of our state to the United Provinces is settled for a long period and by the war of the Spanish Succession the fundamental maritime question, which is the monopoly of Spain in the New World, is thoroughly overhauled. Thus we arrive at the consummation of the development of which we marked the commencement under Elizabeth. What began about 1567 with the commencement of the Dutch rebellion is in a sense completed at the Treaty of Utrecht. For us the result is that our state begins to assume the character of a great Trade Empire.

This fact, if we well consider it, brings together the two halves of our policy. The Union with Scotland and its success, the new system in Ireland and its failure, are closely connected with those wars with France and Spain which gave us a new position among the Powers. Commerce is now the clue to everything alike, at once to the changes in our foreign relations and to the development of our insular relations. Why do we interfere with such decision in the question of the Spanish Succession, fight battles on the Danube and send our armies to Madrid ?

The answer is that the commercial classes clamoured for war, demanding in the interest of trade that the House of Bourbon should not be allowed to swallow up the Spanish Monarchy with its boundless colonies. But again, why did we make a union with Scotland and why did the Union prosper? We made the Union because the revolution settlement, at least that supplementary part of it which is the Hanoverian Succession, imperatively required it. And the Union prospered because we had one invaluable boon to give to the Scotch and did give it. This was a free admission into the commerce of a great Trade Empire. And once more, why did we at the same time make a settlement with Ireland which proved to be no settlement and which is the opprobrium of English history? We failed here mainly because we adopted the opposite system, because instead of granting freely to Ireland a share in our trade we jealously excluded her, because we interfered to crush Irish industry. But in whichever direction we look we find ourselves in the midst of economic phenomena. The second Revolution, which seemed to take its rise in religion, ends in commerce, it results, if we regard it comprehensively, in establishing a greater commercial state than the world had yet seen.

The international interest of the insular state, as soon as it began to be studied, could not but appear to be mainly commercial. The English were not aggressive or conquering like the Turks, and they had now abandoned the dynastic policy of the peoples who were subject to the Habsburg and the Bourbon. But they inhabited a group of islands looking abroad over the Atlantic and they now saw a near prospect of uniting these islands under a common government. Their internal difficulties appeared

almost at an end. It remained for them to embrace the globe with their trade, as Spain, in spite of her great opportunities, had so conspicuously failed to do, and as the United Provinces, their cousin-state, had shown them the way to do. But in order to do it they must on the one hand complete the union of the insular kingdoms, on the other hand they must remove the great hindrance which lay in the ancient monopoly of the New World still claimed by Spain, which, in whatever way the question of the Spanish Succession might be settled, Spain did not intend to abandon. And thus it already appears that England on emerging from her second Revolution would have before her probably a war with Spain and unions between England and Scotland and Ireland. Just this was in fact the work which William bequeathed to his successor Anne. Besides this it would be necessary to make English institutions more suitable for commercial purposes. This was what William himself was specially qualified by his Dutch training to do, and what accordingly he did by the commercial policy which gave us the Bank and the reform of our finance, which combined our East India Companies and purified our currency.

Such was the positive or constructive task which lay before William when he found himself king. There was also the negative task of maintaining the Monarchy in the form which he had given it. At first this did not seem likely to be difficult. Mary would probably survive him by many years, in which case Jacobitism would have time to die out. Mary might have children who would succeed to William's position both here and in the United Provinces; in that case another king-stadtholder would be seen. Mary herself, we know, hoped for children. In any case Anne might live to be old and she had children enough to

maintain the Monarchy. If all these resources, contrary to expectation, should fail, then certainly a great difficulty might be foreseen. Someone must be found similar to William himself, a Protestant and possessed of a certain hereditary claim to the throne. The Revolution of 1688 would need to be repeated, the old mystical controversy would need to be revived. That the Monarchy could pass safely through such an ordeal we know by the result, yet assuredly he who would have predicted it would have seemed a bold prophet.

But another Power remains to be considered whose relations to England have occupied us throughout this essay. What effect will the great transition of the second Revolution have upon our relations with France? France was still the most prominent Power, the Power which had mainly caused our Revolution and had engaged in war with us on account of it. And yet until 1689 France had rarely since the accession of Elizabeth appeared as a direct antagonist of England and never as the head of the opposite system in Europe. Spain had all along occupied that position, and all along France had been in opposition to Spain and for the most part in friendly relations with England. The chronic antagonism of Spain and France has hitherto been the most unalterable feature of international relations. France has had to shake herself free from a certain internal dependence on Spain, in one age from the League, in another from the Fronde. She has achieved this successfully, and in achieving it she has well-nigh dissolved the complex fabric of the Spanish Monarchy. She has taken a leading share in depriving her first of the United Provinces, then of Portugal and the Portuguese Colonies. She has also straitened her boundaries on the side of Flanders and she has robbed her of Franche-

Comté. As against the United Provinces and Portugal England has cooperated with France, so that it may be questioned from which of those two Powers the Spanish Monarchy has suffered most injury. William's work has hitherto consisted in raising the British state to a position in the world similar to that which had been hitherto occupied by Spain. He unites the two maritime Powers which on the sea and in the New World are the successors of Spain. The British Trade Empire which now begins to take shape can only flourish at the expense of Spain. The maritime sceptre is about to pass from Spain and seems likely to pass to Britain. The question of the Spanish Succession is thus twofold; it is the question not only who shall be Spanish King on the death of Charles II, but also who shall succeed to the ancient maritime and colonial monopoly of Spain.

France will put in her claim to the latter succession as well as to the former. For France too has experienced that singular transformation which marks in England, as we have seen, the age of the second Revolution. French politics too have been passing into the commercial phase. It could not be otherwise since the position of France and her relation to the Spanish monopoly was very similar to that of England. If England was insular and oceanic, France too has a long sea-board, facing at once the Northern Seas, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. She has flourished hitherto upon the spoils of Spain, why should she not acquire the most precious of all Spain's treasures, her colonial monopoly? She is prepared to do so, for of all the many developments of French activity in that age, in which she was so active, perhaps the most remarkable was that to which Colbert gives his name. With him she had entered into commercial and maritime

policy, and before the battle of La Hogue she had ranked as the first maritime Power.

These considerations prepare us to understand what a vast revolution in international relations was involved in the war of the Spanish Succession. It did not merely put the Spanish Monarchy into the hands of the House of Bourbon, but it also founded a wholly new relation between France and Spain, a relation which in the eighteenth century was the most important of all international relations. The misfortunes of France during the war did not prevent her from founding a Bourbon dynasty in Spain nor even from founding a permanent alliance, which by and by became a *pacte de famille*, between France and Spain. We saw how in the days of Cromwell Louis XIV regarded the war of France and Spain as something necessary and, so to say, eternal. Now at the opening of the eighteenth century this gives place to a friendship which is almost equally close and necessary between the same Powers. The effect of this upon British policy could not but be all-important. Hitherto we have seen England standing between France and Spain, regarding the latter usually as her enemy and therefore the former usually as a friend. This phase is now at an end. In the eighteenth century France is her standing enemy, but it is France aided by Spain. A new Hundred Years' War of France and England is opening, but England's enemy is not to be strictly France but the House of Bourbon, which now rules France and Spain alike. This new phase begins with the War of the Spanish Succession. England's participation in this is but a part, as we have remarked, of that transformation of her policy which left it mainly commercial. In like manner the new relation of France to Spain is grounded in the commercial and maritime develop-

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ment of France, and thus at the same time that we see Great Britain preparing for a long struggle with the House of Bourbon we are able to foresee what the nature and what the scene of that struggle will be. It will be no longer confined to the Channel or the Flemish towns; it will be a great Oceanic and New World contest. Englishmen and Frenchmen will confront each other in the eighteenth century in America and in India.

Such then are the various aspects of the Second Revolution. It was in the first place a rising against arbitrary power, but a rising undertaken in circumstances so peculiar that it necessarily involved (1) an immediate war with France, (2) a supplementary revolution of the same kind, which we call the Hanoverian Succession, (3) another great war with Spain and France, (4) a union with Scotland and at least the introduction of a new system in Ireland, (5) and as the result of all these things a great development of trade and the foundation of a Trade Empire, which brings us into a position of permanent rivalry to France and Spain henceforth united in a family policy.

To complete this general view of the results of the second Revolution one more reflexion is required. We must think not only what that Revolution was but also what it seemed to be to the generation that made it. That generation fixed its eyes far too exclusively upon the constitutional and especially the ecclesiastical aspect of it. The question of divine right and non-resistance, what Anglican divines called the doctrine of the cross, possessed the public mind in a surprising manner from the days of the Exclusion Bill to those of Sacheverell. This was the most obvious philosophy of the Revolution, but another theory of it also prevailed which had great practical impor-

tance and which concerns us more nearly. What was at the time most striking about the second Revolution was just the fact that it was the Second, that is, that the nation after having failed in and repented of revolution once should so speedily betake itself again to that discredited remedy. Naturally therefore they instituted perpetual comparisons between the two revolutions and, as the first was acknowledged to have failed, as the Great Rebellion had been followed by the Restoration, put themselves on the watch to see whether a similar disappointment would not follow upon the change of 1688. And they soon made an observation which was ominous and at the same time really important. The failure of the first Revolution had been due to the intrusion of a military element. In fact the so-called Commonwealth had been from the outset a government by the army, what has been called here an Imperialism. It was natural therefore to conclude that Revolution was exposed to this danger, that rebellion, however justified, against constituted authorities led naturally to the establishment of a military authority. A Charles I would be succeeded, through some unknown law governing states, by a Cromwell. Now in this respect the experience of the country after 1688 was really most menacing. The change of government had no doubt been effected with ease, and it had been found possible this time to preserve the principle of Monarchy. No Restoration this time would be necessary because no Commonwealth had been set up. But the military element had reappeared in the most striking manner. The second Revolution had restored by its Mutiny Act that standing army which in the first the Rebellion had created and the Restoration had to dissolve again. Much more than this; the second Revolution had plunged the country into

a European War which was on a great scale, and scarcely had this war been brought to an end when a new one on a still greater scale came in prospect. The old fatality seemed plainly to be still at work. The second Revolution, like the first, had produced its Cromwell, or rather it produced in succession two Cromwells. William himself was one and Marlborough was the other. They did not indeed dissolve Parliaments, or put the country under a government of Major-Generals, but they involved it in foreign wars which seemed to have no end, and these foreign wars brought with them new taxes, new governmental machinery, and a debt which, as it could not be paid, seemed to be a bankruptcy.

This reflexion gives the clue to all the phases of reaction under William and Anne. Behind the Toryism of divine right there grew up another Toryism which consisted in opposition to the militarism which came in the train of the second Revolution as of the first. In the last five years of William it takes shape in measures for diminishing the army and checking the interference of the English government in European affairs. Under Anne it begins with opposition to Marlborough, and then in the last four years of her reign, which may almost be called a revolutionary period, it blends with the Toryism of divine right and succeeds both in dethroning the Cromwell of the day, Marlborough, and in extricating the country after eleven years of war from those foreign complications in which it seemed to be losing itself.

This curious theory of revolution is not only important as explaining the party politics of the reigns of William and Anne. It cannot be overlooked when we try to understand the great transition in policy which occupies us here. The age of revolutions led to the tranquil Georgian period.

The constitutional question was satisfactorily settled and at the same time the monarchy came safely through the crisis. But the country could not forget its misgiving about militarism. After all the second Revolution did end like the first by giving a military tinge to our policy. It did create an army; then it gave us military glory such as we had not known for centuries. And it was not found possible, as time went on, to restore the old habit of peace. The army could not be disbanded again, and the habit of intervention in European wars grew upon us. The Georgian period was, except under Walpole, warlike throughout. After William and Marlborough came others of their kind, the elder Pitt with Wolfe and Clive and later still the younger Pitt with Nelson and Wellington. And necessarily debt grew along with the habit of war. It grew at last to a fabulous amount. These two features, war and debt, along with their result, a commercial and maritime empire, are the principal features of the eighteenth century in English history, that period to which this essay undertakes only to furnish an introduction.

Between the Treaty of Utrecht and the Battle of Waterloo, a period of rather more than a century, we engaged in five great wars similar to the two which had sprung out of the Revolution. Most of these wars lasted for several years; they were waged in all parts of the globe and involved us in expenses which confounded not only the finance but almost the very arithmetic of those times.

This essay began with a purely insular England, with that cession of Calais which seemed finally to shut us up in our island. After so many changes we leave England at the commencement of a new expansion which will be on a greater scale than ever. From her trials she has learnt much, but she has not learnt peace, nor has she learnt to

rest content with a modest sphere of action. What she has learnt is foreign trade, and now that she has settled so many internal questions her next step will be to succeed the Spanish Monarchy on the Ocean and in the New World. She has therefore before her a period of war, but not such war as in old Plantagenet times. She will not again invade France, but she will proceed on the new lines laid down at La Hogue. Her wars in the coming period will be mainly maritime, they will end in acquisitions either of colonial territory or naval stations. The Treaty of Utrecht marked the direction of our new expansion by giving us Gibraltar, Port Mahon and Acadie.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMERCIAL STATE.

IN the last chapter an attempt was made to bring together into one view the great occurrences which belong to the morrow of the Revolution, that is, to the age of Anne, and to establish a sort of unity among them. These occurrences are (1) the war in which England took a leading part against the two crowns of France and Spain, the war called from the Spanish Succession and remembered in England chiefly from the victories of Marlborough, (2) the Hanoverian Succession decreed during this time and realised at the end of it, (3) the Union of England and Scotland and the meeting of the first parliament of Great Britain in the year 1707, (4) the new Irish settlement including what is called the Penal Code. That all these things arose by a kind of necessity out of the Revolution and that taken together they brought to an end a great period of English history and introduced a period markedly different is evident enough. It will be however worth while to consider somewhat more at length how necessarily they arose out of the Revolution and how closely they were connected together.

A war in Flanders, Bavaria and Spain on the question

of the Spanish Succession does not at first sight seem necessarily connected with the expulsion of James II; and it may cost us an effort to bring together in our minds this war with the incorporating union of England and Scotland or that Union with the Revolution of 1688. This essay has throughout studied to bring together the two great movements which mark the period from Elizabeth to Anne, the foreign movement by which our State grew at the expense of the Spanish Monarchy and in concert with the United Provinces, and the insular movement which fixed the mutual relations of England, Scotland and Ireland. The essay will therefore be best closed by an exposition of the last stage in this double process, the definitive settlement of our foreign relations after the Revolution and the definitive settlement at the same time of the relations of the three parts of the insular community.

In the period immediately following 1688 this requires little exposition. A war with France could not be avoided considering the course Louis chose to adopt towards James and William, nor does it require explanation that the civil war which arose out of the Revolution should overflow into Scotland and Ireland. In the second as in the first Revolution the great difficulty lay in the fact that the community which made the Revolution was triple. But it might seem that all these complications came to an end at the Treaty of Ryswick when the civil war on the one hand was over and when on the other hand France was disarmed. The Treaty of Ryswick therefore seems at first sight to mark the close of the second Revolution. How came it that within a few years all was unsettled again; that England was again at war by land and sea both with France and Spain; that a

new revolution, under the name of a Union, took place in Scotland, and that a new system was established in Ireland? Were these new changes accidental and unconnected with each other or are they also to be reckoned among the necessary consequences of the Revolution?

One manifest link connects the second war with the first and with the Revolution. For the second war did not arise simply out of the question who should succeed Charles II in Spain or whether the successor should enjoy the whole undivided Spanish Monarchy or only a part of it. This was indeed in itself a vast question, but it might be questioned how far it concerned England and still more how far it concerned our Revolution. But all the work of the Treaty of Ryswick was undone and the revolution controversy was reopened by the death of James II on September 6th, 1701, and the proclamation of the Pretender as King of England, Scotland and Ireland by Louis XIV. In opening his last parliament in the next January William said, "The recognition and declaration which have been made of the so-called Prince of Wales as King of England is not only the greatest injury done to my person and to the nation, but it also comes home so particularly to every man who has any regard for the Protestant religion or for the present and future tranquillity and happiness of his country that I need not press you to take it seriously to heart and to consider what new measures may efficaciously be taken to assure the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line."

So far then as it was caused by this reckless act of Louis XIV, the second war, it appears, was a war of the Revolution as much as the first. Nevertheless a mere recognition of the Pretender on the part of Louis, though

a fair ground of war, was by no means so necessary a ground as that active and aggressive aid furnished to James II in 1689 which had brought on the former war. Nor was it the ruling ground which decided us to participate with so much energy in the War of the Spanish Succession. What was the real ground of that decision is almost the fundamental question upon which our comprehension of English history in the eighteenth century depends. The most obvious and perhaps the received view of it is that we went to war in order to prevent France and the House of Bourbon from acquiring excessive power by the absorption of the Spanish Monarchy, or that we did so partly for this purpose and partly out of resentment for the recognition of the Pretender. But there was a third ground of war which in the circumstances was more urgent than either of these and which characterises more clearly the transition through which our state was then passing.

The testament of Charles II of Spain by which the succession passed undivided to the Duke of Anjou and the acceptance of the testament by Louis XIV are occurrences belonging entirely to that dynastic system of policy which we had left behind us. Since the age of Charles V there had been no example so striking of the predominance of the principle of royal marriage as when the whole Spanish Monarchy was disposed of as if it had been an estate and by means of a will, and when the French were called upon to wage war through eleven years for no public interest of France but for the family interest of the House of Bourbon. But with all this we had no concern. We did not go to war to prevent the Duke of Anjou from succeeding in Spain nor even on the speculative ground that so vast an augmentation of the

power of the French king was likely to be dangerous to Europe. It is to be remarked that the death of Charles II of Spain took place in November 1700 and that the Duke of Anjou arrived in Spain early in 1701, i.e. a full year before England intervened as a belligerent. It is also to be remarked that in the two Partition Treaties by which the succession had been regulated before the death of the King of Spain very large concessions had actually been made to France with the consent of William. William had been prepared to give France the kingdom of Naples and Sicily with a number of Tuscan towns and the province of Guipuscoa on the Spanish frontier. All this had been arranged before Louis made the death of James II the occasion of so direct an attack upon England and the English Revolution.

We are not to think of that generation of Englishmen as actuated by a half-barbarous love of war or insensibility to the evils involved in war. Their state of mind was different. They were fresh from the second Revolution, and they had an almost superstitious misgiving that it would lead, like the first, to a military government. A new Cromwell was held to be due; men waited till he should be revealed. Already the army was there, for the Mutiny Act had been passed, already the country had passed through a European war of eight years. A second war after so short an interval seemed likely to fix the military yoke for ever on our necks and to make the debt, already so serious, a permanent burden. Why did they then dismiss these misgivings and plunge after all into the war which they felt to be so dangerous?

The answer is to be found in that growth of commercial policy which was the main characteristic of the age. It was not a general augmentation, however vast,

of the power of France through the absorption of the Spanish Monarchy that was feared but an augmentation of a special kind, especially intolerable to the two trading and maritime Powers represented by William. William had been prepared, as we saw, to see the House of Bourbon acquire Naples, Sicily and even more. But he could not see it absorb the Spanish Monarchy, for the Spanish Monarchy was the very Power at the expense of which since the reign of Philip II both the Dutch Empire and the British Empire had grown up. Not French aggrandisement in general but French aggrandisement in two special quarters was inadmissible to William. He could not see the House of Bourbon swallow up the Catholic Low Countries nor yet the American trade. Throughout the period that has been reviewed in this essay and since Alexander of Parma had rescued a large territory for Spain from the rebellion of the Low Countries, the whole struggle of the Western Powers has centred in these Catholic Low Countries. Richelieu had hoped to absorb them in 1635. Here the alliance of Cromwell and Mazarin had been most active. Here had been the scene of the first war of Louis XIV. Here later he had for a moment held possession of Luxemburg. This region was adjacent to William's two dominions, that which called him King and that which knew him as Stadtholder. Since France had succeeded Spain as the great enemy of the Dutch and especially since she had renounced religious toleration, the Dutch had come to consider that their independence and their religion forbade them to allow this region to pass into the hands of France. England for her part had withdrawn from Dunkirk and renounced the continental schemes of Cromwell's military state. On the other hand she was now more closely united than

ever with the Dutch and more decidedly Protestant. Her unwillingness therefore to see France swallow up the Low Countries was no mere vague jealousy of French aggrandisement, but was a necessary part of her general policy and of that relation to the Dutch which was alike the cause and the consequence of the second Revolution. But through the acceptance by Louis of the testament of Charles II the Catholic Low Countries passed under the rule of the House of Bourbon. How much this change involved appeared in February 1701, when Louis contemptuously swept away the nascent Dutch Barrier, seized the eight fortresses of the Catholic Low Countries which the Dutch had in their hands and made the Dutch garrisons prisoner.

But another French aggrandisement of the most intolerable kind was to be feared. The absorption of the Spanish Monarchy did not mean simply the absorption of certain European territories; it meant that of the greatest colonial and commercial system in the world. The Spanish Succession which was really all-important was the succession to Spain's commercial position. The Power which had discovered America, which had for a long time divided with Portugal the oceanic world, and then for almost a century had possessed the Portuguese colonies along with Portugal itself, and which though it had greatly declined maintained still its old pretensions—that this Power should pass into new hands involved the greatest commercial revolution that can be conceived. For any European Power that was mainly commercial it raised the most vital questions, questions of life and death. England had become by this time just such a state. William had made her conscious that she had this character, that she was a kind of successor in commercial

supremacy to the United Provinces. Commercial states, it had been found, must have religious toleration, and he had given us the Toleration Act; they must have a bank, and he had created the Bank of England. By the Navigation Act she had entered into direct rivalry with the United Provinces and she seemed now to have settled all her domestic difficulties. But in most of these stages of economical progress France had marched abreast with her and France had outstripped her in war and in general influence. The Spanish question might decide the competition of the two states once for all in favour of France, by throwing open all the oceans and at the same time the Mediterranean to French trade and to French ships, and perhaps also by closing all this area to the trade of England.

In the critical year 1701, when the question of peace or war was decided, the Tory party, that is the party which was most nervously afraid of military politics and foreign complications, had the lead in England. It was in spite of their inclination that in the course of that year public opinion became decisively convinced of the necessity of war. The argument was mainly economic. The nature and conditions of our trade were more carefully considered than at any former time. It was understood that a crisis had been reached in the commercial development of the country.

The character of this war, the greatest in which we were engaged before the Napoleonic time, ought to be clearly understood. It was unlike those that had gone before in this, that it was a war against France and Spain at once. This very fact marks the transition that was being made, since throughout the eighteenth century those two Powers are commonly in alliance against us.

Elizabeth and Cromwell had made war with Spain alone and we were to make war with Spain alone again in 1739. Those Spanish wars have all a common character. All arose alike out of Spain's monopoly in the New World; all are alike mainly trade-wars. The peculiarity of the Marlborough war lies in this that it sees France passing over from opposition to Spain to alliance with her. But in other respects the war, so far as it concerns England, resembles those which had preceded and those which were to follow it. It too is a trade-war. It was especially necessary to us because in this case our old enemy and trade-rival was aided by the greatest of military Powers, which was also a great naval and a great commercial Power. The conjunction of the old maritime Power of the past with the great military Power of the actual time threatened such a Power as England had now begun to be with ruin. This was the view which influenced us in 1701. William revived the Grand Alliance and it was determined by a new war to obtain security for Britain and for the United Provinces and at the same time an indemnity for Austria, the rival claimant to the Spanish Succession on the ground of hereditary right. Such was the commencement of the war; let us now look at its results. One of its results was to deprive the House of Bourbon of the Catholic Low Countries which were given to Austria, while a barrier of fortresses in this region was given to the Dutch. Such was the final settlement of that long debate which had really begun when Alva was sent to the Low Countries in 1567. For eighty years the Dutch had struggled with Spain and then after a stadtholderless interval they struggled for nearly forty years with France. In the end the French power was held at a sufficient distance from their frontier and a barrier was established

Result

which was to serve as a bulwark to them for the greater part of the eighteenth century. Thus did the United Provinces by the help of England crown the work which they had begun in the sixteenth century. But what did England acquire for herself by this war of the Spanish Succession? By considering this we may see in what way she thought herself interested in the war. She took Gibraltar and Port Mahon; she took Acadie; and by the Asiento Compact she acquired a certain share in the trade with Spanish America. Thus preoccupied is the English mind with the subject of trade. By occupying two Mediterranean stations she enters upon that policy which she has since pushed so far. She first establishes that *Weltstellung* which in her modern World-Empire is so characteristic. She takes up a position at the entrance of the Mediterranean. In course of time she was to take up many similar stations both in the Mediterranean and in greater seas. Gibraltar was to be the first of a series to which within a century Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, besides Quebec, Madras and Calcutta, and within two centuries many other trading and military stations in all parts of the world were to be added.

So far the war was waged for the commercial interest of the English and Dutch. It travelled however beyond these objects. For, first, it gave to Austria not only the Catholic Low Countries but also Milan and Naples, to which territories was added a few years later Sicily. Thus at the same time that England stationed herself at the entrance of the Mediterranean she prevented the House of Bourbon from taking possession of its central region, which, be it remarked, she had consigned to that House in the Second Partition Treaty. Secondly, in the course of the war, though not in the original design of it,

other questions of vast extent were raised. An attempt was made to dethrone the Bourbon prince in Spain itself and to set up the Habsburg claimant in his place. More than once the English Parliament affirmed that the honour and interest of England would not allow any part of the Spanish Monarchy to remain under the government of a prince of the House of Bourbon. But from this position we were forced in the end to recede, as we had not at the outset contemplated taking it up. It was an unfortunate afterthought, which altered the whole character of the war, transforming it from a necessary vindication of our position in the world into a speculative half-dynastic struggle of the kind which we especially desired to avoid. It was reduced to an absurdity when the Habsburg candidate, the Archduke Charles, became Emperor in 1711 on the death of his brother Joseph, after which we found ourselves pledged, in order to prevent the House of Bourbon from becoming too strong, to make the House of Habsburg stronger still. It now began to be said that the Emperor Charles VI was the greatest Emperor that had been seen since Charles V, and the English public now prepared for the reaction which swept away Marlborough and the war together. It is enough that the war, so far as it was based on a truly national and self-consistent policy, was a war of trade, marking the transition through which we assumed the character of the great commercial state.

Not less than the war, the party politics of Queen Anne's reign betray the commercial character which our policy was beginning to assume. The great reaction of 1700 brought to light another phase of Toryism besides its dread of militarism. The reaction against the second Revolution had several aspects, which in the four last

years of the Queen came to light together. First there was ecclesiastical Toryism represented by Sacheverell, which would have led naturally to the recall of the Pretender. Then there was that Anti-Cromwellism of which we have spoken, that misgiving that Revolution ended naturally in military government, and that Marlborough was the predestined successor of Cromwell.

But Harley and St John gave the reaction a third aspect when they also maintained that the government of the country belonged by right to the landed interest, but that in consequence of the Revolution and the wars it brought in its train government was being transferred to the monied and the trading interest. This contention certainly grasped the true character of the transition which was going forward. It perceived that England was to emerge as a commercial state from the second Revolution.

But it is time to consider another great change which falls in the midst of Anne's reign and in its magnitude rivals the Marlborough campaigns or that supplementary revolution which came on the death of Anne to close the whole transition, namely, the succession of the German Elector. This change is the Union of England and Scotland, and it is to be considered here only so far as it may illustrate the general nature of the transition by which the Commercial State established itself. The creation of Great Britain by an incorporating union of the two parts of the island is an event which it is particularly necessary to consider historically. In the abstract such a union might seem as desirable as the union of Aragon and Castille, and we readily understand that in a time of war it might appear absolutely necessary. And yet it did not take place simply because it was desirable or even

necessary, but for much more special reasons. If a change which had been found impracticable during many centuries was now brought without extreme difficulty to pass, these special reasons, which belong to the time and to the transition which necessarily followed upon the second Revolution, explain the remarkable result. As Marlborough's war, so the Union with Scotland is to be explained less by general considerations of policy than by those special commercial and maritime interests which were becoming supreme in that age or by these conjoined with the question of succession which had arisen out of the Revolution.

We have remarked throughout how the great internal changes in England invariably brought the Scotch question into prominence. The Elizabethan settlement of England caused and prepared the personal union of England and Scotland under the family of Stuart. The first Revolution, when it destroyed monarchy in England, turned the heir of Charles I into a King of Scots and led to the Anglo-Scotch wars in which were fought the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The second Revolution could not but produce a similar effect; it too revived the Scotch question. This second settlement of the relations between the nation and the monarchy brought to light the unsatisfactory nature of the relation between North and South Britain and offered a choice between two courses. Either the personal union must come to an end and the Scotch kingdom have its own royal House, or a completer union must be formed and a new State be founded whose territorial basis should be the whole island of Britain. It was indeed by a remarkable good fortune that the unsatisfactory semi-union had held together through the crisis of 1688, that almost at the

same time that in London the Convention pronounced the throne to be vacant the Scotch Estates also declared that King James the Seventh "hath forefaulted the right to the Crown, and the throne is become vacant," and that having done so they declared William and Mary, king and queen of England, France and Ireland, to be also king and queen of Scotland with succession first to the heirs of Mary, then to Anne and her heirs, thirdly to the heirs of William. Thus the personal union was preserved for the moment, yet even this remained exposed to risk. As in England, so in Scotland the Revolution of 1688 required a supplementary revolution. Heirs of Mary, Anne and William failed in both countries alike, and, if it was remarkable that the two communities should consent to travel together over so much rough ground from 1688 to 1714, was it to be expected that they should also agree to adopt the supplementary revolution, that Scotland as well as England should consent to be governed by a German Elector? Moreover Scotland as well as England suffered from that fatality which we have remarked as attending the second Revolution. Scotland, if she continued to wait upon England, would have to take part in two European wars, wars too waged against the ancient ally of Scotland, France.

If Scotland could go with England not only in the Revolution but also in two European wars and then in the Hanoverian Succession, she might probably consent also to a union more complete and definitive. In the meanwhile it seemed more natural for her to take the opposite course and struggle for complete national independence. Two ways presented themselves in which this might be attained. The Revolution itself might be cancelled; the country might surrender itself to James

or to the son of James. Or the country might decline to adopt the supplementary revolution, that is the Hanoverian Succession. By either course Scotland would disentangle herself from England and restore the independence she had had before the marriage of James IV to the Tudor Margaret. She had evidently arrived at a parting of the ways, and it may seem strange that a proud race of strongly marked character should have decided to travel by a road so strange as the Hanoverian Succession to a goal so little inviting as a union which resembled an absorption, rather than take one of these alternative courses. On the face of the history we may see how strongly these alternatives impressed their minds, for we see a phase begin in which Jacobitism becomes predominantly a Scotch interest. In Queen Anne's reign we see Louis XIV fomenting Jacobite disaffection in Scotland; Scotland organises the Fifteen and then the Forty-five. The Scotch dynasty in its decline retires to its ancient kingdom, and the Stuart cause dies out where it had first arisen—in Scotland. We need only look a very little closer to see how much the other alternative course, that of acquiring national independence by rejecting the Hanoverian Succession, commended itself to the Scotch mind. When we discover what the attraction was which outweighed all this we shall make a step towards understanding the transition which was then in progress.

When William died the centenary of the union of the crowns was at hand. The experience of a century had by no means convinced the Scotch people that well-being was to be found on the path of union or that that path ought to be pursued further. Fletcher of Saltoun talks of the poverty, misery and dependence of the country. The

union of the Crowns had led the country into two revolutions and several wars. If it had given scope to its peculiar religious ideas, so that at one time the Covenant had been actually adopted by England and Presbyterianism was now at length triumphing under William, on the other hand England had decisively rejected it. Prelacy was victorious, and the two parts of Britain, though faithful alike to the Reformation, retained a marked difference in religion. It was by no means clear that the next step ought not to be rather a step backward than a step forward. 'For my own part,' says Fletcher, 'before I will consent to continue in our present miserable and languishing condition after the decease of her majesty (Anne) and heirs of her body failing, I shall rather give my vote for a separation from England at any rate.' He expresses these views in a tone of confidence that they must of necessity be adopted by all public-spirited men. And yet within a few years the very opposite views prevailed once for all. Scotland followed England in accepting the succession of the German Elector, and instead of claiming a royal House to itself Scotland surrendered her Assembly of Estates and entered into an incorporating union with Prelatic England.

For the Commercial State was establishing itself. Scotland entered into the spirit of an age in which the Sea Powers were invading the Spanish monopoly of the New World, in which great commercial companies were becoming prominent and which was soon to see ruinous bubbles both in England and France. In June 1695, the Scotch Parliament passed an Act in favour of 'a company trading to Africa and the Indies.' This is the Darien Company, for which a capital of £400,000 was speedily subscribed. It contemplated the most various enterprises,

trade to Greenland, Archangel, the Gold Coast, the Negro Coast, even trade with India; especially it contemplated a Scotch colony to be founded on the Isthmus of Panama. The excitement and enthusiasm which was aroused in Scotland by this new enterprise were such as to mark a new departure in the Scotch mind, the opening of a new chapter in Scottish history. It is the entrance of Scotland into the commercial career. At this moment it seems to pass out of the atmosphere of theology into that of commerce, as both Holland and England had done before in the course of the seventeenth century.

These new commercial views, as they modified everything else, would modify the relation of Scotland to England. England had been regarded till then from the point of view of nationality, as the powerful neighbour who threatened Scottish independence and Scottish religion. Henceforth she must be regarded from the point of view of commerce, and the question must be raised, since Scotland was now deciding to aim at wealth through trade, what relation to England would be most conducive to that object. In like manner England must modify her way of regarding Scotland.

The history of the Darien Company introduces us to precisely the same phenomena with which we have become familiar in following the developement of England. William was at that moment busy with his Partition Treaties, and the Darien Company raised for Scotland the same questions which those negotiations raised for England. Any nation which in those days conceived a commercial ambition could not but turn its eyes towards the New World, the West Indian islands and the Gulf of Mexico, and on doing so was immediately confronted with the hostility of Spain. The Scotch carved out a district

on the Gulf of Darien where they proposed to plant a New Caledonia and to build a New Edinburgh and a New St Andrews. They did this in the summer of 1698 and no doubt believed themselves to be occupying a central position for the trade of the planet. But they found themselves in the very midst of the Spanish monopoly, neighbours of Carthagená and Porto Bello. And in May 1699, Spain protested by a memorial presented to William against the Scotch settlement as an invasion of Spanish territory. The question of the Spanish Succession, then coming to a head, showed itself everywhere, for there was a succession of trade as well as a succession of government.

The Scotch Colony failed disastrously, but not without transforming the whole aspect of the relation between England and Scotland. Scotland had now come forward as a Commercial State, and England now began to regard her as a Commercial rival. The aspirant to colonies in Central America began to seem a natural enemy, as the United Provinces had seemed when Shaftesbury said of them "*Delenda est Carthago.*" And on the other hand Scotland had now an additional reason for desiring to disentangle herself from England, from the great Commercial State which might thwart her newly conceived ambition. It was likely that the commercial classes in England would exclude Scotch competition as resolutely as they were then bent upon checking French competition.

So far trade was the greatest argument against union between the two kingdoms. But the matter might be regarded otherwise and in such a way as to make trade the greatest argument in favour of union. If England had it in her power to close, she had it also in her power

to open, the trade of the world to Scotland. If she might indulge her trade jealousy she might also lay it aside. The advantage to England of union with Scotland was evident, especially in time of war. Scotland would be called upon to sacrifice much, her pride in an independent Parliament if not also an independent Monarchy. But the Commercial State was founding itself, and England had it in her power to offer to Scotland a share in her own commercial and maritime greatness.

Commercial jealousy was in that age the dominant feeling of the English mind. It was scarcely therefore to be anticipated that England would be magnanimous enough for the sake of any contingent advantages to admit Scotland to a share in her trade. The Darien affair stimulated this English jealousy, and William in his last days provoked much bitterness by occupying a sort of neutral position in the trade rivalry of England and Scotland, which for his misfortune was now added to the old trade rivalry of England and Holland. He did not live to make the Union but he declared strongly in favour of it more than once, at the beginning of his reign in 1689 and again at the close of it a month before his death. He may be said to have laid the foundation of the incorporating union as we remarked that the union of the Crowns though founded at the accession of James I rested on a basis which had been laid by Elizabeth.

Thus the first step towards Union was taken at the time when England was preparing to enter into the war of the Spanish Succession. At that moment Scotland found herself entering the Commercial movement and acquired quite a new sense of the intolerable entanglement of her interests with those of England. That the relation could not remain unaltered was the conclusion

forced upon her by the failure of the Darien enterprise. A wild quarrel between the two communities now began, and proved strangely to be the prelude to their union. The reign of Anne commenced and brought with it new and vast complications. It brought a new European war, in which it might be held that Scotland had no interest. Now too the Hanoverian Succession was established, by which Scotland would lose the kind of precedence she had hitherto had as the home of the royal House. It was a settlement which not only seemed highly artificial, but also suggested that if a new relation were needful between England and Scotland there was an alternative to union, viz., complete disunion. The former union of the Crowns had grown up naturally and to Scotland it had been honourable; a new union of the Crowns now came in prospect of which this could not be said. Why should Scotland crown a German Elector? A second step was now taken which again shows how closely related is the developement which ended in the Union to the general developement of the second Revolution. The Scotch passed in 1703 an Act for the Security of the Kingdom, which was directed against the Hanoverian Succession. It provided that on the death of the Queen without issue the Estates should name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the royal line of Scotland, but not the successor to the crown of England 'unless there be such conditions of government settled and enacted as may secure the honour and sovereignty of this crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency and power of parliaments, the religion, freedom and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence.' This Act was passed, and though the touch of the sceptre, which in Scotland corresponded to the royal assent in England, was refused

to it in 1703, even this was granted when it was passed a second time in 1704. Strange things were brought into prospect by this Act of Security. It appeared that the House of Brunswick was to resemble the House of Tudor rather than that of Stuart. Its dominion was to be bounded by the Tweed; an independent king was to rule at Holyrood, who would have his ambassadors at Madrid and Vienna, who would sign treaties of alliance, perhaps also marriage treaties, with the royal House of France. Who this king would be could not yet be known, but it was not impossible that he might come from St Germain; some thought he would be the Duke of Hamilton. There was, as we may see from Lockhart, a considerable Jacobite party in Scotland. It might prove that by refusing the supplementary Revolution of 1714 Scotland would in fact cancel the Revolution of 1688. And thus in 1704 the Scotch question assumed quite a new aspect. Meanwhile the rancorous quarrel between the two communities was raised higher than ever, chiefly through the affair of the Worcester. The trial of Captain Green began in March 1705; in April took place his execution with that of two of his crew, of which act Mr Burton says simply, the poor men were sacrificed not to penal laws but to national hostility; they were victims of war rather than of justice.

It began to be evident that there was no time to lose. Queen Anne herself indeed had nine years to live, but the Tory reaction was to come in five years. Had Harley and St John in those last four years of the Queen been backed in Scotland by a strong national party headed by Fletcher and Belhaven, at a time when the Scotch people had been further embittered by long brooding over the Darien failure and had the Act of Security to work with, it is evident that the crisis of 1714 would have been much

more difficult than it actually was. The time was not lost. In 1706, that is, the year after the execution of Green, commissioners were appointed in both kingdoms to agree upon articles of Union. In January 1707 the Act passed the Estates and was touched with the Sceptre by the Duke of Queensberry, Queen Anne's High Commissioner; in March it received the royal assent in England from Queen Anne herself. Mr Burton remarks, 'If it were to be asked what one man did most for the accomplishment of the Union it would not be unreasonable to say it was the Duke of Marlborough.' And indeed that decisive year 1706 was the year of Ramillies, that is the most decisive of his victories and the victory in which he had not the help of Eugene. It was the victory which more even than Blenheim brought home to Louis XIV the conviction that he was beaten. Thus the Union passed at a moment when the Revolution after so many vicissitudes had gone through its most difficult ordeal and had decisively beaten France and Spain in fair fight. It was a necessary part of the Revolution, as much a supplement to it as was the Hanoverian Succession.

A measure so thoroughgoing as the Union, adopted at so short notice and carried through in spite of difficulties so various and prejudices so deeply rooted, excites astonishment. Burnet introduces it with this natural remark, 'The union of the two kingdoms was a work of which many had quite despaired, in which number I was one; and those who entertained better hopes thought it must have run out into a long negotiation for several years; but beyond all men's expectation it was begun and finished within the compass of one.' It involved practically the ruin of Jacobitism and the establishment of the Hanoverian Succession, but at the particular moment

perhaps the most surprising feature about it was the concession which was made to Scotland of commercial equality. It has always been remarked that the modern wealth and prosperity of Scotland have been based upon its admission by this article into the commerce of a leading commercial state. But it surprises us that the admission should have been granted at that precise time, a time when commercial jealousy was at its height in England. Our commerce had just emerged from a long period of rivalry with the Dutch commerce. The Dutch never ceased to complain of our Navigation Act, and not all the community of our political interests nor our military alliance could for a moment abate the keenness of that rivalry. We were engaged at the moment in resisting in the interest of our commerce the conjunction of the two Crowns of France and Spain. And yet at this moment we freely admitted the competition of the Scotch, who had just given evidence by founding the Darien Company of the extent and audacity of their commercial ambition. But of all the contrasts by which the commercial liberality of the Scotch Union can be set off, perhaps the most striking is that which is afforded by our conduct at the same time towards Ireland. For the afterswell of the second Revolution required a new settlement in Ireland as much as in Scotland, and in Ireland too the commercial question which dominated the age would have to be dealt with. The question arises if a union with Scotland in spite of its enormous difficulty was achieved, why could it not be accompanied or followed up by a union with Ireland? Most of the arguments which pleaded for the one union pleaded also for the other. Nor were they overlooked. An Irish union was demanded and discussed almost at the same time that the Scotch union was enacted. And it

was so much in the drift of things that an Irish union did in the end take place. The Dublin Parliament in the end ceased to sit as did the Parliament of Edinburgh. This essay is no contribution to the redoubtable Irish question, and yet a general view of the second Revolution and of the establishment of the Commercial State must take account of the fact that the Irish Union did not form a part of that transition, that it was delayed for another century and that in the meanwhile a different, a very strange and unsatisfactory settlement was provided for Ireland. The contrast between our Irish and our Scotch policy is one of the most marked features of the transition, and it is the more striking because the commercial jealousy characteristic of the time was carried to its extreme point in our dealings with Ireland at the same time that it was so happily renounced in our dealings with Scotland.

The problem which the second Revolution left behind it was in some respects the same for England, for Scotland and for Ireland. All three countries alike had to make also the supplementary Revolution of 1714; all alike had to submit to the necessity of taking part in two great European wars; all alike had to withstand reactionary tendencies represented by Jacobitism and Popery; lastly supposing all alike to accomplish with success this great transition, they had also to accept its total result and take their places as parts of a great commercial empire. A great Britannic Union suggested itself as almost a necessary condition of the transition. But of the whole complex problem different parts presented special difficulties in England, Scotland and Ireland. It may be said of Ireland that her special difficulty was to resist the tendency to reaction, to prevent the Revolution of 1688 from

being undone again. In England and Scotland that change had been accomplished with surprising unanimity, and the revival of Jacobitism in Queen Anne's time, though startling, had its evident limits. There was not now, as in Queen Elizabeth's reign, any doubt that England and Scotland belonged to the Reformation; Popery, as such, was no longer dangerous in either part of Britain. But in the other island, in Ireland, the Revolution of 1688 seemed to have been much less definitively made. There in the first place Popery itself reigned and had a majority in the population; in the second place Jacobitism had appeared in its most intense and aggressive form at the time of the Revolution itself. There James and William had decided their quarrel in the field; there a Catholic Parliament had met; there French troops and French diplomatists had openly aided the Jacobite cause. In the second Revolution Ireland had played much the same part as in the first, and had been a kind of citadel of the Stuart cause. The Dublin Parliament with its Act of Attainder had corresponded in the second Revolution to the rebellion and massacre of 1641 in the first. Here then it might appear that Jacobitism would revive in vigour, since here alone it had a popular basis, here alone that which in England and Scotland was its fatal weakness, viz., the creed, first of James himself and afterwards of his son, was actually its strength and the ground of its popularity. Accordingly the problem in Ireland under William and Anne differed from the problem in England and Scotland. Here progressive changes were made, and at last an incorporating union was established. But in Ireland policy is more retrospective and directed rather to consolidating the Revolution than to developing it further. No union is enacted there, but the foundation

upon which the existing state of things rests is examined and, being recognised to be hollow, is strengthened by new legislation. The question is what to do in the Britannic world with an island where the majority of the population is Catholic. It appears that this fact, inconsistent with the Revolution and with all that can be built upon it, must at all risks be altered. Acts must be passed for the repression of Popery; a penal code must be introduced. How else can a German Elector peacefully succeed to the throne, or the descendants of a king whose only fault was that he was a Catholic be permanently excluded?

In the whole period before us we are astonished at the success which attends legislation, since it is a commonplace in general that legislation is an instrument of very limited efficacy. Thus the Union of 1707 seems a marvel, and it seems also a miracle that the Revolution of 1714 should have been so easily accomplished and should have had results so durable. But the Irish legislation of the period seems to form a grand exception. The penal code, —those ‘tremendous statutes,’ to speak with Hallam—‘the ferocious acts of Anne,’ to use the language of Burke—are now condemned on all hands as detestable. Even here however we have to recognise that the object contemplated was in a remarkable degree attained. New evils no doubt were introduced; an Irish question was created which would take a form almost revolutionary in the last years of the eighteenth century and would dominate English politics through most of the nineteenth. But the old evil was really removed. Ireland did cease to be the citadel of the Stuart cause. The second Revolution was secured at least from Irish reactions. Jacobitism had its headquarters henceforth not in Ireland but in Scotland.

The Revolution of 1714 met with no opposition in Ireland; Ireland took no share in the risings of 1715 and 1745.

How great this result was is best measured by comparing in this respect the second Revolution with the first, and remarking how in the second Ireland drops out of the struggle, whereas in the first it had throughout from the days of Strafford to the Restoration contributed the largest share of the bloodshed and the horror.

Thus the penal code so far as it was directed against Popery arose naturally out of the Revolution. It was a violent and demoralising scheme, yet a scheme which in the circumstances was held necessary for securing a Protestant government in a country where the population was in majority Catholic. But the age required something more than this. Throughout the Britannic world the transition we are studying had a double aspect. It was not merely a settlement of the religious question; it was also the establishment of the commercial state. In Marlborough's war and in the Union with Scotland we have traced the dominant influence of commerce. In the settlement of Ireland too we may expect to find this double character. It will have an aspect looking towards the past. In this aspect it will be, as we have seen, the establishment of a Protestant government in a Catholic country and on a territory strewn with the ashes of past conflagrations. But it must also look towards the future; it must have also a more positive aspect. The government once established must do something; the Irish people once pacified must occupy themselves in some way. Here too must they not follow the example of England and Scotland, must they not turn their attention to commerce and set up in Ireland too the Commercial State? This commercial aspect of the transition is not less con-

spicuously visible in Ireland than in Scotland. Complex as is the Irish legislation of this age, vast and intricate as is the Irish Question in the new shape which it now assumes, we easily discern a doubleness in it. There is on the one side the attack made by legislation upon Popery, whether by crippling the priesthood or preventing a succession in the priesthood or by offering inducements to individual Catholics to adopt Protestantism. But on the other side there is legislation upon Irish trade, those acts of commercial repression which have shared pretty equally with the penal code itself the reprobation of later times.

It is this point alone with which we are now concerned. Those questions so numerous and so much discussed, where we first went wrong, who was most to blame, what we ought to have done and what we ought to do now, the moral side and the political side of the Irish Question, do not occupy us. We desire only to find its right place for the settlement of Ireland in the great universal settlement of the Britannic World which followed the Second Revolution. It was a general characteristic of that settlement that it gave a new importance to commerce. In general we find the British state at this time bidding for supremacy in the commercial world and disposed to see in every other Power a commercial rival. She has however waived this view in the case of Scotland, where she found herself on the point of awakening a national rivalry so close to her own doors that it threatened to overthrow at once the Revolution and the Hanoverian Succession. We remark now that the very same question arises in Ireland too. Shall England offer the same liberal treatment to Irish as to Scotch trade or shall she here follow the dictates of commercial jealousy?

And we observe at once that Ireland has not the same means that Scotland possesses of putting pressure upon England. Scotland has already national independence and her own Assembly of Estates and she now plunges independently and with enthusiasm into the commercial career. Complete national independence, if England should refuse to come in to her terms, seems within her reach and she had enjoyed it as recently as the sixteenth century. Ireland can contemplate no such alternative. She has no such tradition of national independence to look back upon; her parliament has no real independence; in her Popery she stands quite isolated in the Britannic world; by resistance to England she can only bring on herself another of those ruinous calamities, those subversions of the very foundations of society, to which since Elizabeth's time she has been several times exposed. She was fresh from a destructive civil war. No sane man in Ireland could adopt the tone of Fletcher of Saltoun; Ireland had no alternative but to submit to the destiny which England might ordain for her. This is the relation between the two communities which made it possible for Burke himself to describe the settlement we are now considering in the following words. 'All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event [the reduction of Ireland in 1691] were manifestly the effect of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon and were not at all afraid to provoke.' But the code of oppression had two parts; it was directed in one part against Irish popery, in the other against Irish trade. Neither part is discussed here; it is sufficient to remark the sharp contrast between the admission of Scotland to English trade and the commercial legislation

which was provided about the same time for Ireland, and which is thus summed up by Mr Lecky:—Irish forbidden to export cattle to England—Excluded from the colonial trade—Forbidden to export unmanufactured wool to the Continent—Forbidden to export manufactured wool—Effects of the destruction of manufactures—Extreme poverty—Famine.

In short in Ireland too politics take, though in a very unhappy way, the same economical or commercial tinge that they take everywhere at the same time. In Irish history a transition is made which is none the less decisive for being unhappy. The old Irish question at least disappears though a new one forms itself. The Stuart cause with all that belongs to it passes into an obsolete condition. The second Revolution with its supplement the Hanoverian Succession are disturbed by no Irish reaction. A new leaf is turned over; the seventeenth century recedes into the past with all its violence, civil war, massacre, confiscation; Ireland leaves behind the days of Strafford, Phelim O'Neil and Cromwell, and does not revive in the eighteenth century the scenes of Derry, Aghrim and Limerick. A new scene opens and new topics are discussed. These are in a great degree industrial and economical. It is complained that the jealousy of England destroys Irish trade; it is asked how in such circumstances the people are to find subsistence. Government seems to be regarded from a new point of view, as if its object were actually the material prosperity of the people. The new Ireland has its thinkers who discuss with vigour the condition of the people. But Jonathan Swift and George Berkeley bring to the discussion of political topics a novel kind of realism. They speak of industry and money making, of the means of averting

famine. Swift conjures the people to reject all the products of English industry, to prove their Irish patriotism by the food they eat and the clothes they wear. Or look at a paper like the *Querist* of Berkeley and remark how the antithesis of wealth and poverty, industry and beggary pervades it. He asks, whether the drift and aim of every wise state should not be to encourage industry in its members. This is his third query; his nineteenth runs thus:—Whether the bulk of our Irish natives are not kept from thriving by that cynical content in dirt and beggary which they possess to a degree beyond any other people in Christendom? And this is the 132nd, Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilised people so beggarly, wretched and destitute as the common Irish? These hints are woven together by a series of reflexions on the nature of wealth, its relation to money, to trade, especially foreign trade, to banks, to culture and education. In short here is the science of political economy in an embryonic stage. But we may be surprised to find the great idealist so intensely preoccupied with the subject of wealth and industry as to write for example, query 359, Whether it be not a sad circumstance to live among lazy beggars? And whether on the other hand it would not be delightful to live in a country swarming, like China, with busy people?

Such is the Commercial State which grew up in the Britannic world in the afterswell of the second Revolution. That unparalleled settlement which dealt so successfully with questions so fundamental, which at the same time settled the succession of the Crown, waged war victoriously against France and Spain, and established the state of Great Britain by the union of England and Scotland, left us a state predominantly commercial. The British policy, which had ceased to be dynastic and had established

itself upon the national interest, found that interest in trade. The eighteenth century was to show that in that notion of trade was involved the empire of the sea and a vast colonial dominion. But this was not as yet recognised. For the moment, that is, in the reign of Anne, it was only visible that the Britannic State showed a military and diplomatic skill which were wholly novel, and interfered in Continental affairs with more decision than had been her wont under either the Tudors or the Stuarts. When the period of war was over, the House of Brunswick speedily succeeded to an insular state far more consolidated at home than had been known before. And then after a few years France recovered under the guidance of Fleury from the serious blows she had received, and it seemed that the age of Louis XIV was to be followed as it had been preceded by a great age of the Cardinal. And then gradually the total result of the great transition became measurable; Europe of the eighteenth century displayed its main international features. Frederick the Great finds that all the states of Europe are drawn in the train of England and France and that the standing hostility of those two states rules everything. This grand rivalry reminds him of the Punic Wars. The French, restored to their old influence by Fleury, strike him as the modern Romans. Great Britain, he admits, cherishes no designs of conquest; she desires only to push her trade. She is the modern Carthage; but it is a great evil that all the states of Europe alike are forced to take part in this grand rivalry which embraces the globe. This, we see, is the very conception which in the first years of the nineteenth century possessed the mind of Napoleon and led to a Punic War indeed, which had its Hannibal and had also its Battle of Zama. But the international situation which led to this result was already visible

before the middle of the eighteenth century and had begun to exist earlier still. It was the consequence of that transition which we have considered, of the establishment of a Commercial State including the whole Britannic world. The modern Carthage was founded when the second Revolution followed by the Hanoverian Succession established a secure government with a national and no longer a dynastic policy, and when this acquired Britain instead of England for its territorial basis and was able also to draw in its train Ireland, not indeed united nor satisfied but pacified and withdrawn from the influences of reaction. When this great Britannic State defeated in the field the combined powers of France and Spain and began to be acknowledged as the leading maritime Power, while at the same time it devoted itself to trade, a State appeared which resembled the ancient Carthage as much as the great states of the modern world can resemble the small states of antiquity.

The same eighteenth century was to exhibit this Britannic State as no mere commercial state. Even in the two transition-reigns of William and Anne the learning and philosophy of Europe had begun to look to Britain as they had never done before. In William's reign were published the *Principia* of Newton, Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and Bentley's *Inquiry into the Letters of Phalaris*. When George I ascended the British throne he could boast for a year or two that both Newton and Leibnitz were his subjects, though the former called him King and the latter Elector. Soon after Voltaire, in reviewing the great historical periods of literature, was compelled to acknowledge that by the side of the age of Louis XIV must be placed the English period.

All has now been said which falls within the plan of this essay. I may bid farewell to my readers with a few sentences of recapitulation. They will have discovered long since that the work is strictly a historical essay and makes no pretension to be a history. It has been throughout rather a dissertation than a narrative, and if it has thrown any important light on the period of which it has treated, this has not been by direct investigation of the occurrences that happened but by presenting a connected view of their significance. The occurrences dealt with have been those larger revolutions which belong to the very outline of history, but they have been presented from an unusual point of view. Some of the best known and most important events of English history have been reviewed from a point of view not English but European, not national but international. Whether we have contemplated the Elizabethan age or the Great Rebellion or the Revolution, we have seen events in a framework different from that in which they appear in histories of England. We have had always before us not one state but several, not England but the relations of England to the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon and to the United Provinces. The great transitions have thus assumed a somewhat new appearance. Thus in the Great Rebellion we have been less struck by the quarrel itself of King and Parliament than by the action and reaction of France transformed by Richelieu and England transformed by the Rebellion. In like manner what has chiefly occupied us in dealing with the Revolution has been the European war which immediately preceded William's expedition and that other European war which grew out of it.

Looked at from this point of view it has seemed to us that the long period beginning with the accession of

Elizabeth and closing with the reign of Anne has a certain unity. Much has been said on this point, but in concluding I may tell the reader again why my essay set out with Elizabeth and why it closed with Anne. In one word this period covers the whole age of the Spanish Habsburgs and also the whole great age of the Dutch. Nearly at the commencement of it the Dutch question was opened at a time when the Spanish Monarchy was rising to a sort of universal empire. This period saw on the one side the House of Philip II die out and the Spanish Habsburgs give place to the House of Bourbon; on the other side it saw the heroic branch of the House of Orange-Nassau die out with the death of William III. Throughout the period international relations were dominated by this struggle and the attitude which was assumed towards it by England and France, at first while they favoured the Dutch against Spain, afterwards while France meditated the absorption of the Spanish Monarchy. This struggle comes to an end, and at the same time it may be said that the Counter-reformation, with which throughout it was closely connected, comes to an end, with the settlement of Utrecht. Upon the Counter-reformation the greatness of the Spanish Habsburgs was from the outset founded, and the Counter-reformation was still vigorous in the year 1685 when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in France and James II came to the throne in England. But after the Peace of Utrecht it may be said that the Counter-reformation is at an end. For the first time Protestant Powers had given the law to Europe; Voltaire was beginning his career; and the characteristic eighteenth century view of religious questions, the opposition of the modern state to all ecclesiastical powers, was beginning visibly to prevail. Accord-

ingly, if we take the international point of view, this long period, whether as the period of the Counter-reformation or as the period of the Habsburg Monarchy in Spain, may be regarded as one. If I pursued the subject further I should in like manner treat the period beginning with the settlement of Utrecht and ending with the fall of Napoleon as one. This would be the period of the struggle between Great Britain on the one side and France, commonly allied with Spain, on the other, the period of English ascendancy on the sea and in the New World.

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